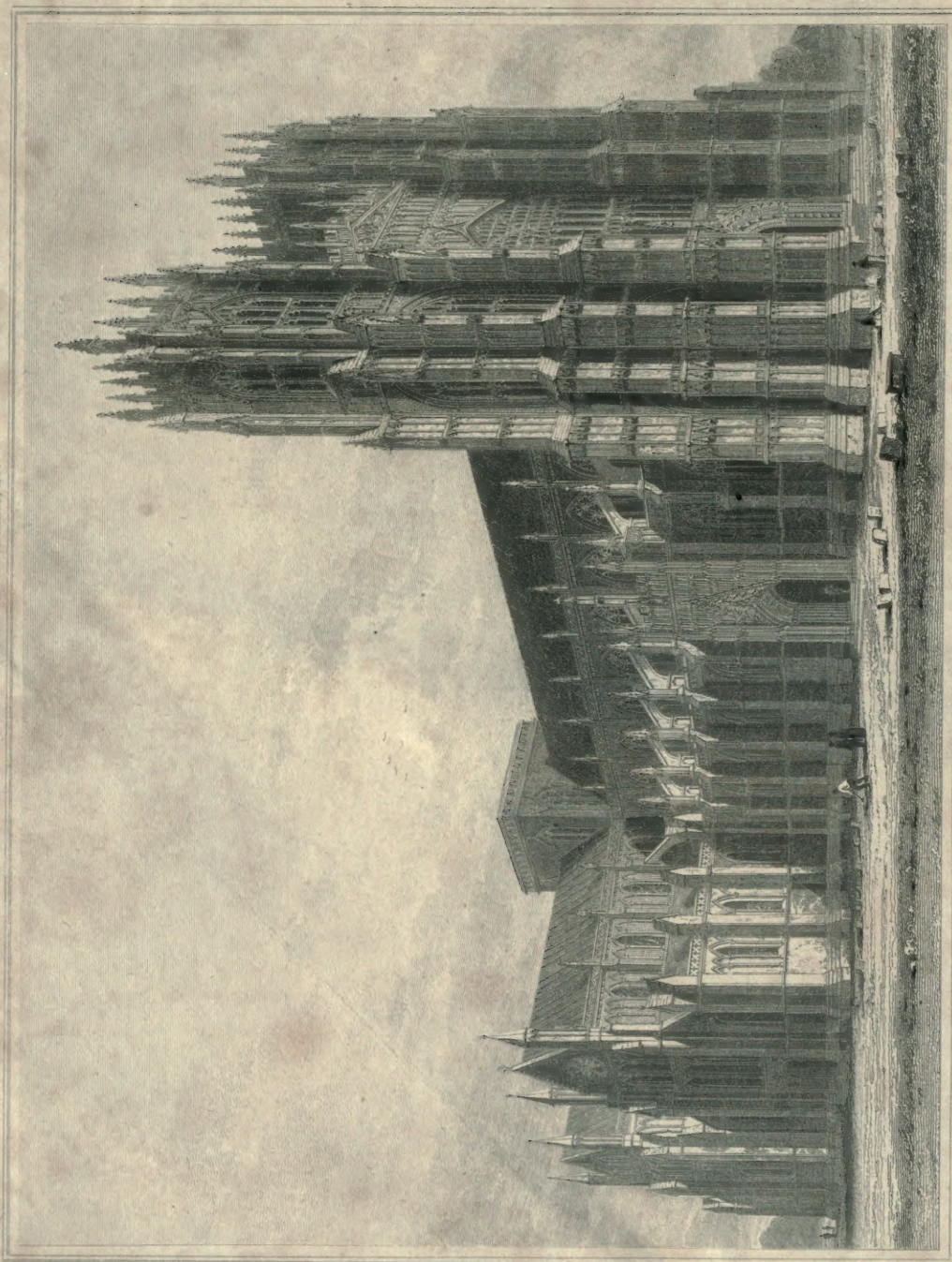




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FOR OLIVER'S HISTORY OF BEVERLEY, &c.



W. H. Bartlett del.

N. W. VIEW OF BEVERLEY MINSTER.

Engraved, Published by M. Turner May 1, 1822.

E. Smeads sc.

THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
TOWN AND MINSTER
OF
BEVERLEY,
IN THE COUNTY OF YORK,

FROM THE MOST EARLY PERIOD ;

With

Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Abbeyes of Watton and Meaux,
THE CONVENT OF HALTEMPRISE,

THE VILLAGES OF

COTTINGHAM, LECKONFIELD, BISHOP AND CHERRY BURTON, WALKINGTON,
RISBY, SCORBURGH,

AND THE

Hamlets comprised within the Liberties of Beverley.

Compiled from

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RECORDS, AND MANUSCRIPTS OF UNDOUBTED AUTHORITY ;

AND ILLUSTRATED BY

Numerous Engravings on Copper, Wood, and Stone ; and other valuable Embellishments.

BY GEORGE OLIVER,

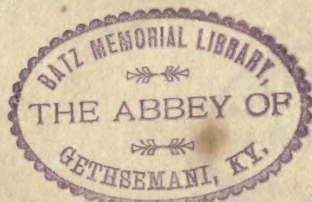
VICAR OF CLEE, IN THE COUNTY OF LINCOLN ; DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD KENSINGTON ; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, SCOTLAND.

Beverley :

PRINTED AND SOLD BY M. TURNER.

SOLD ALSO BY MESSRS. BALDWIN AND CRADOCK, LONDON ; M. TURNER AND CO. HULL ;
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1829.



DA
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To
His Grace
EDWARD VENABLES VERNON, D. D.

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,
PRIMATE OF ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN,
LORD HIGH ALMONER TO THE KING,
&c. &c. &c.

PRINCIPAL TRUSTEE OF THE MINSTER CHURCH OF BEVERLEY;
OF WHICH SUPERB FABRIC
AND OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL INTERESTS OF THE TOWN IN GENERAL,
(ALTHOUGH THE CONNEXION OF LORD AND VASSAL,
WHICH IN ANCIENT TIMES SUBSISTED
BETWEEN HIS GRACE'S PREDECESSORS AND THE INHABITANTS OF BEVERLEY,
HAS BEEN DISSOLVED

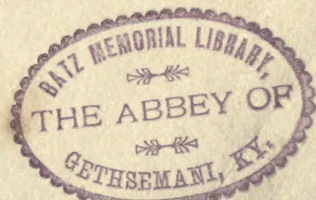
BY THE GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF MORE POLISHED INSTITUTIONS,
WHICH HAVE INFUSED
A SPIRIT OF FREEDOM AND CIVILIZATION UNKNOWN TO OUR REMOTE FOREFATHERS;)
HE IS THE LEGITIMATE AND ATTENTIVE GUARDIAN;

THIS WORK,
WHICH PROFESSES TO ILLUSTRATE THE DARKER PERIODS OF THEIR HISTORY,
AS WELL AS TO DEVELOPE
THE PROGRESSIVE OPERATION OF THOSE KINDLY SYSTEMS
WHICH REDEEMED THE SERF FROM BONDAGE,
AND DISTRIBUTED THE BLESSINGS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
WITH AN IMPARTIAL HAND,
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

(WITH HIS GRACE'S KIND PERMISSION,)
BY HIS GRACE'S OBLIGED,
AND MOST DEVOTED

HUMBLE SERVANT,

GEO. OLIVER.



1987-1988 4035

PREFACE.

“LET no man say, I’ll write a duodecimo.” Such was the exclamation of Laurence Sterne while engaged in a work of fancy, which had no other limit than the will and pleasure of its author. But of all writers the observation will most properly apply to the Topographer and the Antiquary, whose materials, like a ball of snow, accumulate as they advance; and their performances, consequently, almost always exceed the limits originally prescribed. In the present instance, the projected octavo has swelled into a quarto, and even with this alteration in the plan, so abundant have the materials been, that in many instances it has been found difficult to determine what to insert and what to reject.¹ I flatter myself, however, that I have succeeded in condensing as much useful and interesting matter into the following pages as they are capable of containing, and that such documents only have been rejected as were either trivial or of no general importance. It is therefore to be feared that an anxiety to crowd an extended mass of information within a prescribed compass, may, in some parts of the work, have cramped the style or weakened the energy of the composition. Should this fault be detected, it must be referred to my determination to do ample justice to the essential parts of the subject, rather than to any species of carelessness or inattention arising from a want of interest in the undertaking; for I have been impressed with a firm conviction that the excellence of a Topographical work depends more on assiduity of research and accuracy of delineation, than on the embellishments of style and laboured elegance of diction.

It will be needless to add that I have encountered difficulties and disadvantages which are now effectually removed, and will cease to impede the progress of any future topographer or historian who may follow me in the same track. I have

¹ The materials were so exceedingly diffuse, that I have been obliged, in cases of mere personal transfer, or conveyances of individual possessions, to be as brief as was consistent with perspicuity; otherwise two quarto volumes would scarcely have contained the astonishing mass of matter which had accumulated under my hands.

cleared the way for others, and made smooth the path which has been so rugged to myself. Little assistance has been derived from the previous brief accounts of Beverley which are found in works on general topography; for they all bear one character, and from Leland to Baines there is little variation in the hackneyed statement. The plan and execution of the present work therefore, may claim the merit of originality; and if, amidst the laborious and complicated researches which have employed my most anxious attention, any important incident should have escaped my notice, it can be imputed only to those ungracious obstacles which form a common subject of complaint with every writer who has been engaged in works of a similar nature, the fastidious retention of documents which might have contributed their aid to rectify what is erroneous, or illustrate what is obscure.

The first topographical account of Beverley, which has been handed down to us in a printed form, is contained principally in the third volume of Leland's *Collectanea*, and consists of sundry loose notices and traditions which that celebrated antiquary collected during his enquiries respecting the state of the Collegiate church, and the minor religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII. How authentic soever these desultory observations may be, they form but a very slender basis on which to rest the majestic structure of its general history. Besides, they are sometimes incorrect, sometimes confused, and always imperfect; and the chronology having been entirely neglected, it is difficult to arrange the facts with absolute precision. On this disjointed foundation have all succeeding accounts of Beverley been raised. Gent² has given us little additional matter except his collection of epitaphs; and what he did attempt to add to the original of Leland is charged with gross inaccuracies on the one hand, and fabulous legends on the other. Camden³ and Drake⁴ have furnished some original notices, but their information is mostly drawn from the same source. Tickell⁵ has presented us with a few facts as far as they had any connexion with his subject; and we find in *Encyclopædias* and other general works a short article on the town and church of Beverley; and the recent publication by Baines⁶ contains a brief narrative of their origin and some of their existing institutions. But in all these works we are disappointed in our endeavours to find materials of sufficient importance for a complete and extended history. The "Short History of Beverley Minster," by the Rev. Joseph Coltman, is almost the only publication to which the historian or antiquary

² Hist. Ripon.

³ Britannia.

⁴ Eboracum.

⁵ Hist. Hull.

⁶ Directory.

can refer with sentiments of unmixed satisfaction; and to this little pamphlet I acknowledge myself indebted for much information respecting the early history of the Minster Church. A dissertation relating to the disputes between Beverley and Hull, authenticated by some substantial references, has been recently given to the world by Mr. Frost.⁷ Warburton made considerable accumulations towards a History of Beverley; but the attempt was subsequently abandoned, and his papers were deposited in the noble collection of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and are now in the British Museum.⁸ Dugdale⁹ and Tanner¹⁰ have furnished a fertile source of reference; and the papers and documents enumerated by the latter have been of essential service in directing my enquiries into a channel whence an abundance of matter has flowed. I allude to the Records in the Tower, Exchequer, and other public depositories, where numerous manuscripts and evidences lie scattered in a detached form, a catalogue of which would extend this preface beyond its just limits.¹¹ Suffice it to say that they have been sedulously consulted; and authentic

⁷ Notices relative to the Early Hist. of Hull, p. 119.

⁸ They are principally contained in a thick quarto volume, and marked 896. VIII.

⁹ Monasticon Anglicanum. ¹⁰ Notitia Monasticon.

¹¹ The following heads of MSS. in that one splendid national depository, the British Museum, will be amply sufficient to shew the voluminous nature of the records which have been consulted, when we consider that almost every public and many private libraries contain documents illustrative of the town of Beverley.

Lansdowne MSS.

269. fo. 213. The charter of king Athelstan to the church of Saint John at Beverley, in English rhyme, but in language long posterior to the time of Athelstan. "That witten all that ever beene."

446. fo. 89. Transcripts of two Saxon charters to Beverley Minster, from Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror.

896. VIII. A volume of printed and manuscript collections, chiefly relating to Beverley, containing, Hawkesmoor's survey of Saint John's church at Beverley, A. D. 1717. The Memoirs and Antiquities of Beverley, collected by Mr. Matthew Ashmole, alderman of the town. Annals of Beverley, with a list of mayors. Memoranda of books and manuscripts relating to the town. King's Views of Beverley. Three printed leaves, containing the History of the Minster church; from Maynard's edition of Dugdale's History of Saint Paul's. Mr. Torre's account of the Minster. Trickings in pen and ink, of arms in windows, tombs, &c. in Beverley church. Index locorum, collect. per G. K. R. D. 1678. Account of Saint Mary's church in Beverley. Of the foundation and fate of the Collegiate church of Saint John. Rental of the revenue of the same, A. D. 1706. Abstract of the grant of Edward VI. to the same. Abstract of grants from Charles II. and James II. to the town. A book of tracts and evidences relating to the church of Saint John. A licence to Richard Fairclough, for altering a way in the Friar Garth. Account of the monastery of Beverley. A short account of the life of Saint John of Beverley, and of the antiquities there, collected by Marmaduke Nelson, alderman of the town, A. D. 1710. A blazon of coats of arms on the tombs and in the windows of Beverley Minster. Copy of Archbishop Thurstan's charter to the men of Beverley. Cart. antiq. R. n. 18. Copy of the charter of confirmation of Henry

copies taken of them all, as well as transcripts of numerous papers from the Augmentation office, the Dodsworth's collection in the Bodleian library, Oxford; the

I. Charter of Stephen, A. D. 1135. *Nomina Præpositæ Beverlaci*. Carta Regis Edward II. Carta Regis Stephani. Confirmatio Honorii Pap. circa 1125. Carta Regis Johannis. Carta Regis Edw. II. Breve Regis 36 Edw. III. Plac. coram Rege apud Ebor. Term. Pasch. 16 Rich. II. Cantar' Joh'is Ake. Licen. Achiepiscopi. Rentale redditum et firmarum terrarum, tenementorum &c. pertinen. Cantariæ Rob. Rolleston clerici nuper Prepos. Eccl. B. Joh'is Beverlaci. A. D. 1450. Pro Cantaria Rob'ti Rolleston. Rentali Preposituræ infra burgum Beverlaci solvend. ad terminos S. Martini, pentecostes et natalis Domini. Inquis. capt. apud Beverl. 1407. De domo leprosororum extra Keldegate Bar. A rental of the lands and tenements within the borough of Beverley, which formerly belonged to the provosts of Saint John's church there, payable at Martinmas and Christmas. Benefactors to the poor of Saint Mary's parish; Saint Mary's rents, leases, &c. Ex vetusto rotulo in pergamento tempore Hen. II^o Ric. I^o et Joh. ut character in quo exaratur ostendit, in custodia d'ni Sedgwicke vicarij de Marflete, qui mihi (J. Warburton) amice præbuit. Ordo pro ministratione in Bederna. An inventory of the books, chalices, and other ornaments of the chantry chapel founded by John Ake, on the Cross Bridge in Beverley. Licentia prebendarii de Fridaythorpe. Carta Henr. Maupas. The testament of John de Ake. Copies and parts of wills relating to the town of Beverley. A rental of the Provost's lands and tenements without the borough. Taxatio prepositura Beverlaci. 6 Edw. III. A list of all the persons who paid Scot and Lot in the town of Beverley, A. D. 1456. Memoranda respecting the Corpus-Christi plays at Beverley. The form of the oath anciently taken by the XII governors. The old oath of the burgesses. The order of the archbishop of York in relation to some ill words spoken against the XII governors. A new order for the electing of the XII governors, 1488. Orders of the XII governors. Articles of an order taken in the Star Chamber, 27 Hen. VIII. concerning the yearly election of the XII governors. Ordinance by the governors, 1560. Ordinances made in the mayoralty of Richard Bullock. Orders, laws, &c. made by Robert Fayrer, mayor. Note concerning the timber growing in Westwood, sold to pay the town's debts. The orders of the ancient company or fraternity of Minstrels in Beverley. The ordinance of the young men called the iiij Yeomen in Saint Mary's parish. The ordinance, newly made, of the young men called Four Yeomen in the Minster parish. Fox's Hospital. An abstract of the charters in the chartulary of Beverley relating to the street called Newbiggin. Proposals for cleaning Beverley Beck. Answers to Mr. P——'s objections to Mr. W——'s proposals for cleansing Beverley Beck. Mr. Lelham's estimate for cleaning the said river. Notes by Mr. Warburton respecting Beverley. Pat. 4 Hen. V. reciting Athelstan's charter to Beverley. Memoranda concerning Beverley, from Leland's Itinerary. Mr. John Burnsell's manuscript Notes for additions to Camden's Britannia respecting Beverley. Extracts from some manuscript Notes by the Rev. Abraham de la Prime. Act of Parliament, 18 Geo. II. for cleansing and widening the creek called Beverley Beck, running into the river Hull.

Harleian MSS.

368, 5. p. 5. Heads of a petition exhibited to the lord President of the northern parts by the mayor and governors of Beverley, against Michael Warton, &c. 18th June. 1593.

433, 831. p. 70 b. To the governors &c. of the town of Beverley, 20 marks yearly till £100. be paide.

560. Codex chartaceus in 4to in quo continentur . . . 1. Collectiones de vita et miraculis D. Joh'is Beverl' transcriptæ ex veteri MS. Folcardi monachi cænobii Dorobernensis. 2. Libertates ecclesiæ Sci Joh'is Beverlacensis a regibus et principibus Anglorum &c. largiter collatæ et usq; in hodiernum diem usu vel consuetudinis attricione celebres obtentæ; quas magister Aluredus vir vitæ venerabilis, et prenominatæ ecclesiæ Sacrista, scripturarum studiosus Indagator, sicut a predecessoribus suis audierat et viderat, scripto commendavit, &c. Notandum, quod Cartæ quæ hic Anglo-Saxonice exhibentur, ab imperitissimo librario, mirè depravantur.

Archiepiscopal Archives in the city of York, the Constable MSS. &c. relative to Beverley and the surrounding villages. Added to this, a most valuable book of MS. evidences has been placed in my hands by the Rev. Mr. Coltman, called "A Book of the Fee of the Provost of Beverley." It contains a fund of information of which I have availed myself to the uttermost, as will be seen by the great number of references to it which are contained in the following pages.¹²

Of an unlimited access to other sources, through the partiality and kindness of private friends, I may reflect with pride and dilate with gratitude; for though I have been refused assistance from sources where it might, and ought to have been cheerfully conceded, yet I have the gratification of announcing the names of many patrons of science, who may indulge the pleasing consciousness of having contributed to the service of literature, of which, it is hoped, they will reap the benefits and enjoy the rewards.

To the Right Honourable Lord Hotham I beg to record my obligations for the materials from which the pedigree of his lordship's ancient family has been

1394. 314. Arms in the Minster, St. Mary's, and the Guildhall. 1584.

1415. 49. and 1571. Arms and seals of the town of Beverley.

2225. 2. Prebends formerly in the Collegiate church of Beverley, with their valuation, which were also in the Archbishop's gift.

4292. xvi. Codex membranaceus, continens Registrum S. Joh'is Beverlacensis, et exhibens nomina petentium libertatem, i. e. Sanctuarium, S. Joh'is pro homicidiis, temporis Henrici septimi et octavi nec non, (inverso ordine) Edwardi quarti.

This register contains seventy closely written folio pages.

6387. A quarto containing various notes relating to English History and Antiquities. At the beginning there is a list of mayors of Doncaster, between the years 1493 and 1641 inclusive; and interspersed throughout the book there is mention of several things relating to Beverley.

¹² This book is a folio, bound in calf, and appears to be a transcript from some more voluminous work, probably the original Registers of the Provostry, as it contains a record of transactions from the reign of Stephen to that of James. It is written in abbreviated latin, in the peculiar manuscript of the middle ages, but with different grades of execution, some parts being beautifully penned, and others so execrably written as to be almost illegible. It contains accounts of the early provosts; the privileges, immunities, and jurisdiction of the court; records of suit and service, homage and fealty, pleas of trespass, fines and deodands, description and transfers of property, forfeitures and alienations, rents and pensions, together with some charters, and a tolerably general and accurate account of the disposal of the monastic property throughout the district at the Reformation. The volume consists of four separate parts or books; the first is *paged* to 74; the second commences at 19, and is *paged* very irregularly, but concludes at 108. Book the third is numbered in folios as far as 22, when the regular series is interrupted by an index, and a long copy of letters-patent granted by King Philip and Queen Mary to Sir Henry Constable, knight; after which, fo. 23 occurs, and the numbers are uniform to 36, when the book concludes with another index, and several papers and directions to the Feodaries of the East-riding. The fourth book is *paged* from 1 to 83, subsequently to which it is numbered in folios to 96, when an index interposes, and it then proceeds in pages to 146, and concludes with another index. As a document of undoubted authority this volume is invaluable.

compiled; and to express my thanks for the polite attention which was so promptly afforded to further the purposes I had in view. From Richard Bethell, esq. of Rise, I received equal satisfaction on a similar subject.

The Rev. Joseph Coltman, with that unostentatious kindness which enhances obligation while it deprecates acknowledgment, voluntarily transmitted a bundle of papers on the subject of Beverley; and not only freely, and without intermission, assisted me with his advice, but undertook the arduous task of perusing several portions of the manuscript, and gave me the benefit of his suggestions for their improvement. Added to this, he entrusted me with two voluminous ancient manuscripts, one of which has been already noticed; and the other, engrossed on parchment and bound in oak, is "a Chartulary of the chantry of St. Catharine in the Collegiate church of St. John." I have also made use of this gentleman's "Short History," but I am not conscious of having purloined a single extract without prompt acknowledgment.

To Thomas Hull, esq. M. D. I am indebted for the entire article on Botany, (p. 516.) and some other useful documents which are acknowledged in the notes. This gentleman has also done me the honour of perusing a portion of the MS. and favouring me with a few hints, of which I have availed myself in the proper place. I must also thank his daughter, Miss Mary Jane, for several drawings of antiquities with which the work is illustrated.

The corporation of Beverley have forwarded about forty short extracts from the Court Books, all in the 17th century.

Barnard Clarkson, esq. of Kirkham Abbey, has furnished me with considerable information relative to the tumuli at Bishop-Burton; and has been extremely liberal in the loan of books and papers, which have been of great utility.

The kind co-operation of Robert Machell, esq. has improved that portion of the work which relates to Heraldry. Indeed, this gentleman is entitled to my acknowledgments in more respects than one, for he has rendered much assistance of too general a nature to be minutely particularized; and his conduct throughout the whole progress of the work has been characterized by an anxiety to afford every aid in his power.

Richard Almack, esq. of Long-Melford, Suffolk, has favoured me with some valuable papers, particularly an account of the Percy family as connected with the village of Leckonfield.

Francis Iveson, esq. with that honourable feeling which consults only the benefit of literature, and the credit of the town in which he resides; on the very

first announcement of my intention to compile this work, forwarded to me, unsolicited, several documents relating to the corporation, and also a bundle of papers and evidences respecting Watton Abbey.

I beg to return my best thanks to Charles Frost, esq. the ingenious author of "Notices relative to the early History of the Town and Port of Hull," for the loan of the twenty volumes of Rymer, the Rolls of Parliament, and M. Paris, all of which were absolutely essential to the perfection of my history.

In this enumeration of friends and contributors to the work, I must not omit the names of Thomas Thompson, esq. of Cottingham, the Rev. D. Ferguson of Walkington, John Walker, esq. of Malton, the Rev. W. Hunter of Cherry-Burton, Thomas Wharton, esq. of Hull, and Mr. English, the librarian of the Hull Subscription Library, whose kindness I beg to acknowledge.

It will be doing injustice to Mr. Willis, the corporation clerk, and Mr. Comins the architect, were I to omit their names in this catalogue of gentlemen from whom I have received assistance. The former examined and corrected my MS. chapter on the Corporation; and, more than once, accompanied me round the lordship, and explained many local peculiarities which appeared quite familiar to him, and his remarks were of essential service to me. He also communicated other information for which he has my thanks. Mr. Comins cheerfully afforded every facility in his power to aid my investigations in the Minster; and his son favoured me with some diagrams and drawings which were of great utility. Neither must I forget to notice the kindness of the churchwardens of St. Martin's and St. Mary's, who cheerfully gave up their time during my researches in the registers of their respective churches.

Mr. Turner, the publisher of this work, had employed his leisure during the last twenty years in making collections for a History of Beverley; and so long ago as the year 1818, he placed his materials in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Watts of Pockthorpe, to be arranged and digested into a regular form for publication. But the subsequent illness and death of that gentleman prevented the design from being carried into effect. Mr. Watts's papers fell into the possession of Mr. Iveson, and were placed in my hands in 1827, together with Mr. Turner's augmented documents, when the design was finally committed to me. These papers contained an unfinished description of the Minster, portions of which have been incorporated into the second Chapter of the third Part of the present work, and a translation from Alured in X Scriptores, of the seduction of a nun in the convent at Watton. This I have carefully compared with the original, and with many alterations, have

inserted it in the proper place. I must here give Mr. Turner the credit, during the progress of the work, of being unceasingly active in his search after records and useful papers; and every source from whence even the most trifling information was anticipated has been ransacked with ceaseless industry; often, indeed, in vain; but frequently with the most happy success.

To all my friends I return my most sincere acknowledgments. The liberal manner in which their assistance was afforded, has been highly gratifying during every stage of the proceedings, and has left an impression on my mind which time can never efface.

The graphic department has been committed to the exclusive management of Mr. Britton, who has rendered himself so deservedly celebrated by his "Architectural Antiquities," and other equally splendid publications.

Thus have I faithfully stated the original sources from which the following history was compiled; and the extent of reading and general research which have been used to embellish its pages may be estimated from the notes, references, and authorities which are appended to illustrate the text. I have been careful not to make any important insertion without the sanction of some respectable authority, except in the most early period; and when conjecture was of necessity used, I have been uniformly directed by the corresponding circumstances of the times and the voice of general history, corroborated by local appearances, and authenticated by ancient remains. The undertaking was arduous, but not absolutely hopeless; for the greatest obstacles may be surmounted by patient industry and steady resolution.

Sedit, qui timuit ne non succederet: esto
 Quid? qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter? Atqui
 Hic est, aut nusquam, quod quærimus. Hic onus horret,
 Ut parvis animis et parvo corpore majus:
 Hic subit, et perfert. Aut virtus nomem inane est,
 Aut decus et pretium rectè petit experiens vir.

HOR. EPIST. XVII.

GREAT GRIMSBY, May 1st, 1829.

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Vide page 42.

CONTENTS.

Dedication	PAGE iii
Preface	v

Part I.

CHAPTER I.

THE BRITONS.—Ancient site of Beverley—Enquiry after the true situation of Petuaria—Druid Temple at Godmanham—Tumuli at Arras—Druid's town or Drewton—Rites of the insular sanctuary—Ancient British road—Authorities for placing Petuaria at Beverley—Tumuli at Bishop-Burton—Origin of the name of Bever-Lac—General opinion erroneous—British derivations—Mythological observances—Original planters of Britain—Pheryllt—Cymri—Sanctity of the druidical character—Consecrated groves—Initiation—Consecrated lakes—Mystical ceremonies and legends—Etymologies—Mythological Beaver—Corporation Seals—Druids established in the wood of Deira—Ancient religious festival at Beverlac—Horrid rites and ceremonies there 1

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMANS.—Their first appearance in Deira—Treachery of Cartismunda—Caractacus—Bravery and activity of the Britons—Romans introduce the Arts—People and cultivate the wood of Deira—Improve the appearance of the country—Accounts of the first Christian establishment there examined—Introduction of Christianity into Britain—Doctrines of the Druids compared with Christianity—The inhabitants of Deira embrace the new religion—Lucius converted—His history examined—Evidences of the existence of Christianity at this period—Druidism deeply planted—A church erected at Beverlac probable—Name of the site of this edifice—its derivation and reference—Progress of Christianity—Errors of Pelagius—Romans forsake the island. 16

CHAPTER III.

THE SAXONS.—The Saxons hate both Druidism and Christianity—Seize on the kingdom—Commit desperate ravages—Destroy the church in Deirwold—Abolish Christianity—Pope Gregory—Is struck with the beauty of some youthful slaves from Deira—Commissions Augustine to convert the Anglo-Saxons—Ethelbert converted—Saxon temples converted into Christian churches—King Edwin convenes a solemn assembly in Deirwold, to deliberate on the propriety of embracing the Christian religion—Arguments of Paulinus—successful—Coiffi, the Pagan High Priest, desecrates the Temple of Thor at Godmanham—Edwin baptized—The people converted by thousands, and baptized in the river Swale. 29

CHAPTER IV.

PAGE

THE SAXONS.—The Saxons acquainted with the elementary principles of architecture—Christianity flourishes in Deira—Probable that the church at Beverlac was re-edified by that people—Invasion of Cadwallo and Penda—Edwin slain—Druidism restored at Beverlac by Cadwallo and his Druids—Splendid rites of worship celebrated there—Excesses at these festivals—Oswald patronizes the Christians—The wood of Deira polluted—JOHN OF BEVERLEY BORN—Acquires a high degree of reputation—Jurisdiction of the Pope—Wilfrid appeals to his holiness against a decree of the synod—The Pope supports his cause, and pronounces judgment in his favour—John of Beverley consecrated Bishop of Hagulstad—His singular activity in that high situation—Miracles attributed to him—John elevated to the archiepiscopal see of York—Visits Beverlac—Charmed with the beauty of its situation—Rebuilds the church—Founds a double monastery—St. Martin's church—Style and character of the buildings—Endowments—Church of St. Nicholas—This establishment highly advantageous to the cause of Christianity—Origin of collegiate churches—Temporal jurisdiction of the Abbots—Courts—Persevering industry of the religious orders—John vacates his see, and retires to Beverley—Dies, and is buried there—Influence attached to the name of John of Beverley. 37

CHAPTER V.

THE DANES AND SAXONS.—The Danes—Comparative view of the Roman, Saxon, and Danish character—Danes in the province of Deira—their ravages—Monastery of St. John of Beverley destroyed—Partially restored—Athelstan—Gives a charter to the town of Beverley—Privilege of sanctuary to the church—This privilege illustrated—Fridstol—Origin of the privilege of sanctuary—Athelstan pledges his knife at the altar of St. John—Victory over the Scots—Grants to the church and town—Archbishops of York reside at Beverley—Riches of St. John's tomb—Three new offices constituted in the church—Hospital of St. Giles built at Beverley—St. John canonized, and his bones enshrined—Fairs established—Ancient laws respecting fairs—Tower built to the Minster, and bells introduced—History of bells—Minster decorated by Aldred—Character of the fabric before the Norman Conquest. 53

Part II.

CHAPTER I.

THE NORMANS.—William the Conqueror resolves to reduce the power of the church—Oppresses the clergy—Insurrection in the north—Quelled—The king issues an order to ravage the county of York—Extraordinary judgments inflicted on the party who were deputed to desecrate the Minster at Beverley—The property of this church exempted, by royal proclamation, from injury—Archbishop Aldred dies—Provostship constituted—The island divided among the Normans—Tenures—Inconveniences of the system—Terms in Domesday explained—Property of the Archbishop of York in Beverley and the neighbourhood—Property of the canons of St. John described—Disputed claims—Observations—Population of Beverley at this time—Wood of Deira—Town of Beverley, how divided and occupied—Ferme—Mills—Extent. 65

CHAPTER II.

Comparison of ancient and modern manners—Thurstan grants a charter to the town—Canal from the river Hull, called Beverley Beck—Thurstan builds the chapel of St. Mary—His privileges as the lord of the town—King Stephen's charter—Rebellion of Eustace Fitzjohn

	PAGE
—his ravages, in conjunction with the Scots—Battle of Cuton-Moor—Henry Murdac, Archbishop of York, resides at Beverley—Stephen contemplates the fortification of the town—Is deterred from his purpose by a vision—Charter of Henry II.—Thomas à Becket provost of Beverley—Town and Minster consumed by fire—Public offices put to sale—Fee-farm rents of Beverley—Disputes in the town—Disgrace of the Archbishop—King John visits Cottingham—and Beverley—View of the town and its inhabitants—Miracle there—Commandery of St. John founded—Disputes between the Archbishop and the Canons of Beverley—Property conveyed to the church—Provost of Beverley—Streets paved—Fines and taxes—Arrangement respecting the navigation of the river Hull—Chivalry—Superiority of the Beverley cloths—Charters of Henry III.	82

CHAPTER III.

Injustice and extortion—Commission of enquiry—Instances of crime at Beverley—The Archbishop grants Fegang and Byscopdynges to the burgesses—Hospital of Saint Giles assigned to the priory of Wartre—Enumeration and explanation of the rights of the Archbishop in Beverley—Disputes respecting private property—Charter of Edward I.—Donations to the church—Taxation of Pope Nicholas—War between England and Scotland—First parliament or assembly of lords and commons—Standard of John of Beverley conveyed to Scotland—Victory over the Scots—Hostilities renewed—Second victory—Banner replaced—Edward I. visits Beverley—Grants liberties to the church—Minster restored—House of the Franciscan Friars erected—Enumeration of many detached private transactions which took place at Beverley about this period—The king pays a second visit to the town.	106
---	-----

CHAPTER IV.

Provost's court—House of Black Friars erected—Writ to arrest false procurators—War with Scotland renewed—Commission of array—Suburbs of York burnt—Archbishop of York vanquished by the Scots—Soldiers raised at Beverley—Church of Saint Mary endowed—Decoration of the Minster—Commission of array—Town of Beverley reluctant to provide the stipulated number of soldiers for the Scottish wars—Edward III. visits Beverley—The bailiffs of Beverley pay a fine to the king to be released from the conscription—Naval armament—Extensive trade of Beverley—Donations to the church—Pardon to Grithmen at Beverley—Invasion of the Scots—Vanquished by the Archbishop of York—Humility of the inhabitants of Beverley during the conflict.	122
---	-----

CHAPTER V.

Motives of pious men in devoting a portion of their goods to the church—Nave of the Minster erected—Endowments—Dispute between the towns of Beverley and Hull about tolls—Charter of Richard II.—Comparative importance of the town of Beverley—Attack on the Archbishop and his attendants by the mayor and bailiffs of Hull—The Archbishop assigns Westwood to the burgesses of Beverley—Enlargement and decoration of the Minster church—Sanctuary claimed—Some demagogues threaten to burn the town—The Archbishop forcibly expels the canons from their benefices—Litigation—Canons restored—Bridge at Beverley built—Ordinance for the better government of the college—Twelve governors appointed by charter—Ake's chantry founded—Henry IV. favours the town—Horrible punishments—Charters of Henry V.—Infamous attempt at murder—Festivals ordained by royal authority on the days of John of Beverley's death and translation—Charter of Henry VI.—Dispute between Beverley and South-Cave—Dispute between Beverley and Hull—Henry VI. visits Beverley—Several grants of that monarch enumerated—Civil war.	136
---	-----

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE

General view of the town—Dwelling-houses—Pavements—Fortifications—Parish churches—Religious houses—Minster—Influence of the church—Fraternity of minstrels—Richard Cockerell of Beverley attainted of high treason—Charter of Edward IV.—Trinities founded—Disputes between the governors and burgesses—Ordinance of the Archbishop—Seven rectors incorporated—Sanctuary claimed—Earl of Northumberland murdered by the populace—His splendid funeral at Beverley—Sanctuary once more claimed—Ordinances of the four yeomen—Style of living in this age—Northumberland household book—Tower of St. Mary's church falls—Rebuilt—Tabernacle work over the stalls in the Minster built—Charter of Henry VIII.—Two fellowships founded in Saint John's college, Cambridge, for the benefit of natives of Beverley. 162

CHAPTER VII.

Commencement of the Reformation—Visitation of the monasteries—Income of the Collegiate church—Dispute renewed between Beverley and Hull—Referred to the abbot of Meaux—Decision—Dissolution of the smaller monasteries—"The Pilgrimage of Grace"—Alleged vices of the monks—General dissolution of the religious houses—Grant towards the repairs of the Minster—Dispute respecting tolls between Beverley and Hull—Burgesses of Beverley petition the queen—Dispute finally settled by arbitration—Charters of Elizabeth—Chantry property granted to the churches at Beverley—Timber in Westwood felled—The town much impoverished—Exempted from payment of certain taxes during the queen's pleasure—Hurricane—The inhabitants visited by the plague—Its horrid progress—Charter of Charles I.—Misapplication of church funds—Inquisition and decree. 180

CHAPTER VIII.

Disputes between the king and parliament—Scottish war—King Charles at Beverley—Sir John Hotham appointed governor of Hull—The king appears before Hull, and demands admission—Is refused—Declares Hotham a traitor—The parliament sanction Hotham's conduct by a vote of thanks—Violence of the parliament—Preparations for war—Charles attempts to get possession of Hull by stratagem, and is assisted by a gentleman of Beverley—The plan detailed—Is unsuccessful—Active operations commenced by both parties—Charles places a garrison at Hull-Bridge, and stations himself at Beverley with his whole court—Lays siege to Hull—Returns to Beverley—and York. 198

CHAPTER IX.

Consternation of the inhabitants of Beverley after the king's departure—London merchants arrive at Beverley, and petition for leave to sell their goods—Precautions for strengthening the town—Parliamentary troops take possession of it—Sir John Hotham apprehended at Beverley—Battle in the streets between the Earl of Newcastle and Sir T. Fairfax—Troops of the latter routed—Royalists sack the town—Commission for a treaty of peace—Practices of the independents—Trial and execution of the king—Change of measures—Pews built in the Minster nave. 216

CHAPTER X.

The Restoration—Purgation of the borough—Charter of Charles II.—Relics of St. John of Beverley discovered—Pestilence at Beverley—Excommunications—Charter of James II.—Election contest in 1685—Costly present to St. Mary's church from the London merchants—Suit between Hull and Beverley—Abdication of king James—Extensive preparations for repairing and beautifying the Minster—North gable screwed up—Ornaments and decorations—Election contests of 1722 and 1727—Improvement of the Beck—Excommunications. 232

CHAPTER XI.

PAGE

Accession of George III.—Drainage—Act for augmenting the revenues of the curates of the Minster—War with America—Hull Dock act—Addresses and petitions—French Revolution—Beverley volunteers—Scarcity of corn—Attack on the king—Depredations—Act for appointing an additional assistant curate—Act for lighting and watching the town—Superb illumination for Peace—Illumination for queen Caroline—Coronation festival—Improvements in the Minster—Gas works—Balloon. 248

Part III.

TOPOGRAPHY, STATISTICS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

PERAMBULATION OF THE TOWN.—Retrospect—General description—Beck-side—Site of Saint Nicholas's church—Gas works—The Minster—Hall-garth—Black Friars—Grey Friars—Keldgate—Routh's hospital—Grammar School—Lairgate—Theatre—Hospital of St. Giles—Independent Meeting-house—Church Methodist chapel—Catfos—Newbigging—East-riding Bank—Maison-de-Dieu—Quakers' Meeting-house—Hengate—Saint Mary's church—Norwood—Pick-hill—Fairs—Court of Pie-powder—Assembly-rooms—News-room—Constitutional Lodge of Free Masons—Beverley Bank—North-Bar—Cockstulepit-lane—Sessions-hall—Saturday Market—Market Cross—Shambles—Corn Exchange—Lady-gate—Post office—Guildhall—Trinities—Wednesday Market—Ranters' Meeting-house—Minster-moorgate—Work-houses—Fox's hospital—Charles Warton's hospital—Sir Michael Warton's hospital—Graves's Free School—Wesleyan Methodist chapel—Baptist Meeting-house—Tymperon's hospital—Common pastures—Concluding remarks. 265

CHAPTER II.

PERAMBULATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE MINSTER.—Superiority of style and decoration—Site—Materials—Dimensions—East end—North porch—West front—South transepts—Galilee—Sanctuary—General view of the interior—West door—Nave—Aisles—Sisters' tomb—Font—Contrast between the east and west windows—Transept—Tomb of George Percy, clerk—Ancient tomb and altar—Organ screen—Choir—East window—Stalls—Tabernacle work—Pulpit—Altar screen—Percy shrine—Colonnade—Lady-chapel—Hatchments—Reading desk—Vestry—Fridstol—Percy chapel—Armorial bearings—Reflections. 305

CHAPTER III.

ACCOUNT OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH.—Origin—Endowment—Church of St. Nicholas—Union of the two parishes—Value of the living—Services—Description of the fabric—Exterior—Interior—Nave—Inscriptions—Font—Organ—Galleries—Transept—Decayed chapel—Chancel—Monuments—Ceiling—Hatchments—Stalls—Crypt—Church-yard—Income of the parish—Perambulation—Population—Plate, vestments, &c.—List of vicars. 345

CHAPTER IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE CORPORATION.—Mayor—Recorder—Aldermen—Capital burgesses—Common council—Town clerk—Corporation clerk—Inferior officers—Burgesses—Court of Record—Courts Leet and Baron—View of Frank Pledge—Quarter Sessions—Sheriff's tourn—

Gaol—Members of parliament—Right of election—Exemption from tolls—List of charters—Jurisdiction—Arms and seals—Officers of the corporation—List of representatives—List of abbots—Provosts—Mayors—Recorders—Town clerks—Chamber clerks.	366
---	-----

CHAPTER V.

Donations and Bequests—Charitable institutions supported by voluntary contribution—Society for promoting Christian knowledge—Clerical fund—Tract society—Bible society—Dispensary—Lying-in charity—Bank for Savings.	401
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

Present state of the town—Morality—Friendly societies—Learning—Trade.	413
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

GAMES, AMUSEMENTS, AND CUSTOMS.—Bull baiting—Badger baiting—Cock fighting—Corpus-Christi plays—Boy bishop—Minstrels—Cucking stool—Stange—Football—Angling—Races—Social amusements—Chairing a member of parliament.	421
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

BIOGRAPHY.—John of Beverley—Archbishop Thomas—Archbishop Thurstan—Archbishop Murdac—Alured of Beverley—Philip Ingelbert—Bishop Alcocke—Bishop Fisher—Robert Ingram—Bishop Green—Lawrence Whitaker—Mary Woolstoncraft Godwin—Dr. Reynolds—William Wilson—Richard Sissison—Thomas Clarke.	433
---	-----

Part IV.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ADJACENT VILLAGES.

CHAPTER I.

COTTINGHAM	458
------------	-----

CHAPTER II.

LECKONFIELD—(Percy Family)	472
----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER III.

North and South-Burton—Walkington—Risby—Scorbrough—The hamlets comprised within the liberties of Beverley, viz :—Molescroft, Storkhill-cum-Sandholm, Tickton-cum-Hull-Bridge, Weel, Woodmansey-cum-Beverley-Parks, Thearne, and Eske—Botany of the district.	488
--	-----

CHAPTER IV.

ABBEY OF WATTON	520
-----------------	-----

CHAPTER V.

ABBEY OF MEAUX OR MELSA	434
-------------------------	-----

APPENDIX.

	PAGE
A—Charter of Athelstan	543
B—Sanctuary Oath	544
C—Charter of Archbishop Thurstan	545
D—Petition of Archbishop Bowet for the restitution of his rights, and the King's Answer	545
F—Extracts from the Northumberland Household Book	547
G—Proclamation of King Charles I.	548
H—Petition to the same monarch at Beverley	550
I—Charter of Charles II.	551
K—Charter of James II.	554
L—Court of Sheriff's Tourne	555
M—The order of the famous company or fraternity of Minstrels in Beverley	557
N—Additions and emendations	559

EMBELLISHMENTS.

1 The Minster Church	to face the title
2 Druidical ceremony of drawing the Avanc, or mythological Beaver out of the Lake	xv
3 Antiquities, (Plate 1.)	to face page 4
4 Antiquities, (Plate 2.)	to face page 7
5 Gateway of the Franciscan Monastery	64
6 Jar found in the ruins of Watton Abbey	81
7 Ancient Cross near Bishop-Burton	105
8 Font in St. Mary's Church	161
9 View of the Old Grammar School	280
10 Sessions Hall	289
11 Market Place and Cross	291
12 Distant view of the Minster	305
13 North Transept of the Minster	312
14 Machine for screwing up the Gable, (No. 1.)	to face page 313
15 Ditto ditto (No. 2.)	
16 Percy Shrine	to face page 336
17 St. Mary's Church	to face page 345
18 Crypt in St. Mary's Church	359
19 Race Stand	420
20 Cottingham Church	457
21 Autograph of Henry, fifth Earl of Northumberland	476
22 Ancient Elm Tree at Bishop-Burton	479
23 Seat of R. Watt, Esq. at ditto	491
24 Bishop-Burton Church	492

	PAGE
25 Walkington Church - - - - -	504
26 North-West view of Watton Abbey - - - - -	529
27 East view of ditto - - - - -	530
28 View of North-Bar - - - - -	564
29 Pedigree to shew the connection between the Percy and Arundel Families -	335
30 Pedigree of Heron - - - - -	340
31 Pedigree of Stuteville - - - - -	459
32 Pedigree of De Wake - - - - -	462
33 Pedigrees of Percy and Louvaine - - - - -	481
34 Pedigree of Gee - - - - -	496
35 Pedigree of Ellerker - - - - -	508
36 Pedigree of Hotham - - - - -	509
37 Pedigree of Warton - - - - -	515
38 Pedigree of Bethell - - - - -	533
39 Pedigree of Machell - - - - -	562
40 Pedigree of Bassett - - - - -	564
41 Table of the population of Beverley cum membris in the year 1821 -	271
42 Table of Curates of the Minster - - - - -	274
43 Table of Rectors of St. Nicholas - - - - -	347
44 Table shewing a comparative view of the number of communicants at St. Mary's in 1698 and 1826 - - - - -	348
45 Table of Vicars of St. Mary's - - - - -	364
46 Table of Corporation Charters - - - - -	378
47 Table of Beverley Races, 1828 - - - - -	431
48 Table of Rectors of Cottingham - - - - -	469
49 Table of Vicars of Cottingham - - - - -	470
50 Table of Rectors of Cherry-Burton - - - - -	498
51 Table of Rectors of Walkington - - - - -	505
52 Table of Botanical Plants - - - - -	518

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

BEVERLEY.

PART I.

The Britons.

Chap. I.

Ancient site of Beverley—Enquiry after the true situation of Petuaria—Druid Temple at Godmanham—Tumuli at Arras—Druid's Town or Drennton—Rites of the insular sanctuary—Ancient British road—Authorities for placing Petuaria at Beverley—Tumuli at Bishop-Burton—Origin of the name of Bever-Lac—General opinion erroneous—British derivations—Mythological observances of the druidical priesthood—Original planters of Britain—Pheryllt—Cymri—Sanctity of the druidical character—Consecrated groves—Initiation—Consecrated Lakes—Mystical Ceremonies, and Legends—Etymologies of remarkable names now used in Beverley—Mythological Beaver—Corporation Seals—Druids established in the wood of Deira—Ancient religious Festival at Beverlac—Horrid rites and ceremonies there.

THE town of Beverley is situated in the East-riding of Yorkshire, a division of the county which was termed by the aboriginal Britons—Dwyvawr or Deifyr,¹ in allusion to the universal deluge, a tradition of which was preserved by the Druids;

¹ Welsh Triad, in "Jones's Ancient Relics," p. 11.

for Dwyvawr amongst these priests, was the Great Father or Pangenetor of Antiquity, or in other words, Noah. It was afterwards denominated by the Saxons, Deira. The narrow promontory which terminates at the Spurn was distinguished by the name of Cava Deira, Low or Hollow Deira; and because its form bears some resemblance to the human nose, the syllable Ness was subsequently added either by accident or design, and it was termed Hol-deira-ness, the nose of Hollow Deira, which soon became softened into its present name, Holderness.²

The site of Beverley was in the deep recesses of an extensive wood called Deir-wold; and, from circumstances of vital importance to the religion of the primitive inhabitants, it acquired the local appellation which it still retains of *Llyn yr Avanc*, the Beaver Lake in the wood of Deira.

Many topographical writers, after a laborious and indefatigable research into the origin and antiquity of the places which they propose to illustrate, have found occasion to lament the want of success with which their most anxious endeavours have been rewarded. Numerous are the towns in this island which had risen to some considerable degree of civil, if not political importance before they were known to history, or invested with the record of common tradition. To this uncertainty is owing much of the darkness with which the primitive history of Britain is obscured. There can be little doubt but the town of Beverley had a being long before it was dignified with its present characteristic name. And when this distinguishing appellation was imposed, it doubtless possessed a direct reference to certain mythological rites which marked the spot as the consecrated seat of ancient superstition.

Dark and dreary is the period now under our consideration. The mists of oblivion have enclosed it. A few weak and scattered rays dimly shed their illuminating beams over its surface, and are scarcely able to penetrate the dense atmosphere which overshadows the bright abode of truth. By these feeble coruscations must our enquiries be directed; and with the aid of collateral and presumptive evidence they will probably enable us to pronounce, with a confidence approaching almost to certainty, a decisive opinion on the primitive state of this interesting spot, which to this day bears a mythological name, descriptive of the mysterious rites and awful ceremonies which in times far distant were solemnized within its precincts.

² *Lel. Collect.* vol. iii. p. 99. *Lye's Sax. Dict.* in v. Holderness.

Many opinions have been advanced respecting the situation of the ancient Petuaria, and it appears exceedingly probable that those who have placed it at Beverley have the most substantial evidence to confirm their conjectures. The primitive name of the district *Deifyr* or *Dwyvawr* is a sufficient testimony that it was occupied by the Britons, and appropriated to commemorations of the most ineffable nature, which were solemnized on this very spot, as will be proved hereafter. The wood was inhabited by the Druids, who adopted this situation for the performance of their tremendous rites. But the most important religious stations of this people were always placed under the protection of a petty prince or chieftain to guard their hallowed rites from vulgar profanation.

We are furnished with sufficient evidence to prove that an ancient druid temple existed at Godmanhan,³ which contained an oracle,⁴ and consequently had its regular establishment of Druids, Bards, and Eubates, who resided on the spot, or in the neighbouring wood of Deira, which, from its local appellation, was undoubtedly the principal wood in this state or kingdom.⁵ At Arras, in the immediate vicinity of Godmanham, several tumuli have been recently opened, and the contents are decidedly British. "Their form is circular, and in size generally small; in some instances, indeed, so slightly elevated above the surface as to be nearly indistinct; they are numerous, and placed at no very distant intervals: each contains a single skeleton, and with few exceptions, pretty entire, not mutilated, nor rendered otherwise imperfect, than what the ravages of time may easily account for. In every instance the bodies were interred pretty nearly on the same level, whatever might have been the elevation of the tumulus; and this may be considered at about two feet below the surface at the present day, invariably resting on a dry bed of chalk. The position of the body, with one or two exceptions, was in the direction of North and South.

"Upon the bones of the fore arm of several were found bracelets of brass, variously ornamented and well executed: some were quite plain, and fastened at their extremities in different ways; in some instances, the two extremities lapped over each other, and were kept together by their own elasticity; in others, a small hole was made at one extremity fitted to receive a point made at the other, like

³ Bede. Ecc. Hist. l. ii, c. 13.

⁴ Gibs. Camd. col. 738.

⁵ The Kingdom of Deira comprehended Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Durham. Usher. Primord. p. 394. Gibs. Camd. col. 706.

many of the key rings of the present day. In one instance, and only one, we found a similar ornament round the bones of the leg, which I have now in my possession. Jet ornaments, amber and brass rings, were found in several of the barrows, but no coins, nor any thing bearing the slightest resemblance to weapons or implements of a domestic nature.

"The most valuable curiosity found here is now in the possession of Mr. Stillingfleet, discovered near to the high road, consisting of the iron rim of a chariot wheel: along with this were found several brass ornaments and a chain, which appear to have been appendages to the chariot or harness, though at present it is difficult to explain their use.

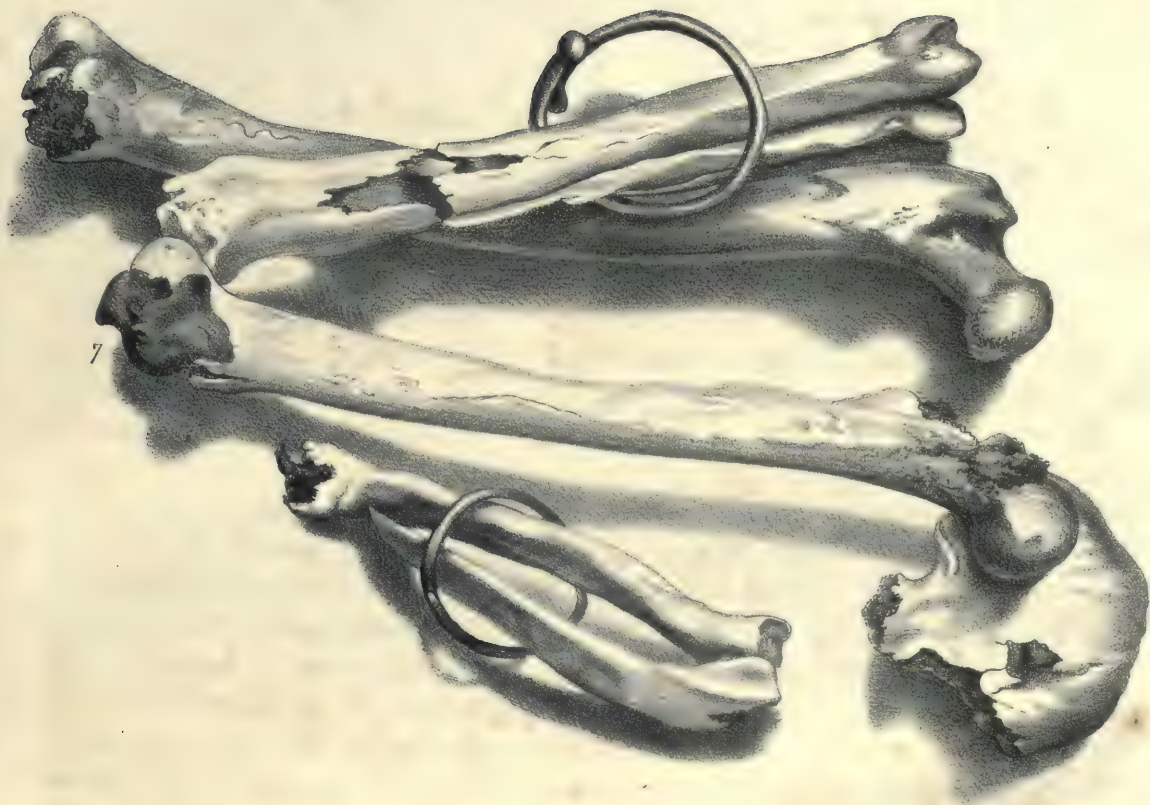
"I have stated that, in general, the bodies were not found mutilated. There may have been two or three exceptions. The bones I have now in my possession afford a striking instance to that effect.* They consist of part of the oss ilium, the thigh and leg bones, with the knee bent upwards, of the left side, with the brass ornament round the leg; the thigh bone of the right side is placed under the leg bone of the left; and near to these lay the bones of a left fore-arm, not belonging to the same body, but apparently much younger, ornamented with a bracelet.

"The ground occupied by these tumuli, seems obviously to have been enclosed by what still appear to be marks of a regular and defined boundary, and when all circumstances are considered, connected with the nature and character of the tumuli and their contents, as well as its situation along the line of the old Roman way, it is more than probable, that it has been a burial ground attached to a Romanized British settlement."⁶ It was indeed an ancient place of sepulture, and had been, doubtless, used for that purpose by the primitive inhabitants of this island.⁷

* Vid. page 4, Fig. 7.

⁶ Letter from Dr. Hull of Beverley, to Mr. Hinderwell of Scarborough.

⁷ The Rev. E. Stillingfleet and B. Clarkson, Esq. opened about two hundred barrows at Arras, in the month of May, 1817, and found a variety of ornaments, which I do not hesitate to pronounce British. In almost every tumulus they opened, as I am informed by Mr. Clarkson himself, was found a human skeleton; some very perfect, and others in every stage of decay. Some had rings of brass upon their arms; and one had a torques of brass round the neck. A great number of brass and iron ornaments were found, such as rings, brooches, &c. One tumulus contained a skeleton of a horse on one side of the interment, and that of a pig on the other; and near the horse were two very large bridle bits, one of fine brass, very neatly wrought, and the other of iron much corroded. In the same barrow were two chariot wheels of about three feet in diameter, and the rim two inches wide. The boss of a shield of iron was found by the side of one skeleton, and a string of coloured glass beads by the side of another; all of which are striking indications of a British settlement.





In the neighbourhood of Beverley, is a village which retains the name of Druid's Town (*Drewton*) to this day; and near to it is a remarkable vestige of the religious worship of that priesthood. This consists of a gigantic upright stone, natural or artificial, which was unquestionably a primitive rock idol, placed in an open space within the wood, and serving as an object of devotion to the native Britons.⁸

The rites of insular sanctuary were performed periodically by the Druids, at some convenient distance from the temple, and in situations which possessed the natural advantages of a river or lake in the centre of a grove of trees. And on the spot where Beverley now stands, these priests found every thing prepared by nature for their purpose. Here were lakes and pools of water in the midst of open spaces in the wood; hills, a rivulet, and every convenience for the performance of their rites; a situation which they would appropriate to themselves with eager avidity, as in this part of the country no other place presented equal facilities for these mysterious celebrations. Near this spot then, the petty chieftain would throw up his embankments, and fix his residence as the monarch of his tribe. Accordingly, traces of an ancient road, supposed to be British, and certainly used by the Romans, have been discovered leading from Godmanham by Beverley to Patrington or Spurn.⁹ Two Roman tessellated pavements have been discovered at South Burton;¹⁰ and at Swine, and other places on this line of road, several brass instruments called celts have been thrown up;¹¹ a certain indication of British occupancy; for these instruments were undoubtedly used by the original population

⁸ The Druids did not worship idols in the human, or any other shape; because one of their tenets inculcated the invisibility of the deity, and that consequently he ought to be adored without being seen. But we are told that they did sometimes erect, in retired places, statues of Isis or Ceridwen; Borl. Ant. Corn. p. 105; and these must have been gigantic stones, rough as when taken from the quarry, the *βασιλεύς* of the eastern nations; which were ritually consecrated by anointing them with oil, and investing them with peculiar and distinctive properties. Dr. Gordon says, that the Irish peasants still pay these upright stones an awful respect. Vid. Hutchinson Hist. Cumb. vol. i. p. 243.

The first Christian missionaries found the people so deeply impressed with an idea of the peculiar sanctity of this stone at Drewton, that nothing could divert them from assembling round it periodically to offer up their customary devotions. They chose it therefore as the scene of their own exertions in the cause of truth; and here it is said, St. Augustine boldly planted the sacred emblem of Christianity, and like St. Paul, in the Areopagus, intrepidly preached the true religion to idolaters from the altar of their own superstition. Hence the rock retains the name of Austin's Stone unto this day. It is a stone of great magnitude, being upwards of twelve feet in height, composed of grey stone, and situated on the declivity of a hill.

⁹ Phil. Trans. vol. xlv, p. 355. ¹⁰ Drake. Ebor. p. 30. Gent. Ripon, p. 77.

¹¹ Thompson. Swine, p. 217.

of Britain, though the precise purpose to which they were applied has not been satisfactorily ascertained.¹²

The natural appearance of the country, even at this distant period, indicates the existence of a road in the direction here specified; for after all the improvements which the present superior knowledge of agriculture have made upon it, a distinct ridge along the site of this road is still perceptible; and the country on each side remains so low, as to make it evident that, in its unimproved state, it was little better than an extensive morass, partially covered with wood, and with the exception of a few insulated tracts slightly elevated, and of small dimensions, no part of it capable of being converted into a road without incredible labour and expense; and no traces remain to induce a belief that such labour had been bestowed on any part of it. Richard of Cirencester, evidently refers to Beverley when he mentions *Petuaria*;¹³ Camden confidently pronounces Beverley to be the ancient *Petuaria*;¹⁴ and Drake, from personal investigation, appears to entertain the same opinion. His words are, "Beverley has the votes of some on this account; near which, a few years ago, was discovered in a field a curious Roman tessellated pavement, which is a stronger argument in its behalf than any of the former."¹⁵

¹² Sir Joseph Banks was of opinion that these instruments were used for the purpose of hollowing out large trees into canoes, *Archæol.* vol. xix, p. 102. Mr. Whittaker thinks that the celt was a British battle axe; *Hist. Manchest.* vol. i, p. 17. 8vo. Dr. Plot pronounces it a Roman instrument, and supposes it to have been a rest to support the *Lituus*; *Hist. Staffordsh.* p. 403. Hearne calls it a chissel; *Letter to Mr. Thoresby.* *Lel. Itin.* Leland makes it a spear head; *Collect.* vol. iii, p. 7; and Borlase offers the same opinion; *Ant. Corn.* p. 268. It is with great deference to these high authorities that I presume to offer a conjecture. The opinions of Hearne and Dr. Plot appear to be the widest from the truth; those of Whittaker and Sir Joseph Banks are ingenious; but those of Leland and Dr. Borlase are the most probable. I am induced to think that as the celt possesses but one *ear*, it cannot have been intended for a battle axe, or an axe of any kind. The ear could not have been used with any effect towards fastening the staff or handle to the blade with a ligature, because a corresponding convenience on the opposite side would have been necessary to convey the requisite security and firmness to the machinery. An axe is used for cutting, but the handle of the celt being in a line with the blade, would form a most inconvenient instrument to produce that effect. I conceive that the celt was intended for the upper end of a banner staff, and to the ear was attached the streamer by which every war chariot was distinguished. In cases of emergency, this instrument might be converted into a formidable offensive weapon, and in the hands of a resolute Briton, inspired by the din of battle, might inflict considerable execution on the enemy.

¹³ *De Situ. Brit.* l. i. c. 6. ¹⁴ *Gough.* vol. iii. p. 247. ¹⁵ *Gibs.* col. 738.

¹⁵ Drake. *Ebor.* p. 30. I have a very old *Gazetteer* or *Dictionary* in my possession, without a title, but which appears to be at least two hundred years old, and the explanation it attaches to the word *Petuaria*, is "Beverley in Yorkshire." This is followed by Ainsworth in his *Latin Dictionary*, and many other authorities.





It is absolutely certain, however, that a very populous colony of Britons was established on this very spot. Traces of ancient tumuli are "found widely dispersed on the whole range of wolds, extending to the neighbourhood of Malton; and though many still remain unexamined, yet from their size, form, and general appearance," says Dr. Hull, "I am disposed to consider them of a similar character with those we have examined in this neighbourhood. Many tumuli are found on the estate of Richard Watt, esq. at Bishop-Burton, and in one field of about thirty acres, we opened ten. Their form was circular, but differing very considerably in size, varying from ten to four feet in elevation; and from one hundred to twenty in diameter. In these we found no skeletons, no ornaments, no coins. In three we found urns, in the others a mixture of bones and charcoal, but no urns. Two of the urns were placed with their mouths downwards, of a smaller size, and corresponding with those described by Borlase, found at Trelo-warren and in Gwythian parish, Cornwall.¹⁶ The one now in my possession, which is represented in the adjoining sketch, was found placed upright, and is much larger than the rest.¹⁷

"In those tumuli which contained an intermixture of bones and charcoal, the earth was found to feel greasy between the fingers, and to yield a faint cadaverous smell. The tumulus, from which we obtained this urn, was seventy-four feet in diameter, and seven feet and a half in elevation. It was placed in the centre of the barrow, about four feet below the surface of the adjoining ground. It had no lid or outward covering, which, I believe is generally the case; the upper part of the urn being filled with earth closely pressed, and with difficulty separated from its internal surface. Uninclosed, and within eighteen inches of the urn, was found a collection of bones, in larger pieces, and not so well burnt as those contained in the urn, which most probably belonged to the same body; the size of the urn being insufficient to contain them. These were intermixed with charcoal and burnt clay in considerable fragments, and confined within a very narrow compass."¹⁸

¹⁶ Borl. Ant. Corn. p. 221.

¹⁷ Vid. page 7, Fig. 6.

¹⁸ Dr. Hull's Letter to Mr. Hinderwell. "Borlase, in his History of Cornwall, pp. 222, 223, describes these urns as being sometimes filled with earth in which the roots of grass have been discovered; sometimes as if cemented by strong mortar to keep out impurities, as well as the air and moisture; and observes that the most ancient and effectual way was to cover the bones with the fat of beasts; the oil of which, the bones, hot from the embers, strongly imbibed, and became therefore much better guarded against successive drought and moisture, than by any other method

These are decisive evidences that this important station was a British residence; and being combined with other facts, and strengthened by circumstantial testimony, will prove to demonstration that it was honoured with the presence, and hallowed by the splendid services of the druidical priesthood;—as a place of ritual solemnity it received the significant appellation of the *Beaver-Lake* of Dwyvawr, and at the parochial division of the county, it very naturally retained the name of BEVERLAC.

This name, apparently so simple in its reference, and unequivocal in its application, has been recorded by Leland, from an ancient manuscript, as he informs us,¹⁹ and received by succeeding topographers, in its literal sense, and adopted, without examination, into their respective works, as bearing an unquestionable allusion to the sagacious animals with which, it is said, the river Hull formerly abounded. And thus an invaluable evidence of the ancient state of Beverley has been carelessly rejected, and much of its primitive consequence overlooked, though the dusky veil in which it is shrouded from common observation, would have yielded to the persevering touch of antiquarian research. From the etymology of this name however, corroborated by other circumstances, the remote antiquity and pristine importance of the town may be rationally determined.

“It is admitted by Camden, Spelman, and other learned men, that a considerable part of the present language of Britain, is to be derived from that old one, which was used by the inhabitants of this country, in common with Gaul, Germany, Spain, Illyricum, and most other nations of Europe, *before they were overrun by the Romans*. From this ancient language, call it British, Saxon, or Celtic, for they were nearly the same, as they were dialects only one of the other, we may derive successfully many words and phrases which would be otherwise inexplicable.”²⁰ Bishop Percy says to the same effect, that “the hills, forests, rivers, &c. of this country have generally retained their old celtic names.”²¹ To this primitive source then we must look, for the derivation of the word Bever-lac.

To accomplish this desirable purpose, it will be necessary to take a brief review of the superstitious rites and mythological observances by which the druidical

then known; which refers to that passage of Homer, Il. 23, v. 243. where Achilles orders his attendants to cover the bones of his friend Patroclus with a double coat of fat.” Ibid.

¹⁹ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 100. Gibs. Camd. col. 743.

²⁰ Pettingal on the Gule of August, in Archæol. vol. i. p. 63.

²¹ Mall. North. Ant. Pref. xxxix.

religion was distinguished. The rites of druidism were not only analogous to the Eleusinian mysteries,²² but they also bore a striking resemblance to every idolatrous system which was practised amongst mankind.²³ And this coincidence could only arise from the circumstance of a common origination, which may be traced to an æra prior to the dispersion from the plains of Shinar. The posterity of Gomer,²⁴ migrating from the primitive settlements of the arkite ogdoad, took their first station in Gaul, thence passed over into Britain, and brought with them the rites of worship modelled according to the institutions of the Cabiri; for even Gomer himself, who, it is thought, settled in Gaul, and became the great original of the Cymry,²⁵ or Celtæ, as they were afterwards denominated, had been initiated into the mysteries of these celebrated men,²⁶ and had even assisted them in propagating their errors over the eastern world, before he sought out a distinct settlement for his own posterity.

The original planters of Britain are named by the bards, Pheryllt, and the first British *Chair* or *Gorsedd* was established at Oxford.²⁷ But they soon penetrated into the northern parts of the kingdom, and under the name of Druids, flourished in all the splendour of sovereign pontiffs, in their respective districts throughout the country of the Brigantes, where numerous vestiges of their existence still remain.

In the ineffable mysteries of this religion were involved all the science and morality then known in the island,²⁸ which, for evident purposes, were sedulously

²² Strabo. l. 4. Dion. Perierg. v. 565.

²³ Bryant. Anal. vol. ii. p. 331. et passim. Dav. Druid. sec. 3. Fab. Mys. Cab. vol. ii. c. 10. Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. ii. passim. Borl. Ant. Corn. b. 2. c. 22.

²⁴ According to the Welsh Triads, the *three* peaceable settlers in Britain were, first the Cymry, who were a colony of Asiatics, headed by Gomer, or some of his immediate descendants;—secondly, the Loegrians, who were Gauls, descended, originally, from the same stock, but degenerate, from a promiscuous intercourse with other tribes;—and thirdly, the Brython or Britons, led by Prydain, the son of Aedd, the Great. Under the first, our island was denominated *Y Vel Ynys*, or the Honey Island; under the second, *Clas Meidin*, or the Rocky Island; and under the third *Ynys Prydain*, or the Beautiful Island. Vid. Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 14. It should seem by the above account, that the bards claimed for Britain, an epoch of population, equal at the least in point of antiquity, if not anterior to that of most of its European neighbours.

²⁵ Cymry or Cimmerii, (*χιμμεριοι*) probably from the *misty* atmosphere of the countries which they peopled.

²⁶ Pausan. Bæot. p. 300.

²⁷ Old MS. quoted by Dr. Williams. Vid. Dav. Druid. p. 215.

²⁸ Gollut. Axiom. 33. Borl. Ant. Corn. p. 88.

concealed from the vulgar with a jealousy well becoming the stern advocates of bigotry and superstition. No species of knowledge was attainable except by initiation, which, therefore, became a point of primary importance with every individual who was ambitious of exalting himself to eminence in any station of life, whether civil, military, or religious.

The worship of the Druids was of a nature that required silence, secrecy, and space for contemplation. This end could be attained by no means so effectually, as by placing their sacred temples in the bosom of an impervious grove of trees, intersected by a labyrinth of devious and inextricable paths and windings. The veneration for oaks was patriarchal;²⁹ it is not, therefore, wonderful that the early Druids esteemed that tree holy, and solemnly consecrated it to one of their most powerful deities. The solitude of a grove of branching oaks gave an air of mystery to their proceedings, and the people were easily persuaded that it was the peculiar residence of the great and terrible god, who would not fail to inflict summary punishment on the profane intruder whose unhallowed feet should violate the sanctuary, and unauthorized, attempt to penetrate the hidden recesses of the sacred enclosure where the most holy temple was constructed. A high degree of veneration is soon inspired, by the aid of superstition in an unlettered mind; and it is alone to this feeling that the implicit submission of the people to all the horrid rites and bloody sacrifices of druidism can be reasonably referred.³⁰

In another part of the wood was an open space amongst the trees, containing a pond or lake, where certain religious ceremonies were frequently performed; and in this lake were certain islands or rafts,³¹ constructed for the purpose of celebrating publicly, in the presence of all the people, the rites of their religion. Small floating islands were considered peculiarly sacred by all the ancient idolaters, because

²⁹ Gen. xviii. c. 1, 4, 8 v. xxi. c. 33 v.

³⁰ The description of the Massilian Grove by Lucan, which was also a place of initiation, and consequently polluted with the blood of human victims, may convey some idea of the accompanying horrors which these consecrated places inspired. "He describes it as a place, gloomy, damp, and scarcely penetrable; a grove in which no sylvan deity ever resided, no bird ever sang, no beast ever slumbered, no gentle zephyr ever played, nor even the lightning could rend a passage. It was a place of blood and horror, abounding with altars reeking with the gore of human victims, by which all the trunks of the lofty and eternal oaks which composed it, were dyed of a crimson colour; a black and turbid water rolled through it in many a winding stream; no soul ever entered the forlorn abode, except the priest; who, at noon and at midnight, with paleness on his brow, and tremor in his step, went thither to celebrate the horrible mysteries in honour of that terrific deity, whose aspect he yet dreaded, more than death, to behold." Maurice. Ind. Ant. vol. vi.

³¹ Dav. Druid. p. 190.

they bore a striking reference to the ark of Noah, in whose capacious womb the hero-gods were entombed during the prevalence of the diluvian waters; and these islands were mystically termed BEAVERS.³² "Every consecrated grove was a copy of paradise; every sanctified mountain or high place was a local transcript of Ararat, itself geographically coincident with the garden of Eden; every islet doubly shadowed out the insular ark, and the once sea-girt top of the Armenian peak; and every gloomy cavern represented the dark interior of the Noëtic ship wedged fast amidst the cliffs and rocks of the hill of debarkation."³³ Hence the celebrations of the insular sanctuary were founded on a tradition of the general deluge, which was perpetuated in the secret rites of the druidical priesthood, though perverted and localized like the traditions of other nations. The legend was this.

In the time of the great god Hu, who is the same as Noah, mankind were involved in an universal profligacy of manners. A communication was therefore made from heaven that the corruptions of the world should be purified by fire and water; and that from the bursting of the Lake Llion an overwhelming flood of the latter element should proceed to deluge the earth and destroy its impure inhabitants. In consequence of this revelation, a vessel was constructed without sails, in which were preserved a male and female of every species of animals, and also a man and a woman named *Dwyvawr* and *Dwyvach*. When these were safely inclosed within the womb of the vessel, a pestilential wind arose, replete with poisonous ingredients, which spread devastation and death throughout the world. Then followed a fiery deluge, which melted the rocks, and split the earth asunder. After this the Lake Llion burst forth, which inundated the globe, and destroyed the whole creation of men and animals, except the favoured few who had sought protection in the sacred vessel. And thus the world was purified by fire and water from the pollutions which the sins of men had accumulated upon it. When the destruction was complete, the Avanc or *Beaver*, a symbol of the floating Ark, *was drawn out of the Lake* by the oxen of Hu Gadarn; Gwydion formed the rainbow as an attendant on the sun, and an assurance was given to the favoured pair by whom the world was destined to be re-peopled, that the Lake should burst no more.³⁴

³² Welsh Archæol. vol. ii. p. 59. Dav. Celt. Research. p. 157. Mythol. Druid. pp. 142, 159.

³³ Faber. Pag. Idol. b. 5. c. 7.

³⁴ Strabo. l. 4. Pliny. l. 8. Ep. 20. Taliesin. Cad Godden. Welsh Archæol. p. 30. Casnodin. Welsh Archæol. p. 431. Trioz. Owen's Dict. v. Llion. Ibid. v. Banawg. Fab. Mys. Cab. vol. i. p. 61. Dav. Celt. Res. p. 157. Bryant. Anal. vol. ii. p. 417. Borl. Ant. Corn. p. 110. Dav. Druid. p. 96, 105, 142, 267, 268.

Hence this spot, which was undoubtedly the consecrated scene of the diluvian celebrations, terminating invariably in the actual ceremony of drawing the floating Ark or Beaver out of the Lake, acquired the distinguishing appellation of *Llyn yr Avanc*, or the Beaver Lake.³⁵

Here then we have the undoubted origin of the name of *Bever-lac*.³⁶ It referred to the indispensable religious ceremony of drawing the shrine or emblematical Beaver out of the Lake, and placing it in security on an eminence in the sight of the assembled multitude. This rite was performed near the course (*Hnyl*)³⁷ of the stream, which was hence called *Hull*; in honour of *Ked*, (*Ceres*)³⁸ whence the name of a street in *Beverley* called *Ked* or *Keld-Gate*. This female divinity was also denominated *Hên-wen*, (*Old Lady*)³⁹ whence perhaps, *Hen-Gate* and *Lady-Gate*; and was the daughter of *Llyr*,⁴⁰ whence *Lair-Gate*. The Ark or Beaver was also named *Aren* or *Ern*,⁴¹ whence *Hurn moor*; the eminence on which it was placed after being drawn out of the Lake, was, in common with the ark itself considered as a mystical *Bedd* or *Pastos*, whence the *Bedd-ern*; but this *Bedd* was, in reality, the *Cromlech*,⁴² covered with a flat stone, (*Lleçen*) in which the candidate for initiation into the mysteries suffered a temporary confinement by way of probation,⁴⁴ in a shady place; (*Fylliad*)⁴⁵ whence *Leckonfield*, the *Cromlech* in the shady inclosure; which holy place was named *Côr*,⁴⁶ from whence came *Scorburgh*, the dwelling attached to the circular sanctuary. Further, *Delgwe*, in the same Celtic language, signified a place of gods,⁴⁸ whence *Delgovitia*; (*Londesbro'*,) *Godo*, an uncovered sanctuary or temple,⁴⁹ and *mynyddig*, a hilly place,⁵⁰ whence *Godmundingham*, (*Godmanham*;) *Aras* or *Ares* was the solar Noah, as *Ceres*

³⁵ Vid. infra. ch. iv. where these ceremonies are described.

³⁶ *Ὅς ἀν τὰ οὐράλια εἶδῃ, εἰσελάι καὶ τὰ πραγμαλία*, Plat. in *Cratyl.*

³⁷ Owen. Dict. v. *Hwyl*. ³⁸ *Taliesin*. Welsh. Archæol. p. 67.

³⁹ *Dav. Druid.* p. 430 ⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 206.

⁴¹ *Bryant. Anal.* vol. ii. p. 328. *Dav. Druid.* p. 193.

⁴² Vid. *Signs and Symbols*, by the author of this work.

⁴³ *Lleç* gives name to many places, says Mr. Owen; Dict. v. *Lleç*.

⁴⁴ *Triad.* 50. Welsh. Archæol. vol. ii. p. 12. ⁴⁵ Owen. Dict. in loc.

⁴⁶ Owen. Dict. in loc. ⁴⁸ *Gibs. Camd.* col. 738.

⁴⁹ *Dav. Druid.* p. 324. ⁵⁰ Owen. Dict. in loc.

(Ked) was a personification of the ark,⁵¹ whence Arras; and the place of tumuli was *Beorh*, or *Bwr*,⁵² from whence we have Burton.⁵³

Be it further remarked, in illustration of this important point, that the Beaver, "under the name of *Avanc*, is constantly introduced into the British account of the deluge; and *the drawing of him out of the Lake*, is represented as a great act, which was conducive to the removing of that calamity. Our ancestors seem to have regarded the Beaver as an emblem of the patriarch himself. To this symbolical honour, this creature may have been promoted by a peculiarity in his natural history. The patriarch had built himself a vessel or house, in which he had lived in the midst of the waters; and which had deposited that venerable personage and his family safe on dry ground. So the Beaver is not only an amphibious animal, but also a distinguished architect. He is said to build a house of two stories; one of which is in the water, and the other above the water, and out of the latter he has an egress to dry ground. The fanciful genius of heathenism could not have demanded or discovered a more happy coincidence with the history of the diluvian patriarch."⁵⁴

Here then the Druids had established themselves in all the dignity of ecclesiastical pride; the givers of laws, the arbiters of life and death. Their residence was probably at Drewton, (Druid's Town) near the holy Beaver Lake; their place of initiation within the shady groves of *Lleçen-fylliad*, (Leckonfield) and their cemetery at *Beorh* or *Bwr*, (Bur-ton) where many vestiges of this fact still remain. This religious establishment was under the protection of the chief residing at

⁵¹ Fab. Mys. Cab. vol. i. p. 236. ⁵² Owen's Dict. in loc.

⁵³ I have received a communication from John Walker, Esq. of Malton, in which some ingenious remarks are offered on the derivation of the word *Beverley*; which, though they differ essentially from the view I have taken of the subject, deserve to be made public. This gentleman suggests, that "the supposed origin of the name of *Beverley* from *Beaver*, is not correct; the situation of the town evidently pointing to a name derived from the striking feature of the locality—WATER, which would be *Ever-ley*, the prefix B, not being intended to change the import of the name, although it may be difficult now to ascertain why it was added. The *Beaver*, in the arms of the town, is an error similar to what occurs in other places; for instance, Hertford, which has in its arms a Hart, although the *ford* clearly shews the origin of that name."

⁵⁴ Dav. Druid. p. 267. This illustration receives some countenance, if not full corroboration, from the devices inscribed on the borough seals. The oldest common seal we know of, has a figure representing St. John of Beverley sitting on the Fridstol, with a Beaver at his feet. What can this signify, but the downfall of idolatry, and St. John, the patron of the town, trampling its ancient emblem underfoot. This seal, according to the opinion of Drake, Ebor. App. cij. was introduced by Archbishop Savage, who was translated in 1501, because that prelate's arms are impaled with the old arms of the See of York in one of the shields. The circumscription is SIGILLUM COMMUNITATIS BEVERLACI. The present seal is still more expressive of the foregoing theory; for here the holy lake is represented by three streams of water; and the emblematical Beaver is placed on the *Bedd-Aren*, as though he had been just drawn to land. The Legend—SIGIL. MAIOR. GUBERNAT. ET. BURGENSE. VILLÆ. BEVERLÆ.

Petuaria, (Beverley) as that at Godmanham was defended by the chief and his tribe at Delgovitia, (Londesbro'.). Thus established and protected, the Druids were elevated into objects of terror and superstitious veneration to the natives, whose ignorance conjured up fears which had no existence but in their own imagination; for as these priests were really men of great erudition,⁵⁵ and were reputed to know the secret designs of the gods; possessing at the same time the exclusive power of nominating human victims,⁵⁶ the lives and liberties of the people were laid prostrate at their footstool. And at those stated periods when the increased moon at six days old exhibited the appearance of a crescent or lunette; in solemn guise the public rites of the great arkite festival were celebrated; and when the assembled multitude beheld the emblematical Beaver drawn to land;⁵⁷ the ancient woods of Dwyvawr resounded with their acclamations and hosannas. Soon however all was hushed to silence; each devout worshipper fell on his face to the earth, when the shrine was placed in safety on the Bedd-aren, and the Archdruid purged the people by a watery lustration, and scattered benedictions with a profuse and liberal hand. Hence arose the marked attachment to a consecrated river or lake, which bore a striking reference, perpetuated by this periodical ceremony, to the bursting of the lake by which the world was inundated and mankind destroyed. This veneration, which amounted to the last extremity of religious dread, caused the circulation and belief of many superstitions in which were involved the preternatural agency of superior beings. Hence the traditions which are still prevalent in some parts of the kingdom, that secluded lakes are

⁵⁵ Vid. Borl. Ant. Corn. c. 10, where are a host of authorities in testimony of this fact.

⁵⁶ Cesar. l. 6. c. 15. The immolation of human victims was used by the Druids for the purpose of propitiating the favour, and appeasing the imaginary wrath of deities which their superstitious belief had invested with a sanguinary character; for an ancient and obscurely transmitted tradition had taught them, that the blood of one man would be accepted as an atonement for the sins of another. The apologists of the Druids, however, have referred the revolting custom of sacrificing human victims to their strict love of *justice*, which was considered as adding dignity to the nature of man, and peculiarly acceptable to the immortal gods. Diodorus tells us, that their principal victims were captives taken in war. Diod. Sic. l. 5. But we are furnished with other testimonies equally unexceptionable, which convince us, that the Druids were not particularly delicate on this subject, for as human victims were indispensable in times of pressing calamity, for the purposes of augury, Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 20, they did not hesitate, on such occasions, to sacrifice their own countrymen, their intimate friends, or even their wives and children. Justin. l. 26. c. 2. Hence the horror with which the Romans ever regarded the druidical system of religion, Sueton. in vit. Claud. and hence proceeded that revolting feeling which induced them to distinguish it by the phrase, *diræ immanitatis*. Ibid. c. 25.

⁵⁷ Taliesin. Mic Dinbych. Welsh Archæol. vol. i. p. 67.

haunted by phantoms and apparitions.⁵⁸ The same awe froze the blood of the uninitiated in every part of the world, when they approached, by any accident, the place of initiation, which was usually in some retired part of the consecrated grove; or even when they spake of the sanctuary where the mysteries were celebrated at the dead hour of night. These feelings were encouraged by priests and hierophants, to prevent the intrusion of profane or unworthy persons, and to keep at a distance the prying curiosity of the vulgar; whose feelings were wound up to the highest pitch of agony by the Druid's arrogant boast, that from the magical influence of the *anguinum ovum*, he possessed the power of controlling the course of nature, commanding the services of the gods, and even, by the use of that potent amulet, of making the deity tremble on his throne. With the impression on his mind produced by these proud pretensions, what must be the dreadful situation of the midnight traveller, bewildered in his way, should he unconsciously approach the place of celebration, during the performance of the sacred rites! He hears the din of shrieks and howlings, the barking of dogs,⁵⁹ and other preternatural noises,⁶⁰ for which he cannot account, reverberate from mountains or hollow caverns of the earth;—now clamours bursting from the ground beneath his feet; now gradually subsiding as if floating on the distant winds;—peals of thunder are succeeded by strains of heavenly music;—and solemn silence by the cries and howlings of despair. For—

“ Underneath the soil, a hundred secret paths
Scoop'd thro' the living rock in winding maze,
Lead to as many caverns dark and deep,
Mid which the hoary sages act their rites
Mysterious—rites of such strange potency,
As done in open day would dim the sun
Though throned in neontide brightness.”⁶¹

The ill-starred traveller stands aghast; his footsteps are forcibly arrested, and he retreats from the fatal ground with all the expedition he can command, at the risk of perishing in the woods, from bogs, or pitfalls, or the paws of ravenous beasts.

⁵⁸ *Gibs. Camd. col. 645.* ⁵⁹ *Virg. Eneid. l. 6. v. 257.*

⁶⁰ *Vid. Antiquities of Free-Masonry, by the author of this work, p. 110.*

⁶¹ *Mason's Caractacus.*

The Romans.

Chap. II.

Their first appearance in Deira—Treachery of Cartismunda—Caractacus—Bravery and activity of the Britons—Romans introduce the Arts—People and cultivate the wood of Deira—Improve the appearance of the country—Accounts of the first Christian establishment there examined—Introduction of Christianity into Britain—Doctrines of the Druids compared with Christianity—The inhabitants of Deira embrace the new religion—Lucius converted—His history examined—Evidences of the existence of Christianity at this period—Druidism deeply planted—A Church erected at Beverlac probable—Name of the site of this edifice—its derivation and reference—Progress of Christianity—Errors of Pelagius—Romans forsake the island.

SUCH was the state of things in this district at the period of the Roman invasion. For some years that powerful people confined their ravages to the southern parts of Britain, and the first mention of the Brigantes occurs during the government of Ostorius Scapula, which was signalized by an act of treachery that has handed down the name of Cartismunda, their abandoned queen, to the execration of mankind. This wretched woman, unrestrained by feelings of delicacy, or the infamy which attends a deliberate violation of faith solemnly pledged, not only deserted her husband, and consigned her person to the embraces of his menial servant,¹ but delivered up the great Caractacus, who in his adversity had sought her protection and assistance against the common enemy. The warrior was led in chains to Rome, and his memory is dear to every lover of his country; while the wretch who betrayed him gained a temporary protection from the Roman power, and after a life addicted to every species of vice and immorality, left behind her a name, stained with crime, disgrace, and infamy.

¹ Tacit. Hist. l. 3. c. 45.

The Romans were wholly incapable of subduing our valiant forefathers by force of arms. If vanquished in one quarter by the superior discipline of their veteran invaders, the natives of some distant province were soon found in hostile array, and harassed the victorious enemy by perpetual insurrections. The dexterity of a native Briton was as surprising as his undaunted bravery. If to penetrate, with fearless resolution, into the thickest ranks of the enemy,—to dash his war chariot into the centre of the Roman cavalry,—to alight in that perilous situation, and fight on foot,—to expose his naked body in the midst of a phalanx cased in mail,—to regain his chariot, at an emergency, by a single leap,—to run along the pole for any advantage while his horse was at full speed,—to advance and retreat with equal rapidity and success,—to persevere with invincible intrepidity even in the very mouth of destruction,—if all this afford any proof of the united qualities of personal strength, courage, and conduct, then our remote forefathers possessed these virtues in their highest perfection; for even their enemies had the candour to acknowledge that the bravest and best disciplined troops have been disconcerted and put to confusion by their hardy valour, their peculiar eminence in selecting the field of action, their consummate adroitness in the art of ambuscade, their judicious skill in stratagem and retreat, added to an intrepid and impetuous mode of attack, which frequently bore down all opposition.²

At length, however, the Romans effected by policy what they were unable to accomplish by coercion. The admirable prudence of Julius Agricola, induced him to try an expedient on the natives of Britain, which was attended with the most complete and triumphant success. He introduced amongst them the arts and manners of his own nation, and by instilling into their minds a taste for the elegancies and luxuries of civilized life, he accomplished more in a few years than his predecessors had done by arms in upwards of a century. He erected fortresses in different parts of the kingdom, divided Britain from Caledonia by a line of forts extending across the island, and returned to his own country satisfied that he had firmly established the Roman sway in Britain.

On the northern coast of the Humber the Romans settled in great numbers. They cleared the woods, drained the marshes, and built or improved all the principal towns. Eboracum (York) was constituted one of the two municipal towns which this island contained. The British towns of Delgovitia (Londesbro')

² Cesar. Tacitus. Dio. Nic. Herodian. Strabo. Diod. Sic. &c. &c.

and Petuaria (Beverley) were converted into Roman stations; they changed the British trackway which led from Delgovitia to Pretorium (Patrington or Spurn) by way of Godmanham and Petuaria, into a military road, and left behind them many tokens of the civilization which they had introduced.³ Their ships from the Humber navigated the river Hull, and Grove Hill, in the precincts of Beverley, was their general landing place.

A visible change now took place in the appearance of the country; the dark and cheerless cabin of the British chief was exchanged for the Roman villa, decorated with porticos and tessellated pavements, and provided with every luxury peculiar to the Roman people. The land, formerly encumbered by wood and vitiated by morass, was rendered fruitful by cultivation, and the face of the country was suddenly changed as if by the operation of a spell. The improvement was fascinating; and the hardy Briton, gratified by indulgences to which he had hitherto been a stranger, soon resigned himself to the entire sway of his polished conquerors, and laid down his arms at the enticement of sloth and luxurious ease. In this state of things the arts had room for extension, and peace was crowned with the improved refinements of civil and social life. The introduction of christianity was one of the beneficial consequences that ensued, and soon we find the record of an ecclesiastical edifice dedicated to this holy religion in the wood of Deira.

The date of the first establishment of christianity at Beverley is indeed involved in much obscurity. In examining the subject with all the care and attention which it so justly merits, the historian finds it encumbered with many difficulties. The introduction of christianity into Britain is placed by some writers at a very early period after the crucifixion of its author. A manuscript in the British museum would seem to sanction the opinion that it was introduced by Joseph of Arimathea. "In the 31st year after the crucifixion," says this document, "twelve disciples of St. Philip the Apostle, of whom Joseph of Arimathea was the head, came into this land, and preached the doctrines of christianity to King Aviragus, who denied them. But they obtained from him this spot, (Glastonbury) with twelve hides of land, whereon they erected the first church in this kingdom."⁴ Others, who have

³ At Swine, on the above line of road, many Roman coins and other antiquities have been found; Thompson's Holderness, p. 16. and coins of the same people have been found at Grove Hill, and on the opposite side of the river. But the most splendid evidence of Roman occupancy here, is in two rich tessellated pavements composed of red, blue, and white stones, each being about an inch square, and arranged in beautiful figures, which were found about a century ago in two fields at Bishop Burton. Gent's Ripon. p. 77. Drake's Ebor. p. 30.

⁴ Cott. MSS. Tib. A. V. fol. i.

employed their talents in the investigation of a theory so important, confidently pronounce that it was planted in this island by St. Paul himself,⁵ under the auspices of the family of Caractacus.⁶ We cannot doubt but christianity was known in Britain at this early period, for the Claudia (Rufina) mentioned by St. Paul to Timothy,⁷ is said, on good authority, to have been a British lady.⁸ Gent,⁹ Speed,¹⁰ Camden, and others,¹¹ assert that the gospel was preached here by Joseph of Arimathea in the time of Suetonius, and by Simon Zelotes in the time of Agricola; and several authors in defence of the antiquity of the British church, have shewn much ingenuity in their attempts to prove that it was established here by the Apostles.¹² An old manuscript, which Baronius saw in the Vatican library, reports, that Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, and others being banished from Jerusalem, were exposed to the mercy of the winds and waves in a vessel without tackling, and being driven to Gaul, from thence passed over into Britain.¹³ However this may be, it is quite certain that the progress of christianity in Britain was inconsiderable for many years subsequently to the death of Paul, and idolatry was not finally extirpated for some centuries after the Christian era. It is to be lamented that so few documents remain which afford any clue to illustrate this event; and we can only proceed on general principles to ascertain how it was possible for such a change to be wrought in the minds of an unlettered people, as would induce them to abandon their ancient and fondly cherished superstitions, and embrace a strange and less splendid mode of worship.

The fundamental truth of all religion is, the being of a God. This is a truth born with us. It has been acknowledged by every nation and every people, as well as the Druids of Britain and Gaul,¹⁴ however they might vary in their notions

⁵ Speed. Brit. p. 203.

⁶ "It is a remarkable and interesting fact," says a distinguished prelate, "that the detention of the British hostages should have been coincident with St. Paul's residence there as a prisoner; and it was not a less favourable coincidence, that they should be released from confinement in the same year in which St. Paul was set at liberty. Nothing could be more convenient for St. Paul's mission to the Gentiles, than the opportunity which their return must have offered him of introducing the gospel into Britain; and nothing more probable than that he should readily embrace such an opportunity." Bp. Burgess. Serm. 1812.

⁷ 2 Tim. c. iv. v. 20. ⁸ Martial. l. 4. Ep. 13.

⁹ Gent. York. p. 195. ¹⁰ Speed. Brit. p. 202. ¹¹ Cur. Disc. vol. ii. pp. 161, 167.

¹² Stilling. Orig. Brit. p. 37. Hakewill. Cur. Disc. vol. ii. p. 170.

¹³ Camden ut supra.

¹⁴ The Druids believed in One supreme God, who is over all, Orig. in Ezek. iv. and their invocations were addressed to the One all-healing, or all-saving power; Drayt. Poly-Olbion. Seld. Annot. Hutch. Cumb. vol. 1. p. 247, though they admitted into their pantheon a numerous train

of the worship which would be most acceptable to him.¹⁶ They held that time was only an intercepted fragment of eternity; and there are strong grounds for believing that they were also impressed with the Pythagorean notion of an endless succession of worlds. They strenuously inculcated the metempsychosis,¹⁶ and taught that the soul of the wicked was degraded to the lowest point in the scale of existence as a means of punishment, and that it could only regain its former rank by passing through a succession of intermediate transmigrations, each gradually advancing to a superior degree of perfection, until it again arrived at man, when it was subjected to a new trial. If it now persevered in the practice of virtue, it was elevated by imperceptible gradations, until absorbed into the divine essence, and prepared for final and everlasting beatitude. They believed that the world had once been destroyed by water, and would suffer a second destruction by fire.¹⁷ They taught the immortality of the soul, but were ignorant of the attributes of the deity; and connected so much of improbability and fiction with the system of his worship, that their knowledge and acknowledgment of One supreme God, were little more than a dead letter. It was only the remnant of the patriarchal mode of worship which had escaped the rage for innovation; because every other principle had been successively renounced to make way for the introduction of novel contaminations more imposing and seductive, as well as conferring more extensive power on the supreme order of the priesthood. Their motives for sacrificing human victims sprang from an obscure tradition, which taught them to believe that man's redemption could be secured, and the anger of the gods appeased, only by the most

of inferior deities, who were considered as the authorized mediators between God and man, and guardians over terrestrial things. They invested their several deities with attributes similar to those which the Greeks, and after them the Romans, had assigned to their principal gods; and placed them, by a systematic classification, in the following order, adapted to the genius and peculiar character of their own mythology. The deity who possessed the endowments assigned to the Grecian Mercury, was the chief god;* for they esteemed him as the inventor of all the arts and sciences; then followed Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. They also adored Pluto and Proserpine, Bacchus and Ceres, all under British appellations; with many inferior deities which were believed to preside over the animate and inanimate creation. The Grecian Jupiter was worshipped under the appellation of Don; Mercury was termed Gwydion ab Don; Apollo, Halyn Pasgadwr or Granwyn; Bacchus or Saturn, Hu; Ceres, Ked or Ceridwen; Proserpine, Llywy; Iris, Arianrod; Isis, Esseye, &c. &c.

* This is Cesar's classification; but Hecataeus, in Diodorus the Sicilian, says that Apollo was the principal deity of the ancient Britons; and that the circular temple of Stonehenge was erected by his priests, the Druids, and dedicated expressly to his worship.

¹⁶ Vid. "Signs and Symbols," by the author of this work. Lect. 2.

¹⁶ Diod. Sic. l. 5.

¹⁷ Strabo, l. 4.

precious and acceptable offering; which was esteemed to be the life-blood of man;¹⁸ and hence the Druids were exceedingly lavish of human blood,¹⁹ and the most trifling event was sufficient to justify the immolation of a fellow creature.²⁰

Such were a few of the leading doctrines of the druidical religion, and their manifest imperfection might have some share in disposing the minds of its more candid professors to embrace the dispensation of christianity, which was calculated to remove all doubts, and clearly to explain those mysterious doctrines which were involved by an idolatrous worship in inextricable difficulty. The errors of this false religion however, were so splendid and so fascinating, that the great mass of the besotted people would not renounce them but with extreme reluctance. We all know how dear to ourselves are the recollections of past events which have been consecrated to our memory in the spring of life, when all was hope and joy before us, and our hearts rebounded with the innocent elasticity of unoffending childhood. Thus it was with the native Briton. Ancient prejudices, endeared by early recollections, and confirmed by habitual use, were fondly cherished and secretly indulged; and while he formally worshipped the true God with his mouth, the "glancing Hu" was in his heart; he was his "sovereign of heaven," and "god of mystery."²¹ The priesthood, though silenced by the introduction of christianity, was not suppressed, and the Druids only waited a favourable moment to re-assert their independence. They still continued secretly to instruct the people; and even practised their mysteries in darkness and seclusion, and succeeded in preserving an uninterrupted hierarchy, as the occurrences which subsequently took place will most clearly testify.

We are told that the inhabitants of Deira embraced christianity at a very early period after its introduction into Britain; and to proceed on true grounds, it will be necessary to examine with impartial attention the evidences on which this conclusion is founded. Leland says,²² "the collegiate church of the blessed John of Beverley was anciently founded in the county of York, in a certain country called Deyira, to wit, in the wood of the Deyirians, in the time of Lucius, the most illustrious king of England, (then called) Brittany, the first king of the same, the son of Coil, a pagan king, anointed by pope Eleutherius, the 13th after Peter, in the

¹⁸ Cesar, l. 6. c. 16. ¹⁹ Sammes. Brit. p. 104.

²⁰ Strabo. l. 4. Diod. Sic. l. 5. Vid. also Sammes, Borlase, Davies, Whittaker, Smith, Toland, and all the modern authors who have treated on the subject.

²¹ Poem of Rhys Brydydd. Owen's Dict. v. Mymrym. Dav. Druids. pp. 121, 110.

²² Ex. MS. Dom. T. Herbert.

year of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and earth, together with Holy Ghost, according to the computation of the church of England, 126." Now Coil ascended the throne of his dominions in the year 126, and after a reign of fifty-four years, died at Caerbranke or York, and was succeeded by his son Lucius, in the year 180;²³ and the erection of the church at Beverley has been placed in A.D. 187. There can be little doubt but Lucius was anxious to establish the christian religion in his division of the island, as he was himself a christian, and was stimulated by the commendations of his holiness at Rome. The author already cited says, "Lucius or Lucy, the sone of Coilus, was made kyng of Brytons in the yere of our Lord, C. lxxx. The whiche in all actes and dedys of goodnes folowed his forefaders in suche wyse, that he of all men was beloued and drad. Of this is lytell or none acte notable put in memory, except that all wryters agree that this Lucius sent to Eleutherius, then pope of Rome, certayne pistles or letters, prayinge hym that he and his Brytons myghte be receyued to the faythe of crists Church; whereof the pope beyng very Joyous and gladde, sent into Brytayne .ii. noble clerkes, named Faganus and Damianus, or after some, Fugacius and Dimianus; thyse .ii. good and vertuous clerkes were honourably receyued of Lucius, the whiche, by theyr good Doctryne and vertuous ensamples gyyunge, conuertyd the kyng and a great parte of the Brytons. The which Lucie, after the faythe thus by him receyued, by the aduice of the foresayd Clerkes, and with the Instruccyons sent to theym by the foresaid pope Eleuthery, Instituted and ordeyned that all or the more partie of Archeflamynys and Flamynys, whiche is to meane Archebysshoppes and Bysshoppes of the Pagan lawe, whiche at that daye were in nombre as wytnessyth Gaufride and other .iii. of the Arche-flamynys, and .xxviii. of the Flamynys were made and ordeyned Archebysshoppes and Bysshoppes of the Church of crist.²⁴ They were also confermed of the pope; he thenne endowed theym with such landes and possessions as before tyme were occupied or gyuen to y^e Maynteynyng and vpholdyng of the pagan Rytes and lawe, vsed before tyme. And the temples of Idollys thorough his lande he caused to be Dedicat to Jhesu Criste and his Seyntes, and honouryd theym moche great, and w^t large gyfts."²⁵

²³ Fabyan Chron. Ed. 1811, p. 38.

²⁴ Fabyan Chron. p. 38.

²⁵ Fabyan. Chron. p. 40. The correspondence between Lucius and Eleutherius may be seen in Speed; Brit. 222, and it appears to receive some countenance from an ancient painting in the

Though there are some errors in this account, yet the main fact that a British chief of the name of Lucius, did actually exist about this period, is, I believe, indubitable. Indeed, Mr. Hakewell, in his discourse on this subject before the society of Antiquaries,²⁶ observes, “the consent of writers herein is so generall, that no doubt neede be made hereof.”²⁷ His influence, and the extent of his territorial dominions have been greatly exaggerated, yet his exertions to convert the Druids may be strictly true. But though in some instances he might prove successful, yet he would, doubtless, fail in general to convince the great body of that haughty, yet learned, priesthood,²⁸ that their religion was erroneous. It is clear, that for many ages after the introduction of christianity into Britain, the country was divided between *its* followers and the idolatrous professors of the ancient superstition. And this will be evident from the destruction of some pagan monuments, and the preservation of others. The early missionaries, to render the transition from a false to a true worship more easy and attractive, generally converted the temples dedicated to idolatrous uses into Christian churches; and thus the feelings of the people were soothed by a compromise, which, in our opinion, appears to have been unwarranted, if not absolutely dangerous. In all parts of the world the Christian missionaries practised this expedient, long before it was established as a politic axiom by Gregory.²⁹ But Mr. Davies infers, from this practice, that the rites of druidism were, in some places, offered up to the true God; that the history of a Christian bishop was frequently confounded with that of an heathen deity; and that the bards transferred to him, the mythological oxen of the votaries of Hu.³⁰ Hence, in many parts of the kingdom, our churches actually occupy the ancient sites of druid temples. In these places christianity was *first* introduced. In other situations the temples remain to this day, which is no inconsiderable proof that *there* the influence of idolatry was of the longest duration; *there* it was practised,

high south window over the choir of York cathedral, which represents the effigies of these two celebrated personages standing beside each other in full proportion. Gent's York, p. 195.

²⁶ 29th November, 1604.

²⁷ Dr. Burton, Mon. Ebor. p. 6, places Lucius in the latter end of the third century; but I am not satisfied with his reasoning, because it appears at variance with the best authorities. Vid. Leland and Fabyan ut supra. Usher. Antiq. Brit. c. 3. Stillingf. Ant. Brit. c. 2. Bede. Eccl. Hist. Savil. Fasti. an. 173. n. Bp. Jewel. Sir W. Dethick. Cur. Disc. vol ii. p. 164.

²⁸ Borl. Ant. Corn. b. 2. c. 10.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 210, and vid. Greg. Epist. 71. Collins. Eccles. Hist. vol. i.

³⁰ Myth. Druids. p. 140. and vid. also Faber. Myst. Cabiri. vol. ii. p. 394, where precisely the same train of reasoning is used.

though with diminished influence, until Christians found it unnecessary to accommodate their religion to prevailing superstitions for the purpose of making proselytes; and hence the massive structures were suffered to remain, when their existence could no longer impede the diffusion of truth; and the gigantic edifice of Stonehenge, as well as many others in different parts of England, will continue till time shall be no more, a standing monument of the effects of superstition, and a beacon to future generations to avoid the rocks and quicksands of a spurious and delusive worship.

There can be little doubt but christianity prevailed to a certain extent in this island, before it was finally abandoned by the Romans; for it was denominated in the third century, the first fruits of God's harvest amongst the Gentiles,³¹ and subsequently it was said, that the inhabitants worshipped with their faces towards Jerusalem,³² and that they had erected temples and altars to the living God.³³ On the other hand, we are informed by Pliny, that in the second century, the druidical superstition was as prevalent in Britain as it had been before the diffusion of christianity.³⁴ Carte assigns as a reason why the British Christians were not included in any of the persecutions before the time of Dioclesian, that till then there were no Christians here considerable enough to be remarked.³⁵ Sulpitius Severus, who flourished about the beginning of the fifth century, remarks,³⁶ that christianity advanced but slowly on this side of the Alps before his time. And we learn from Bede,³⁷ that the inhabitants of London did not finally give up their attachment to the rites of idolatry until the year 653, when christianity was received amongst them by the conversion of Sigebert the good. The impulse which originated and preserved this superstition amongst the Britons was so strong, that even in contempt and violation of the edict of Claudius, which interdicted its practice under heavy penalties, druidism survived every other system of idolatrous worship which pervaded the continent of Europe. The idolatry of ancient Rome fell in the fourth century of the Christian era; the Scandinavian superstition continued somewhat longer, because the bright blaze of truth did not fully illuminate the snowy regions of the north until a later period; but the professors of druidism

³¹ Orig. in Ezek. hom. 4. ³² Jerom. Epit. Marcel. vidu.

³³ Chrys. in Serm. de Pent. ³⁴ In vit. Claud. c. 25.

³⁵ Hist. Engl. vol. i. p. 140. ³⁶ l. 2. ³⁷ Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 22.

were in existence, and displayed some vigour until the twelfth or fourteenth century.³⁸

It is hence clear, that neither all, nor even the major part of the Archdruids and Druids were converted to christianity by Lucius. Bede speaks much of the activity of this prince, and so far he is fairly entitled to credit; but we must hesitate before we receive, with implicit credence, the accounts which endeavour to prove the general conversion of the Britons at this early period. It is said, that this island was the first Roman province that received the Christian faith by a formal edict,³⁹ and Lucius, says Speed,⁴⁰ was the first Christian king in the world. We may safely admit that this monarch effected much. He constituted governors over his newly converted society of Christians, and it is highly probable, that he placed a bishop at Caerbranke, (York) because the fact was afterwards pleaded by Archbishop Thomas, as a valid argument of the superior antiquity of the see of York, during the celebrated controversy which took place in the eleventh century respecting the title to the primacy.⁴¹ It requires then no very great portion of credulity to believe that a temporary place of Christian worship should be erected at the Beaver-Lake in Dwyvawr, as it was undoubtedly the uniform practice of the primitive Christians to place their churches and monasteries in situations which had been already rendered peculiarly sacred in the opinion of the worshippers, by a formal consecration to the rites of their own superstition. And it is evident that there was a church here before the time of John of Beverley, because it is expressly said that he *rebuilt* it.⁴² The edifice would probably be constructed of no better materials than the timber of the grove in which it stood, with a covering of straw or reeds; a building erected without expense, and well adapted to those troublesome times, when the new religion, received with reluctance, would,

³⁸ Mr. Davies asserts, that the druidical religion was preserved without interruption, and cherished by the bards in the time of the Welsh princes down to the very latest period of their political existence. *Myth. Druids.* pp. 25, 282. Nay, Dr. Jamieson relates a singular fact, which goes to the point of proving, that the impressions of the ancient religion are not even yet obliterated in the northern parts of Scotland. "Mr. Ferguson, minister of Moulin, who died about twenty years ago, assured a friend, from whom I had my information, that there was in his parish an old man, who, although very regular in his devotions, never addressed the Supreme Being by any other title than that of Archdruid; accounting every other derogatory to the divine majesty." *Jamieson's Hist. Account of the Culdees*, p. 29.

³⁹ Marc. Sabell. in *Ennead.* l. 5. ex Bale, vol. i. l. 2.

⁴⁰ Speed. *Brit.* p. 222. ⁴¹ Vid. Wharton. *Ang. Sacr.* t. 1.

⁴² Vide *infra*, ch. iv.

on the very first change of circumstances, sink under the predominating influence of the ancient mode of worship.

The site of the edifice was termed the Bedd-aren,⁴³ which forms an additional proof of the existence of the druidical superstition on this particular spot; and that the worship was dedicated to Hu, the arkite deity of Britain. Bêdd-aren, means literally, the resting place of the ark, or emblematical Beaver; which being drawn out of the Lake, during the performance of the ancient rites, was placed on this eminence in triumph, amidst the anthems and exultations of the assembled multitude.⁴⁴

During the reign of the Emperor Severus, the northern nations made frequent inroads into South Britain, and committed their ravages on the inhabitants, now growing averse to the fatigues of war, with equal insolence and impunity. The emperor, though a martyr to the gout, and far past the meridian of life, determined to chastise the invaders in person; and for this purpose undertook a painful voyage to this island in the year 207. His energy exceeded his strength; yet he succeeded in driving the Picts and Scots back into their own country; penetrated with his victorious troops into the heart of Caledonia, reduced the natives to perfect submission, and returning to Britain, took up his residence at York, which had been constituted a municipal city;⁴⁵ and as he found the native Britons so

⁴³ At present there is but little appearance of a hill on which the minster is situated; but I have no doubt of its having been originally erected on a commanding eminence; for the most undeniable proofs exist that the surrounding ground has been considerably raised. In the year 1812, a hedge fence was found perfect in Minster-Moorgate, at about six feet beneath the present surface; and it is reasonable to suppose that the minster yard has been lowered, because some stone sarcophagi which have been recently found, were only a very few feet beneath the surface, when their primitive interment would probably be at a much greater depth.

⁴⁴ Welsh. Arch. vol. i. p. 79. Bryant. Anal. vol. ii. p. 328. Dav. Dru. 193, 194. Mr. Drake gives a different etymology. He says, "we need look no farther back than our Saxon ancestors for the etymology of this word, which is plainly deduced from the Anglo-Saxon Beade, *oratio*, and that from the Maeso-Gothic verb *Bedian*, *precari*, *rogare*. Hern or Herm is a cell or hermitage, as Potherne, Whitherne, so that it signifies no more than a cloister built and set apart for a number of religious to dwell in." Drake's Ebor. p. 572. But for the reasons already assigned in ch. I, I am inclined to think, that for the derivation of this word we must go back to the primitive language of the country; besides, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, if we may believe Leland, the site of Beverley minster was spoken of as a place *anciently* called the Beddern.

⁴⁵ Municipia were towns whose inhabitants possessed in general all the rights of Roman citizens, except those which could not be enjoyed without an actual residence at Rome. They followed their own laws and customs, and had the option of adopting or rejecting those of Rome. Rossini. Antiq. Rom. b. 10, c. 23. ap. Hatcher. R. of Cirencester. In a word, they were in the nature of corporations or enfranchised places, where the inhabitants were allowed the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magistrates, while they ranked as citizens of Rome. Kennet. Rom. Ant. Notit. p. 232.

averse to arms, he built a substantial wall from Solway Frith to the Tynemouth, for the purpose of preventing any future incursions of the northern barbarians. This distinguished Emperor died at York, A. D. 211.

About the year 287, Carausius usurped the regal power in Britain, and was murdered at York in 293, by Alectus, according to some authorities ; while others say, by Chlorus, who was sent against him. Alectus, his successor, fixed his residence at York, and at the end of three years was succeeded by Chlorus, who allowed the Christians full liberty of conscience.⁴⁶ He also died at York, in 306. His son Constantine was in this city when his father died, and he there assumed the purple, which was so highly ornamented by his shining virtues.

The peace which this island enjoyed, under the reign of Constantine, was highly favourable to the interests of religion. An appointment of bishops was announced ; and in the year 314, we find a deputation from Britain at the council of Arles, consisting of the bishops of London, York, and Lincoln.⁴⁷ About this time also churches were erected in different parts of the country, and even the splendid fane of Verulum dates its origin from the period we are now contemplating.⁴⁸ All was peace and harmony until about the middle of the fourth century, when scenes of calamity were exhibited, which put an entire stop, for a long continued period, to the progress of our holy religion in Britain.

The empire of the world, vexed with party cabals, distracted by the clash of contending interests, harassed by repeated insurrections, and threatened by hordes of barbarians from different parts of its unwieldy extent, now began to totter under its own weight. The island of Britain was drained of its population by successive conscriptions, and its bravest inhabitants were transported to the continent, to fight the battles of their masters, until at length the sinews of British strength were totally relaxed by the loss of its most valiant youth, and the alienation of its treasures ; and at this unhappy period, Rome finally sank into comparative insignificance. Unable to defend itself, it could not attend to the cries and groans of the wretched islanders,⁴⁹ who were exposed to the incursive ravages of their more valiant neighbours, without possessing the means of defence.

To increase the calamities of this unhappy country, the newly planted religion was infected with a grievous heresy, emanating from the complicated mythology

⁴⁶ Ush. *Ant. Brit.* p. 88. ⁴⁷ Stillingf. *Ant. Brit.* p. 75.

⁴⁸ Britton. *Archit. Ant. App.* viii. ⁴⁹ Gildas. *Sect.* 17. Bede. *Eccl. Hist.* l. 1. c. 13.

of the ancient mode of worship. Many of the native ecclesiastics sighed for the fascinating splendours of fondly cherished superstitions, as we learn from their still remaining works; and the pagan bard was often seen habited in the sacred robe of a Christian priest.⁵⁰ About the beginning of the fifth century, a public attempt was made to blend the two religions, and Pelagius, abbot of Bangor, a man of strong mind, but altogether wedded to the allurements of druidism, set out on his travels, with the bold intention of propagating these principles throughout christendom. From Britain he proceeded to France, where he made many converts, partly from the influence of his irreproachable life and conduct, and partly from that innate love of novelty and innovation, which reigns predominant in the human mind. Thence he passed to Rome; and afterwards travelling into Africa, his doctrines underwent a rigid scrutiny before several councils, and found many zealous and able defenders, but the final decision was so unfavourable, that he was publicly excommunicated by the pope. But his opinions were deeply planted, particularly in Gaul and Britain; and to their prevalence may be attributed the preparation of the public mind for those dreadful adulterations which christianity sustained in this country by the successful progress of its pagan adversaries. Agricola, a Pelagian bishop, exerted himself most strenuously to propagate his doctrines in Britain;⁵¹ and subsequent occurrences will shew that he was but too successful; and for more than a century after the irruption of the Saxons, christianity appears to have been almost wholly extirpated.

The situation of the native Britons was now truly pitiable. Their country was overrun by the northern barbarians, and themselves, agitated by religious disputes, and weakened by political convulsions;⁵² addicted to luxury,⁵³ and stained with vice;⁵⁴ they saw before them no alternative but certain destruction, or an alliance with some other power, possessed of more courage than themselves. In this emergency, their leader, (dux Britannorum) Vortigern, assembling the chiefs,⁵⁵ urged the immediate necessity of adopting some plan which might tend to their security; and it was agreed that a band of warriors from some foreign nation should be engaged to assist them in warding off the impending danger.⁵⁶ He cast his eye upon the Saxons, a people brave and ferocious, but addicted to habits

⁵⁰ Day. Druid. p. 386.

⁵¹ Collier. Eccl. Hist. vol. i. l. 1. ⁵² Gildas. Sect. 19. ⁵³ Bede, l. 1. c. 14.

⁵⁴ Gildas, sect. 19. Nennius. p. 105. ⁵⁵ Gildas. sect. 22.

⁵⁶ Gildas. sect. 23.

and propensities which were equally barbarous and disgusting.⁵⁷ And at this very point of time, a roving band of exiles from Saxony having made a descent on the coast of Britain A. D. 449, with Hengist and Horsa at their head,⁵⁸ two chiefs who deduced their descent from Odin or Woden,⁵⁹ they were immediately engaged by the degenerate Britons as friends and defenders.⁶⁰

The Saxons.

Chap. III.

The Saxons hate both Druidism and Christianity—Seize on the kingdom—Commit desperate ravages—Destroy the church in Deirvold—Abolish Christianity—Pope Gregory—Is struck with the beauty of some youthful slaves from Deira—Commissions Augustine to convert the Anglo-Saxons—Ethelbert converted—Saxon temples converted into Christian churches—King Edwin convenes a solemn assembly in Deirvold, to deliberate on the propriety of embracing the Christian religion—Arguments of Paulinus—successful—Coiffi, the pagan High Priest, desecrates the Temple of Thor at Godmanham—Edwin baptized—The people converted by thousands, and baptized in the river Swale.

THE Saxons were a brave and warlike people, trained to arms from boyhood, and stimulated to courage, and even cruelty, by every incentive that could impress a young and ardent mind. At the age of fifteen years, the youthful warrior was eligible for admission into his noviciate for the profession of arms; and such were the severity and hardihood of early education, that at this age the Saxon youth usually acquired all the nerve and vigour of a full grown man.

Notwithstanding the primitive barbarism of the Saxons, they are the people of whom we have the greatest reason to be proud. The Romans introduced into this island the arts of civilization, and the comforts of domestic life, but the Saxons did

⁵⁷ Amm. Marcel. l. 28. c. 3.

⁵⁸ Taliesin. Owen's Diet. v. Cw. Turn. Angl. Sax. vol. i. p. 151.

⁵⁹ Suorro. Sturl. Chron. Norweg. p. 4. ⁶⁰ H. Hunt. p. 309.

more. They not only gave to this kingdom salutary laws, by which the rights and liberties of its inhabitants were defined and made secure, but they laid the foundation on which the fabric of our glorious constitution is built; and by the union of wisdom and piety they succeeded in gradually forming the minds and manners of society to an intercourse of superior polish, and conducive to the best interests of morality and virtue.

Previously to this consummation, however, we have to record scenes and transactions in which perfidy led the way to violence, and produced a sanguinary conflict, which almost deprived the island of its ancient population.

When the Saxons made their first descent upon the coasts, they came in the character of friends. Having performed the duty for which they had been engaged, and driven the Picts and Scots to their native fastnesses, they had leisure to consider the religious and political institutions of Britain, and were soon impressed with a sovereign contempt for both. The pusillanimity of the people when opposed to a foreign enemy² excited their disdain; while the domestic quarrels and civil discord which convulsed the island,³ only exposed to the perfidious ally their habitual insubordination, and consequent weakness; and if they turned to the sacred rites of religion, addressed to a god of peace, it was only to be impressed with the sneer of contempt. The island was divided between the Christian and the druidical religions, though at this period the latter was predominant. Accustomed in their own country to rich temples and superb statues of the gods,⁴ they were struck with astonishment not unmingled with scorn, to find in Britain no appearance of an image; no indication of a present deity. Neither Druids nor Christians admitted statues of the Supreme Being into their temples, for on this point they held one common belief, that God is invisible, and would be dishonoured by any attempt to personate him in a graven image.⁵

The Saxons, struck with this remarkable singularity, concluded that Britain was abandoned by the gods, and that hence the people were unnerved and divested of natural courage. These reflections were the first germ of that bold and decisive step which ultimately gave them possession of the island. Its beauty and fruitfulness excited their cupidity, and they determined to extirpate both druidism and christianity, and to plant in their stead the military superstitions of their own country.

² Gidas. Sect. 17. ³ Arymes Prydain Vawr. Camb. Reg. 1796, p. 554.

⁴ Olaus Mag. Hist. Septent. p. 104. Verst. Rest. c. 3. Mal. N. Ant. vol. 1. p. 127.

⁵ Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 9. Lucan. l. 3. Borl. Ant. Corn. p. 105.

Having resolved on a breach of faith, they sought not a cloak for their perfidy. Hengist invited the assistance of his countrymen under the high expectation of aggrandizement; spake of the fertility of the soil, and the dissensions of the inhabitants,⁶ affording the means of easy conquest and abundant reward; and they came over in shoals at his summons.⁷ The two brothers began the quarrel by complaining, that the stipulated subsidies had not been regularly paid,⁸ and threatening to discharge the account by ravaging the country.⁹ He invited a meeting of the British chiefs at Stonehenge, and there committed that horrible slaughter which has excited the universal indignation of posterity.¹⁰ The Britons flew to arms, indignant at this deliberate act of treachery, and under the command of Vortimer, gave the Saxons battle. Success for a time fluctuated between the invaders and the rightful owners of the soil, but the former had undoubtedly the advantage, for the British clans, still distracted by intestine disputes, wasted their strength in their own petty quarrels, instead of firmly uniting against the common foe; and hence the Saxons, brave by nature and inured to war, cemented by union, and intent on one great object, the complete subjugation of Britain, carried devastation and death wherever they went. Horsa was slain in a battle at Eggesford; and Hengist, who is characteristically denominated by the bards, "the freckled intruder," (*dyvynawl vrych*)¹¹ to revenge his death, proceeded with the rapidity of an incensed fiend through every province in Britain,¹² burning and destroying towns and villages; slaughtering the defenceless; sacrificing the priests of druidism, and the bishops of christianity on their own altars,¹³ and spreading terror and carnage throughout the country. It was during this terrific progress that he appeared with his army in Deira; the country was ravaged, the inhabitants

⁶ Ethelwerd. 833. ⁷ Nennius. c. 37. ⁸ Nennius. c. 35. ⁹ Bede. l. 1. c. 15.

¹⁰ Aneurin. Goddodin. Welsh. Archæol. vol. i. p. 14-14. Nennius. c. 48.

¹¹ Aneurin. Gododin. Dav. Druid. p. 359.

¹² Gildas. sect. 24. Langhorne. p. 33. Usher. p. 226. Hume. vol. i. p. 21. Mr. Turner, however, pronounces that Hengist never penetrated far beyond his kingdom of Kent; and that he fought no battles in any other part of the island. Anglo-Sax. vol. i. p. 167.

¹³ Bede. l. 1. c. 15. Tacitus de mor. Germ. says, that this people sacrificed human victims; and Sidonius. Appoll. Ep. 6. l. 8. adds, that they decimated their captives. Verstegan. p. 81. from Crantz. Hist. Norw. l. 3. c. 3. speaks of a king of Norway who sacrificed two of his own sons to procure a storm at sea, which might destroy the fleet of Harold, king of Denmark, who threatened to invade his dominions. Vid. also Snorre. Sturl. l. 1. p. 56. Verst. Rest. p. 73. Mall. N. Ant. vol. i. p. 134. and Turn. Angl. Sax. vol. iv. p. 24.

put to the sword, and the Christian edifice at the Beaver-Lake, in Sylva Deirorum, was reduced to ashes.¹⁴

The Saxons having at length acquired a permanent dominion in this island, their first object was to settle the national religion on the principles of the Gothic superstition; and to abolish the Celtic worship by the substitution of their own gods. Thus was a new system introduced, founded indeed on the same principles, but embracing a different object; for whilst the votive sacrifices of the Britons were addressed to Hu, the god of peace, those of the Saxons were offered up to Woden, the deity of war.¹⁵ These rites were undoubtedly celebrated in the wood of Deira;¹⁶ and the Saxon religion remained in the ascendant throughout the greater part of Britain for more than a century. The first blow which it sustained was inflicted by Pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, about the year 597. This excellent personage sustained a character of much estimation, both as an ecclesiastic and a politician; and ample justice has been done to his merits, as well by his contemporaries, as by succeeding generations. To his extraordinary zeal and perseverance the Anglo-Saxons were most essentially indebted for their conversion from the horrible system of idol worship; and the whole tenor of his conduct, with few exceptions, was exemplary as a Christian bishop, beyond that of any other Roman pontiff. He was a gentleman by birth, education, and manners; being nobly descended, and the great grandson of a pope.¹⁷ His distinguished talents had been improved in the best manner of the times; and he devoted his earlier services to the public in a civil station, as governor of Rome. In that high office, he acquitted himself with reputation and applause. Early in the prime of his days he formed an irresistible bias towards monastic retirement. How well calculated soever he might have been for civil employments to which his inducements were more numerous and weighty, he voluntarily relinquished the splendid offers of ambition, and attached himself solely to the calm pursuits of learning and religion. His paternal fortune, which

¹⁴ *Lel. ex. MS. Dom. T. Herbert. Warburton's MSS. Lands. B. Mus. 896. viii. fo. 230.* Turner places the conquest of Deira and Bernicia, under Ida, in 547, and says, on the authority of the Welsh Triads, that the names of the British sovereigns of these states were Gall, Dyvedel, and Yogwnell. *Angl. Sax. vol. i. p. 174.*

¹⁵ *Gr. ab. Arthur. Owen's W. Dict. v. credu.*

¹⁶ *Bede. l. i. c. 13. Camd. (Gibs.) col. 738. Ling. Ang. Sax. Ch. p. 17. Alcuin. pont. et. sanct. Eccl. Ebor. v. 186.*

¹⁷ *Felix II. who died A. D. 492, the 47th bishop of Rome.*

was very considerable, he distributed with a liberal hand amongst his kindred, and, with the small remains of his property, he built and endowed churches and monasteries. His gradations from monkish seclusion to the papal throne were few, but honourable to himself, and beneficial to those who employed him.¹⁸

Passing through the market place at Rome, just before his elevation to the pontificate, he saw some Saxon children exposed for sale, according to the custom of the Northumbrians,¹⁹ and being struck with their uncommon beauty and symmetry of form, he eagerly enquired the name of the country which could produce such perfect specimens of the human frame. Being answered that they were Angles, he exclaimed in an ecstasy, that they ought to be called angels. On a more particular enquiry, he found that they came from the province of Deira. "De ira," said the benevolent monk; "they shall be called from the *wrath* to the *mercy* of God. What is the name of their king?" "Ella," was the reply. "Allelujah," returned Gregory, "the praise of the true God, shall henceforth be re-echoed in their own land;" and from that moment he determined to undertake, in person, a mission into Britain.²⁰ His popularity at home, however, prevented this benevolent project from being carried into effect, though it was with much difficulty that he was dissuaded from executing his intention. Being exalted to the papal throne, Gregory despatched his friend Augustine on this important errand,²¹ by whose zeal Ethelbert was soon converted to the Christian faith. His example was efficacious. His subjects embraced christianity in great numbers,²² and Augustine was constituted bishop of Canterbury, and received the pallium from Gregory, with full authority over all the churches which he should be the means of founding in Britain.²³

To render christianity palatable to the Anglo-Saxons, Augustine was directed by the pope to allow them the indulgence of some of their ancient peculiarities, by incorporating into christianity, in every practical point, the less offensive tenets of their own superstition. He directed him to convert their temples into Christian churches,²⁴ by merely destroying the idols, and consecrating the altars, that the

¹⁸ Ex. MS. Rev. J. Watts. ¹⁹ Malms. l. 1. c. 3.

²⁰ Vid. Verst. Rest. p. 141. ²¹ Vid. Weever. Fun. Mon. p. 62.

²² Bede. l. 1. c. 26. ²³ Chron. Sax. p. 23.

²⁴ This was not a new expedient, for it had been already practised on the first introduction of christianity into Britain; and it is curious to observe, that in every quarter of the globe the same plan has been pursued. In Mexico, the ancient pyramids were denominated by the idolatrous worshippers, *teocallis*, or temples of the gods, and were esteemed peculiarly sacred. When

people might enter their accustomed places of worship without suspicion, and offer their vows with more confidence to the true and living God.²⁵ And he directed also, that Christian feasts should be instituted in lieu of the sacrificial festivals which usually accompanied the pagan worship, and that they should be celebrated in the immediate neighbourhood of the church.²⁶

Christianity now began to prevail throughout the southern divisions of the kingdom; where, in fact, it had partially existed in a disguised form during the prevalence of idolatry;²⁷ and its blessings were soon communicated to Northumbria. Edwin, the monarch of this province, had been educated in the principles of the Saxon idolatry, and in the former part of his life evinced no traits of character that appeared favourable to the cause of truth. About the beginning of the seventh century he married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, who was a sincere Christian, and through her influence he was induced to embrace the true faith. Her first step was a simple request, that she herself might be protected in the exercise of her own religion, which was granted without reluctance; and she immediately appointed Paulinus, a learned ecclesiastic, to be her confessor.²⁸ She then proceeded to use arguments for the purpose of inducing her husband to embrace the same religion; she enumerated all its superior advantages; she pressed upon him the peculiar interest she had in his spiritual welfare; and such was her anxiety and zeal, seconded and enforced by the rhetoric of Paulinus, that

Christianity was established, churches and chapels were uniformly erected in these holy places. The great pyramid of Cholula had an altar on its top, dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, or the serpent with green feathers. "A small chapel, surrounded with cypress, and dedicated to the Virgin de los Remedios, has succeeded to the temple of the god of the air. An ecclesiastic of the Indian race, celebrates mass every day on the top of the antique monument. In the time of Cortez, Cholula was considered as a holy city. No where existed a greater number of *teocallis*, of priests and religious orders; no spot displayed greater magnificence in the celebration of public worship, or more austerity in its penances and fasts. Since the introduction of Christianity, the symbols of a new worship have not entirely effaced the remembrance of the old. The people assemble in crowds from distant quarters at the summit of the pyramid, to celebrate the festival of the virgin. A mysterious dread, a religious awe, fills the soul of the Indian at the sight of this immense pile of bricks, covered with shrubs and perpetual verdure." Humboldt's *Researches in America*, vol. i. p. 98.

²⁵ Bede. l. 1. c. 30. Collier. *Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 73. From this custom there is one instance on record of a Saxon temple in East-Anglia which contained two altars; one for the use of the Christians, and the other an altar dedicated to the pagan triad Woden—Thor—Frea. Bede. l. 2. c. 15.

²⁶ *Spel. Conc.* p. 89. These feasts of dedication were probably the origin of our present annual country wakes or feasts.

²⁷ Bede. l. 1. c. 25. ²⁸ H. Hunt. l. 3.

Edwin at length consented to take the advice of his priests and counsellors on the question; and if, on mature examination, he should be satisfied with the arguments advanced in favour of the new religion, he would embrace it without hesitation.²⁹ This course was open and candid, as it placed the two systems on the foundation of their respective merits, and left them to stand or fall by the truth or falsehood of their pretensions.

A formal meeting was convened in the wood of Deira, the centre of the idolatrous worship, and the pagan priests and ministers were invited to assist in the deliberations. Coiffi, the high priest of Woden, was heard in behalf of the Saxon worship; and it may be supposed, that in an assembly of his own followers, his words and influence would excite a general attention; and some degree of astonishment manifested itself amongst the multitude, when in giving an account of his own religion, he pronounced it unprofitable and useless. On the other hand appeared Paulinus, clothed in all the grace and dignity of truth, and attended by many zealous Christian divines, bearing the sacred emblem of their religion. Paulinus addressed the assembly with all the solemnity of pure devotion; he spake of God's unity as opposed to the numerous divinities of the Saxon creed; which, if equally powerful, would be at constant variance as conflicting interests might prompt; and if not equally powerful, of consequence, not effective duties;³⁰ he spake of the absurdity of worshipping as a god, a mere mortal, whom their ancestors had seen alive; whose representatives were images of wood and stone, and whose only merit consisted in his personal courage, which was equalled, if not exceeded, by many living chiefs; and whose banners now trampled under foot by

²⁹ Bede. l. 2. c. 9.

³⁰ In the first times of the Saxon monarchy, idols and visible representatives of the deity were absolutely prohibited, and he was directed to be worshipped in the lonely solitude of sequestered forests, where he was believed to dwell invisible and in solemn silence. Tacit. de mor. Germ. l. 9. c. 35. But after the irruption of Odin and his followers, numerous objects of adoration were introduced, Edda. Snor. Fab. 10. and personified by statues; Verst. Rest. p. 69. to each of which was assigned a particular dominion; and hence every part of the creation was placed under the protection of its peculiar divinity. Woods, houses, mountains, the elements, sun, stars, and even thunder and lightning, wind and rain, were each assigned to the care of a presiding deity; who were thus unitedly or individually enabled to visit their friends with benefits, their enemies with destruction. These inferior deities, considered at first only as mediators, were, in process of time, invested with a fearful authority; and as courage, valour, and superior strength were the chief traits of excellence in this rude people, the first cause soon became esteemed as the god of war; and was depicted as a sanguinary being, terrible even to the good and virtuous; clad in vengeance as with a garment, and delighting in desolation and carnage, slaughter and blood. Mal. N. Ant. vol. i. p. 86.

the followers of the Cross in almost every other country, induced this inevitable conclusion, that his aid was perfectly inefficacious, either to convey blessings, or to avert misfortune;—he spake of the extension of the paternal tie cemented by the rite of Christian baptism, and enlarged on the benign nature of a religion which abolishes the unnatural system of slavery to which the child was subject, by their laws, to its parent; softens the human heart, ameliorates the disposition, and converts all mankind into a universal society of friends and brothers;—he spake of the general udgment, the felicity of future reward, the dreadful misery of future punishment, both of which were clearly revealed in the gospel of Christ;—contrasted the wild and ridiculous notions which they held on this awful subject, with the genial tenets of christianity; and concluded with an eloquent appeal to their reason, founded on the universal reception of christianity, by the wisest and most polished nations of the earth.³¹ In a word, he so successfully pleaded the cause of this pure and perfect religion, that the chief priest, Coiffi, put an end to the ceremony by declaring himself a convert; and to shew his sincerity and zeal, he mounted a war horse, seized a javelin, and proceeding with the multitude in his train, to the temple at Godmanham, which was then situated within the wood,³² with a malediction to his god, he cast the spear so violently into the fane, that it remained firmly fixed in the opposite wall.³³ The people expected that this impious act would elicit the summary vengeance of the offended gods, and that the intrepid Coiffi would become an instant victim to their fury. But nothing of the kind happened; and the assembly were impressed with a necessary conviction of the impotence and nothingness of deities composed of wood and stone; and in the fury of their newly excited zeal, levelled this magnificent³⁴ temple with the ground, and set fire to the surrounding groves.³⁵

This triumphant illustration of the superiority of the true religion was decisive of the question. Edwin was baptized at York, on Easter day, A. D. 627.³⁶ This event was attended with the most advantageous consequences, and christianity now

³¹ Bede. l. 2. c. 10. l. 2. c. 13.

³² Vid. Ling. Ang. Sax. Ch. p. 17. Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 433.

³³ Bede. l. 2. c. 13. Gibs. Camb. col. 738. Ling. Ang. Sax. Ch. p. 17.

³⁴ Whittaker. Manches. vol. ii. p. 360. ³⁵ Bede. l. 2. c. 14.

³⁶ Ing. Sax. Chron. p. 34. This is a brief and rational account of Edwin's conversion. The monkish legends related by credulous authors, are too much tinged with the superstitions of the times to be entitled to our belief.

spread rapidly throughout the whole of Edwin's dominions. Inducements of a temporal nature were, doubtless, held out to the priests of idolatry, for the purpose of inducing them to embrace the Christian faith; for Paulinus well knew that if *they* came over, the people would immediately follow;³⁷ and even the fiery Coiffi is represented as being out of humour with his own religion, because it had failed to accelerate the designs of his avarice and ambition.³⁸ Whatever were the moving causes however, it is certain that christianity from this time flourished abundantly in Deira. The royal example was followed with avidity by his subjects, and so clamourous were the people for legitimate admission to the benefits of the Christian covenant, that Paulinus was obliged to baptize the crowds of postulants in the river Swale.³⁹

³⁷ Fabyan. Chron. p. 112. ³⁸ Ling. Ang. Sax. Ch. p. 16.

³⁹ Speed. Brit. p. 313.

The Saxons.

Chap. IV.

The Saxons acquainted with the elementary principles of architecture—Christianity flourishes in Deira—Probable that the church at Beverlac was re-edified by that people—Invasion of Cadwallo and Penda—Edwin slain—Druidism restored at Beverlac, by Cadwallo and his Druids—Splendid rites of worship celebrated there—Excesses at these festivals—Oswald patronizes the Christians—The wood of Deira polluted—JOHN OF BEVERLEY BORN—Acquires a high degree of reputation—Jurisdiction of the Pope—Wilfrid appeals to his holiness against a decree of the synod—The pope supports his cause, and pronounces judgment in his favour—John of Beverley consecrated bishop of Hagulstad—His singular activity in that high situation—Miracles attributed to him—John elevated to the archiepiscopal see of York—Visits Beverlac—Charmed with the beauty of its situation—Rebuilds the church—Founds a double monastery—St. Martin's church—Style and character of the buildings—En-

downments—Church of St. Nicholas—This establishment highly advantageous to the cause of christianity—Origin of collegiate churches—Temporal jurisdiction of the abbots—Courts—Persevering industry of the religious orders—John vacates his see, and retires to Beverley—Dies, and is buried there—Influence attached to the name of John of Beverley.

THE Saxons were not wholly ignorant of the science of architecture when they first invaded this country; though while every effort of their genius was profusely lavished on the structures of religion, their private habitations were little superior to the den of a savage beast. All the nations who used the Gothic worship, are said to have erected splendid temples to the honour of their gods,¹ while their domestic residence consisted chiefly, either of wretched huts, or burrows in the earth, where they existed in a state little superior to the brutes; and discovered no animation or energy of mind, except when roused to action by the prospect of some warlike expedition. In conformity with this principle, every habitation constructed in such a manner as to exclude the air, if it contained but one apartment, was dignified with the name of a hall;² if it included several rooms, it was styled a palace. The account of the palace of Thor, mentioned in the poem of Grimnis, and quoted in the Edda of Snorro, which is perhaps purely mythological, may be considered as illustrative of their vast conceptions of a magnificent religious structure. "The most illustrious among the gods, is Thor. His kingdom is called Thrudwanger. He possesses there a palace, in which are *four hundred and forty* halls. It is the larger house that is known. There are five hundred and forty halls in the winding palace of the god Thor; and I believe there is no where a greater fabric than this of the eldest of sons."³

During a continuance of that happy period when christianity flourished in Northumbria, under the auspices of Edwin, the ecclesiastical establishment at the Beaver-Lake, in the wood of Deira, would undoubtedly extend its influence, and share in the honour of making converts to the faith of Jesus. The knowledge of architecture, which the Saxons inherited from their forefathers, however limited, would be much improved by the study of Roman magnificence, in the numerous remains which that polished people left behind them;⁴ and their acquirements would be displayed in the erection of religious edifices. Amongst these, it is highly

¹ Olans. Mag. c. 6.

² Bede. l. 2. c. 13.

³ Edda, Snor. Fab. 11. ⁴ Bede. l. 5. c. 2. Gyrald. Camb. p. 14.

probable, although we have no direct evidence to confirm the conjecture, that the ruined fabric at the Beaver-Lake was repaired, and converted once more into a place of Christian worship.⁵ The reluctance with which the truth had been formerly received by the people, appeared to have passed away; and the robe of innocence, which, on a former occasion had been assumed with evident regret, was now eagerly solicited, and worn with emotions of apparent gratitude and joy. How fond of novelty is man; and how much is he enslaved by the force of example. A royal precedent now incites these barbarians to renounce their prejudices, and clothe themselves in the garment of righteousness. A few years hence, when the authority of the royal convert has been superseded by death, we shall find the self-same people returning with renewed avidity to their ancient errors, and even raising their arms against those sacred edifices, which had been the scene of their public reception into the church of God.

The conversion of the king, and the spread of christianity, soon became known to his pagan neighbours; and the hated truth inflamed them with the desire of vindicating the injured honour of their gods.⁶ Penda, king of the Mercians, formed a league with Cadwallo, king of Wales, though a nominal Christian, and they collected their forces, and invaded Northumbria, with the avowed intention of laying waste the country, and extirpating every vestige of the new religion. Edwin, animated with ardent courage, in defence of his altars and the cause of his God, met these infuriate invaders at Hatfield Chase, and a dreadful conflict ensued, which terminated in favour of the pagan chiefs. The king was slain, and his army completely routed.⁷ It is impossible to describe the devastation that followed this victory. Fire and sword attended the course of the invading army. Neither age nor sex were spared, but all who had embraced the Christian faith were singled out for objects of indiscriminate slaughter.⁸ The missionary Paulinus fled with precipitation into Kent, taking with him the queen, and Elfreda, her daughter;⁹ and also the consecrated vessels bestowed on the church by king Edwin.¹⁰ Numbers who professed this faith, now openly abandoned it, and with a predilection for their ancient habits, joined the enemy, and lent their aid towards destroying the consecrated oratories, which had many times resounded with the harmonized voices of pious worshippers, while offering up to heaven the incense of a contrite heart, in a celestial anthem of love and gratitude.

⁵ Greg. Ep. 71. ⁶ Bede. l. 2. c. 14. ⁷ Ibid. l. 2. c. 20. Ing. Sax. Chron. p. 35.

⁸ Geoffery. l. 12. c. 9.

⁹ Fabyan. Chron. p. 112.

¹⁰ Butl. Lives of the Saints.

It is well known that all the rites of the ancient British superstition, such as Cadwallo and his followers practised,¹¹ were performed in the open air; and it was a maxim amongst them, that the deity was profaned by the rites of worship offered in a building with walls and a covered roof.¹² Hence the Christian churches would be amongst the first objects of druidical fury, and the edifice at Beaver-Lake, of what nature soever it might be, would not escape pollution; and the lake itself, surrounded as it was, by a consecrated grove, would be again resorted to, as a convenient theatre for the performance of druidical rites; and these were accordingly celebrated by Cadwallo and his Britons, with all the pomp and solemnity of ancient times.

The daring marauders did not retire from the scene of action when they saw an idolatrous prince seated on the throne, and the superstitions of polytheism exalted upon the prostration of christianity. Eanfrid, as king of Bernicia, and Osric, king of Deira, the immediate successors of Edwin, had renounced christianity; and continued, during their brief reign, a systematic persecution of their former brethren in the faith. In the absence of Paulinus, the district of Deira was fully abandoned to the exercise of idolatrous profanations. The unconverted pagan priests, now emerging from their hiding places, claimed their former dignities, and united with the triumphant Britons in celebrating the downfall of christianity by a sacrifice of thanksgiving, accompanied by the immolation of their prisoners on a desecrated altar; the bards, with the celebrated Llywarch Hen at their head, by the melody of their harps, brought back the recollection of times long past; and men's hearts, always inconstant, fond of change, and wedded to the meretricious blandishments of idolatry, were soothed to peace, and received joyfully the imposing rites of a fascinating worship long banished from the Beaver-Lake, which charmed by its magnificence, and awed by its solemnity, and its appearance of invincible decorum.

¹¹ Speed and some other writers have assured us, that Cadwallo had embraced christianity; but it is evident from the cruelties which he exercised on the professors of that religion, that he was under the influence of his Druids; and they, at this very time, made use of the following language. "Trust in God that those are no Druids, who prophesy that the privilege of Dûn Brëon will be violated." Meugant. Dûn Brëon was the supreme mount of *druidical* judgment. Again, Golyddan, another bard says, "Druids vaticinate—a multitude shall arrive; from Menevia to Armorica shall be in their hand: from Dernetia to Thanet shall they possess. It is Merddin (Merlin) who predicts—this will come to pass." Dav. Druid. p. 7. Besides, Cadwallo was the intimate friend and associate of the venerable Llywarch, who was a genuine bard, and strongly impregnated with a predilection for the druidical lore.

¹² Cic. de leg. l. 2. c. 2.

Could we penetrate through the veil which conceals past things from our view, we might contemplate the scene which was exhibited at this period, on the spot where the town of Beverley now stands, unconscious of the pollutions which once disgraced its precincts. There, beside the Beddaren, or hill where the minster is situated, stood the venerable Druid, supported by his magic wand,¹³ clad in a white and flowing robe, a red tiara on his head, a beard descending to his waist,¹⁴ and his person decorated with the anguinum ovum,¹⁵ golden chains, and amulets, and rings of the same metal.¹⁶ With eyes uplifted towards heaven, the very portrait of innocence and integrity, we might behold this sanguinary minister of a polluted faith, and mistake him for a living pattern of every pure and perfect virtue, while in his heart the evil passions of pride, cruelty, and self-importance raged uncontrolled, as the welcome attendants on such a horrible system of religion. On his right hand were ranged the bards, clothed in shining robes of cerulean blue, bearing their well-tuned harps, and ready at the well known signal, to raise a solemn chorus; on his left the Eubates, habited in sober green, and the aspirants in robes of intermingled green and white and blue; while the devoted people, stricken with an indescribable awe, stood trembling round at a respectful distance,¹⁷ to witness the restoration of the primitive religion of Britain, yet dreading to behold some horrid sacrifice.¹⁸ At their head stood the chieftains, distinguished by their round bonnets,

¹³ Frick. in *Bulæo*. p. 143. *Borl. Cornw.* p. 121. *Toland.* p. 20. The wand was an indispensable appendage to the appearance of the Druid. It was alike the staff to support his steps in long and wearisome journeys, and the agent in all his magical operations.

¹⁴ The beard was a remarkable characteristic of the druidical priesthood. It gave the Druid a venerable appearance, which struck the uninitiated with awe and respect; and the length and comeliness of the beard was not a trifling qualification for the highest offices of the priesthood, which were usually conferred by public election. Strabo describes the inhabitants generally as being bearded like goats!

¹⁵ Pliny. l. 29. c. 3.

¹⁶ The ornaments of a Druid consisted of chains and rings of gold, and amber beads; the magical amulets, and many little gold, amber, and ivory trinkets, each possessing some mystical property, or some protecting influence, which conveyed a sacred character to the wearer, that rendered his person inviolate. Great numbers of these trinkets have been discovered by our antiquaries in their researches, and by none more than by the indefatigable Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart.

¹⁷ Lucan. l. 3. v. 402.

¹⁸ Strabo. l. 4. *Diod. Sic.* p. 308. "In some places this custom was observed, which, I suppose, was common to the Druids of Gaul and Britain. They made a statue or image of a man in a vast proportion, whose limbs consisted of twigs, weaved together in the nature of basket-ware. These they filled with living men, and after that, set it on fire, and so destroyed the poor creatures in smoke and flames." *Sammes. Brit.* p. 104.

and plaided garments, and ornamented with torques,¹⁹ or chains of gold, brass, or iron. In solemn silence we might behold them waiting with breathless anxiety for the moment when the augur should proclaim the will and pleasure of the deity;²⁰ then, when the victim was ceremonially placed on the fire-altar,²¹ we might hear a simultaneous burst of harmony. The sacred hymn to Hu was, at this moment, chaunted in full chorus by a thousand voices, accompanied with the bardic harps;²² and the arch of heaven resounded with the polluted harmony. The softer sex was melted into enthusiastic veneration and religious awe; and even the half savage barbarian, subdued by the force of superstitious feeling, involuntarily cast his warlike weapons to the earth, and fell prostrate before the being whom his imagination had clothed in terror, and whose vengeance he wished to deprecate, by unfeigned humility and abject submission. Then was the Beaver drawn from the Lake, and placed triumphantly on the Beddaren; then followed another hymn of joyful exultation, in which the people joined; and at length the assembly was dismissed with prayers and benedictions, to partake of the festivities which always succeeded to a public sacrifice.²³

Such, and so captivating, were the rites of druidism; and thus were they celebrated during the brief period of idolatrous domination, with more than pristine magnificence; that early habits and propensities, which had but slept under the prevalence of christianity, might gradually develope themselves, and return with full vigour to the practice of ancient superstitions.

¹⁹ A torques was found by the Rev. E. Stillingfleet and B. Clarkson, Esq. in a tumulus at Arras, in the year 1817, placed on the neck of a skeleton, which was doubtless that of a British chieftain.

²⁰ Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 20. ²¹ Pliny. l. 16. c. 17.

²² Gododin. Song. 24. Taliesin. Mic. Dinbych. Welsh. Arch. p. 67. A translation of this hymn may be found in Maurice's Hindostan, vol. ii. p. 174, from Vallancy. de Reb. Hib.

²³ These festivals were usually characterized by intemperance and excess; and the people being left at uncontrolled liberty to follow the dictates of inclination, seldom departed till in a state of absolute inebriety. The untutored Britons were not singular in the indulgence of these excesses. Even the polished Greeks practised the same enormities before the altars of their gods, at the celebration of the Dionysiaca. At the approach of night, when the sacrifices were completed, the revellers fled into the woods, some with torches, others with cymbals, making the air resound with frantic cries of Evoe! Bacche! Hues! Attes! Hues! and the rites of religion ended in drunkenness and debauch. A banquet was prepared in the temple; at which it was necessary that great quantities of wine should be consumed; *excessive drinking being esteemed an irrefragable proof of superior piety*; and to retire from a sacrifice perfectly sober, was considered an indelible disgrace. This practice, however, was condemned by Plato. Speaking of the abominations of the Dionysiaca, he says, that being present at the celebration of one of these festivals, he saw the whole city of Athens in a state of beastly intoxication! de leg. l. 1.

But though these and the Saxon rites were alternately celebrated with all the pomp and ceremony which could be assumed to give weight and stability to polytheism, it was quite impossible that their predominancy could be of long continuance. The cause of christianity was too deeply implanted, notwithstanding this partial apostacy, to fall for ever before the efforts, however strenuously employed, or highly countenanced, of pagan idolatry. The tree shook, but the axe was not at its root; and therefore, as if refreshed by a temporary persecution, it was again excited to action, under the genial protection of Oswald,²⁴ and regained a limited dominion in Northumbria.²⁵ The priests of idolatry endeavoured to impede its progress; and such was the unsettled state of the kingdom, that each in turn obtained and enjoyed the pre-eminence; but christianity was not sufficiently reinstated to procure the full restoration of her church and privileges. She again languished; and the death of Oswald, who was slain in battle with Penda, gave the false religion once more the advantage. Churches were polluted by altars dedicated to superstitious uses, and Thor and Woden were now triumphantly substituted for the worship of the true and living God; for Cadwallo had been slain in a battle fought with Oswald, near Hexham, and his Britons totally dispersed; and with them the relics of druidism finally vanished from the wood of Deira. This melancholy change maintained its influence for the space of thirty years; after which christianity was universally restored by the preaching of Wilfrid, who entered on this arduous mission under the influence of Egfrid, king of Northumbria. His success was abundant; he was installed archbishop of York,²⁶ and the people joyfully embraced the glad tidings of salvation.

The Beaver-Lake in the wood of Deira had been so openly polluted with the abominations of idolatry, that no attempts were made to restore the Christian establishment within its dreadful inclosure. The honour of this work was reserved for a shining character in the history of these times; on whose merits and resplendent virtues we shall dilate with sentiments of the purest satisfaction.

John, afterwards surnamed, of Beverley, was born at Harpham,²⁷ A. D. 640. He was of a noble Saxon family, and his father had contributed much to prevent the utter ruin of christianity in the places where lay his territorial possessions.

²⁴ Bede. l. 3. c. 23.

²⁵ Oswald set up the emblem of christianity before his decisive battle with Cadwallo, to which circumstance the victory was attributed; and this is said by Speed to have been the first Cross that was erected in Britain. Hist. Brit. p. 353.

²⁶ Brompton. apud Dec. Script. col. 790. ²⁷ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 100.

His influence, though insufficient to avert the calamities to which his religion was exposed, still fanned the smouldering embers, and preserved them from utter extinction. His authority was frequently interposed to prevent the insolent expression of reproach by which his persecuted brethren were too often goaded to submission; and if he could not openly establish the rites of Christian worship in all those places which had once been consecrated to the true and living God, he did much towards preserving the principles of it alive in the hearts of his people, and inspired them with the patient expectation of a favourable and triumphant change. He educated his son in the strict principles of christianity, and he lived to be an honour to his country, and a shining ornament to the religion he professed.

This great man flourished in troublesome times; and to this circumstance, his celebrity may have been, in some respects, indebted; for it is in such periods of difficulty that brilliant talents have an opportunity of displaying themselves, and stability of character, united with the exercise of manly virtue, do not fail to receive the honourable testimony of public approbation. The church at the Beaver-Lake now lay in ruins, and some extraordinary concurrence of circumstances was necessary to furnish the impulse for its restoration. The Saxon nobles were rapidly degenerating from the hardy valour which placed this island at the disposal of their forefathers, and appear to have yielded up their minds to the influence of sloth and superstition. The body of ecclesiastics, from the practice of a stern self-denial, strengthened by much real sanctity, gradually succeeded in impressing on the minds of the people a profound veneration for their own persons;²⁸ and the laity were at length taught to believe, that the most meritorious actions men could perform, were, reverence to the saints, monastic vows, and the building and endowment of churches and religious houses.

Before this period the pope had no absolute jurisdiction within the realm of England. An opportunity now presented itself, which his holiness did not fail to improve, of investing the papal throne with the ecclesiastical sovereignty of this kingdom. Wilfrid, a man deservedly eminent for his learning and piety, and sedulous in the pastoral care of his flock, held the sees of York and Hexham; and this had been pronounced by a national synod, over which Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury presided, too extensive an undertaking for the superintendence of a single bishop. It was therefore decided, that they should henceforward form two

²⁸ Bede, l. 3. c. 26.

separate dioceses. Some writers add, that Wilfrid was altogether ejected.²⁹ The prelate however, whose great virtues were adulterated with an unbounded ambition and fondness for luxury,³⁰ haughtily protested against this decision; arraigned the jurisdiction of the synod, and appealed to the pope. He contended, that his holiness, as the successor of St. Peter, alone possessed the supreme authority in spiritual affairs over the whole Christian world; and that therefore he only had the power of depriving a bishop, or suspending the exercise of the episcopal function. The pope received his appeal with joy; and as he justly saw that this precedent would lay the foundation of the papal authority in England, he not only admitted the question to be tried in Rome, but after having protracted the proceedings during many months,³¹ at length gave judgment in Wilfrid's favour.

During the absence of Wilfrid, the synod constituted Bosa archbishop of York;³² and Eata, who was soon succeeded by John of Beverley, bishop of Hagulstad or Hexham.³³ Here his splendid talents had full scope for their exercise. His severity of discipline was increased, and he laboured incessantly for the conversion of that part of the population of his diocese which still remained enveloped in the fatal cloud of pagan superstition. At this period, it is doubtful, whether the northern parts of England were divided into parishes.³⁴ Every diocese was in effect but an extensive parish, over which the bishop in person was the

²⁹ Bede. l. 4. c. 12.

³⁰ Eddius. in vil. Wilf. c. 20. ³¹ R. of Hexham, c. 6. says, two years.

³² Bede. l. 5. c. 12. ³³ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. c. 100.

³⁴ Parishes are thought to have been first formed by archbishop Honorius, Stow. Chron. p. 77. Parker. Ant. Brit. Eccl. p. 77. who flourished about 636, as a necessary appropriation of ecclesiastical duties to certain responsible pastors, to prevent those irregularities which might and did arise from the interference that frequently occurred by the intrusive visits of strangers on the scene of other men's labours, to the manifest injury of religion. Selden, however, on Tithes. c. 9, thinks that parishes were not formed at this time; and, in his opinion, Blackstone seems to concur. Com. vol. i. p. 112. In 673, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, convened a synod; at which, amongst other regulations, this was agreed on. *Nullus Episcoporum parochiam alterius invadat*. And from this circumstance probably arises the opinion expressed by Lingard, that to archbishop Theodore belongs the merit of introducing the parochial division into the greater part of the kingdom. Vid. Lingard's Ant. of the Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 65, where is also an account of the origin of lay patronage. In the first ages of christianity, every man was at liberty to contribute his tithes to what parish or church soever he pleased; Blackst. Comment. vol. i. p. 112. but this privilege served as an existing means whereby any pique against the priest might be gratified by the alienation of his income. This inconvenience therefore was obviated; first, by the censures of the council of Calcuith; then by the famous charter of Ethelfwulf; and most effectually by the laws of Edgar, which provided, that all tithes should be paid in the parish where they arise; and that any lay proprietor who should build a church on his manor, with a house of residence for the clergyman, and endow it with lands and tithes, should be invested with the perpetual right of advowson.

principal ecclesiastical overseer; and the inferior clergy residing near him, were despatched, as the occasion might require, to the different parts of his jurisdiction, for the purpose of confirming the flock, and imparting to them, spiritual consolation.³⁵ Hence, it is evident, that the more remote parts of the diocese would be very imperfectly supplied with religious instruction. But John of Beverley employed his whole time in personally visiting his churches; and with the most laudable zeal, seconded by indefatigable attention, he conciliated the affection of his pagan opposers, and brought many of them into the fold of christianity; and even those who retained their former opinions, could not avoid feeling a respect for the man who appeared so sincere in his endeavours to promote their welfare. His austerity of discipline, when the subject of correction was himself; and his mildness and engaging deportment to others, soon exalted him in the public opinion, and he was regarded as a being of a superior order. Miracles, without number, were attributed to his holy agency, many of which have been transmitted to us by his friend and pupil—the venerable Bede.³⁷

Bosa, archbishop of York, dying probably before the restoration of Wilfrid, John was selected by the synod as the most proper person to supply his place, and he was solemnly consecrated by his friend Theodore in 687. This distinguished preference speaks loudly of the public estimation to which his virtues had exalted him; for he was neither luxurious nor ambitious; he took no part in the contemptible disputes which, at that period, agitated the Christian church;³⁸ but on the contrary, he was humble in his deportment and manner of life, and unassuming in his general conduct. These were the qualities, which doubtless recommended him as the best calculated to heal the bleeding wounds of the church, and cement the interests of christianity by the tie of brotherly love and cordial affection.

Soon after John's advancement to the archiepiscopal throne, Wilfrid returned in triumph to his diocese, bearing in his hand the pope's credentials for reinstating him in the whole of his former honours, and ecclesiastical dignities; and denoun-

³⁵ Warton. Ang. Sac. p. 427. Παροιμία and Διοχημῖς in these times, were equivalent expressions.

³⁷ Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 4, 5, 6. Vid. etiam Malms. de gest. l. 3. f. 153. et infra par. 3. c. 8. par. 4. c. 3.

³⁸ The Christians of the present day will be astonished to hear, that all christendom was at this time distracted and rent in pieces by disunion on two questions, which were considered of such vital importance, that either of the contending parties would have suffered martyrdom, rather than renounce their opinion. The first,—on what day the festival of Easter should be celebrated; and the other,—in what manner the ecclesiastical tonsure should be worn; or in other words, how a priest should shave his head!

cing degradation and anathema on all who should dare to oppose them. Impressed with a spirit of genuine Christian meekness, John tendered his resignation, which Wilfrid was not permitted to accept, and John still continued to occupy his high situation as bishop of York and Hexham until the year 705, when he resigned the latter to Wilfrid on his reconciliation with the bishops.³⁹

The zeal of our good archbishop now expanded itself; and christianity began to assume a more flourishing appearance in the north, under his benign auspices. He extended his visitations to every corner of the province; superintended the building and reparation of churches, and the foundation of monasteries; and his example stimulated the nobility to similar exertions. In one of these visitations he came to the town of Beverlac,⁴⁰ in the wood of Deira, a beautiful and secluded spot, fitted for the holy offices of prayer and contemplation, and abounding with every useful gift of a kind and bounteous providence. The sublime impressions

³⁹ The authorities for these events are exceedingly obscure and irreconcilable. Lingard says, that Wilfrid was restored to Hexham, Lindisfarne, and York, and adds in a note, that Cuthbert of Lindisfarne resigned; and if Bosa of York, and John of Hexham or Beverley did not follow his example, they were deposed. Richard of Hexham, Stubbs, and some later writers, on the contrary, say, that Wilfrid never again occupied the see of York. Vid. Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 177. From the Saxon Chronicle we learn, that when Wilfrid was driven from his bishoprick in 678, Bosa was consecrated bishop of the Deirians, and Eada of the Bernicians; and that John remained bishop of Hexham till Wilfrid was restored; when, on the death of Bosa in 685, he was translated to York. Burton. Mon. Ebor. p. 20, says, that for twelve years subsequently to this event, Wilfrid held the see of Leicester, having been obliged to quit Northumbria, after its monarch had refused to acknowledge the authority of the papal bull. In 705, he was restored to the see of Hexham and the monastery of Ripon, which he held till his death in 709. The statement in the text appears to be the true one.

⁴⁰ Bede terms it Inderwuda; but it is evident, that the Anglo-Saxons had already designated it by the name of Beoferlie. Vid. Camden's and Lingard's maps of Saxon England. The various names of this place are subjoined.

Llyn yr Avanc—The primitive druidical name.

Dwyvawr } Welsh Triads.

Deifyr }

Petuarua—Camden, Drake, &c.

Sylva Deirorum } Bede, Leland.

Deirwalde }

Onderwuda—Bede.

Beverlaga—Camden, Gough.

Beverlac—Alcuin.

Beoferlic—Camden, Lingard.

Beverlike—Athelstan's Charter.

Bevrel—Domesday.

Beveley }

Beverlaye } Inquis. Post. Mort.—Rot. Pat. and almost all the public records of the

Beverlac } kingdom, whether in the Tower, the Exchequer, or elsewhere.—

Bevlay }

Whence Beverley.

which spontaneously introduced themselves into the reverend prelate's mind, as his eye wandered in rapture over the various scenery of this delightful place; the irresistible elevation of his soul from the profuse decorations of nature up to nature's God; the simple devotion of the heart which was inspired by the scenes around him, bespoke this situation as marked out by the divine hand for a monastic retreat. The honest archbishop instantly imbibed a predilection in favour of this sylvan town, which was never effaced; and his comprehensive mind became overwhelmed with an ardent desire of re-establishing the ancient Christian church, and of conferring on it some peculiar marks of distinction. It has been asserted, that even at this early period of his acquaintance with the town of Beverlac, he contemplated it as a place suited to the retirement of his latter days, when the oppressive cares and duties of his exalted situation should be too weighty for his declining age; that here, in the charming solitude formed by nature, he might have leisure to soothe the agitations of a busy life; and at length, when his race was run, calmly resign his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

To give every possible effect to the plan of improvement thus formed; orders were immediately given for re-edifying⁴¹ the structure, which was rapidly accomplished under his own immediate inspection, for the science of architecture formed an indispensable study for an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic. This completed, he founded a monastery for black monks, and an oratory to the south of the church for religious nuns, which he dedicated to St. Martin.⁴² This afterwards became a parish church.⁴³ The archbishop added to the establishment seven secular priests and other ministers for the service of the altar, and placed the entire establishment under the superintendence of his friend and disciple Brithunus, whom he constituted the first abbot of Beverley.⁴⁴ This was effected in the year 704.⁴⁵

The style and character of the buildings are unknown, and all opinions on the subject must be merely conjectural. "It may suffice to refer to the ruins of the conventual church at Ely, a reference of peculiar propriety, in an attempt to investigate the nature of the original form of our church, as they must have been nearly cotemporary buildings. The church at Ely was built under the direction of Wil-

⁴¹ Leland says, he *rebuilt* the choir; Coll. vol. iii. p. 100. the undoubted inference then is, that the remains of a church existed at the period of his visitation; and Dugdale and Tanner both assert, that John converted the church into a monastery. Dug. Mon. vol. ii. p. 126. Tan. Notit. p. 635.

⁴² Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 34. ⁴³ Gent. Ripon. p. 74.

⁴⁴ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 34. ⁴⁵ Bede. l. 5. c. 5. Lel. Coll. vol. i. p. 118.

frid, who has been already mentioned as one of the predecessors of St. John, and at a very short interval from him. It was, as appears from its remains, an oblong building of two stories, with aisles on each side, but without tower or transept; divided by a cross wall into two parts, which communicated with each other by a low arched opening. The pillars which supported it are alternately circular and octagonal; the arches circular, and highly ornamented with the characteristic decorations of the Saxon style. The dimensions, compared with subsequent buildings, of a similar nature, are inconsiderable. The whole length of the nave being only 158 feet 3 inches; of the choir, 53 feet 3 inches; the width of the nave, 41 feet; its height 33 feet; height of pillars in the nave, 10 feet; in the chancel, 8 feet 4 inches. That the character and dimensions of the building originally raised by St. John, were similar to what has been above described, we have no evidence to prove, at the same time it is a very natural and rational conclusion that they were, at least that they could not be very essentially different."⁴⁶ The windows were undoubtedly glazed, in imitation of a specimen recently introduced into the cathedral at York, by Wilfrid.⁴⁷

The establishment being completed, the archbishop's next object was to endow it with revenues competent for its maintenance and support. This was soon accomplished; and the manor of Ridinge, with the adjoining wood, were the first offerings deposited on the altar of St. John. On this manor the archbishop built the church of St. Nicholas.⁴⁸ Circumstances soon added to the wealth of a foundation edified and protected by the chief dignitary of the province. The wife of earl Puch was attacked with a dangerous malady, and the daughter devoted herself for the mother's recovery. In an age when miracles obtained a general belief, it will be supposed that the supernatural aid of the archbishop would be called in, celebrated as he was for the performance of miraculous cures. He had just been engaged in the consecration of South-Burton church, where the earl resided, and prayers and holy water were alike administered to the afflicted patient. His prayers were heard, the mother recovered; and the daughter, of course, became a nun in the new establishment at Beverley, and the manor of Walkington was assigned to it by the grateful thane, as a peace offering to heaven.⁴⁹ St. John himself purchased lands at Middleton, Welwick, Bilton, and Patrington, and

⁴⁶ Coltman's Short Hist. of Beverley Minster, p. 27.

⁴⁷ Ling. Ang. Sax. Ch. p. 141. ⁴⁸ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 100.

⁴⁹ Bede. l. 5. c. 4. *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 101.

gave them to the same church. His influence with the Saxon nobility appears to have been unceasingly exerted in behalf of this his favourite institution. The manor and advowson of North-Burton were presented to it by earl Addi; and the chapels of Leckonfield and Scorburch were soon erected by the pious exertions of the same nobleman, which, in process of time, became parish churches.⁵⁰

The most transient view of this establishment will show its advantages to the cause of christianity at this precise period of time. The newly converted Saxons were many of them ignorant of its nature and design, and, wedded in their hearts to ancient errors, did but feebly support the character they had assumed, and remained in a state of neutral apathy, which was generally unfavourable to the new faith. The villages being unfurnished with resident priests, would have their religious services irregularly performed, notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of the bishops and clergy; and the inhabitants would become indifferent to the belief of Christian doctrines, and the performance of Christian duties. This evil was most sensibly felt, and a partial remedy was applied by the erection of monasteries, in imitation of the episcopal institutions attached to a cathedral church.⁵¹ In the immediate vicinity of these edifices, religion would be vigourously dispensed; the people would enjoy every benefit derivable from ecclesiastical activity and zeal, and christianity, in such situations, would take deep root, and flourish with so much strength and vigour as to defy all the efforts of its adversaries. Such advantages were too obvious to escape the penetrating eye of the zealous ecclesiastic; and the

⁵⁰ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 101. *Gent. Ripon.* p. 74. At this time it was customary for the holy sacrament of the Eucharist to be administered to the whole congregation once in every week, which produced much inconvenience in such places as were attended by the numerous congregations which would assemble from a populous district, furnished with only one church. These religious edifices had yet been erected only in places of consequence; but now, as christianity began to prevail generally throughout the island, when a parish became too thickly inhabited for the magnitude of the church, accommodation was afforded to the worshippers by the erection of oratories, or chapels of ease, in which the rites of divine worship were duly administered, without intruding on the privileges of the mother church. It was soon found, however, that some degree of confusion ensued by the introduction of this measure, to remedy which, it was at length provided that large and populous parishes should be subdivided, and each part placed under the exclusive direction of its own responsible minister.

⁵¹ In almost every episcopal see, contiguous to the cathedral was erected a spacious building, which was distinguished by the name of the episcopal monastery, and was designed for the residence of the bishop and his clergy. The original destination of the latter was the celebration of the divine services, and the education of youth; and that they might with less impediment attend to those important duties, they were obliged to observe a particular distribution of their time, to eat at the same table, to sleep in the same dormitories, and to live constantly under the eye of the bishop, or in his absence, of the superior whom he had appointed. *Ling. Ang. Sax. Ch.* p. 62. *Speed. Bede.* l. i. c. 27. *Wilk.* pp. 147, 293.

idea was suggested of forming similar establishments, which might produce the same advantages to the community, without being subjected to the immediate inspection of the bishop. This was, doubtless, the origin of collegiate churches. The benefits derivable from their institution were unquestionable; and in the particular instance of the establishment at Beverley, the triumph of christianity, for many miles round, was marked by the erection of many new churches and chapels within a very short period from its foundation. Here, the community were provided, not only with permanent ministers of religion, and consequent regularity in the performance of the duties of public worship; but also with a seminary of able instructors, to educate the rising generation in the pure principles of the Christian faith, and to implant systematic habits of devotion, addressed to the true and only God.

In these times, the monarchs, to give effect to their religious donations, frequently granted high privileges to the monastic foundations. The superior was usually invested with a temporal jurisdiction, which enabled him to receive tolls on the sale of merchandize, to try criminals, and to administer justice within the limits of his own territories. This power, in the hands of the ecclesiastics, was generally reputed to be exercised with such undistinguishing partiality, that the merchants and tradesmen chose for their residence the precincts of this mild jurisdiction, where they found themselves protected from the tyranny and rapacity of the great landed proprietors, from whom strict justice was not to be expected, as they frequently sat in judgment upon those who were accused by their own retainers. This may account for the rapid increase of the town of Beverley from this period; for the establishment of religious houses, in addition to other public advantages, certainly produced to the country the benefit of well cultivated lands, and a civilized population. To the monks was principally owing the general improvement which now began to display itself in every part of the country. The forests were cleared, and vegetation was seen to smile upon the barren heath. The land usually appropriated to the monasteries, were uncultivated tracts of wood, moor or morass; but they soon became productive by the persevering industry of the monks, who were the first to set an example of practical diligence and patient toil.*

St. John presided, with unprecedented success, over the see of York thirty-three years three months and thirteen days; and at length, borne down by age and infirmity, and disgusted with the divisions which prevailed amongst professing

* Turn. Angl. Sax. vol. iv. p. 206.

Christians, he resigned his public duties to Wilfrid II. in 717; and, according to the prevailing custom of those times, he retired to the monastery of Beverley; and after a few years spent in acts of piety and devotion, he died on the 7th of May, 721, full of days, and with his memory overshadowed by the benedictions of mankind. His remains were interred in the portico of the church of his own foundation;⁵² and miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb.

Though deposited in the earth, the influence of this extraordinary man was not diminished. His memory was revered through successive generations; and even operated with renewed efficacy, when ages upon ages had rolled over his grave. To this influence the town of Beverley is greatly indebted for many of its chartered privileges; and to the same cause its ultimate prosperity may be safely ascribed. In the days of monkish superstition, mankind, from the prince to the peasant, were affected with a weakness, which, while it tended to secure their devotion to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, was a fertile and never-failing source of emolument. Hence, an implicit veneration for the memory of saints who have departed this life in all the odour of sanctity, was assiduously inculcated; and an invocation of their aid was considered supremely efficacious,⁵³ not only for procuring ultimate salvation, but for insuring present success, or averting present calamity; and it will soon be seen how much the town of Beverley is indebted for its welfare to the influence of this superstitious feeling.

⁵² *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 34. The portico was the usual place of interment for distinguished personages at this period, for there existed a law to prevent the dead from being deposited in the church. This however, was soon afterwards permitted; for innovation, once indulged, never stops short till it has attained the utmost limit of its desires. The primitive mode of sepulture used by heathen nations, was to convey their dead to a convenient distance from their place of residence, and inter them in the fields. A law of the Twelve Tables ordained,—*In urbo ne sepelito, neve urito*, that the bodies should neither be buried nor burnt in cities. *Cic. de leg.* l. 2. The first Christians followed their example in this respect, and St. Peter was buried beyond the river Tiber, *Hieron. de Script.* c. 1. and St. Paul at the distance of three miles from the city. *Ibid.* c. 5. A subsequent regulation was made by the emperor Theodosius, prohibiting the practice of burying in towns. *Cod. Theod.* l. 9. tit. 17. de Sepul. violat. leg. 6. But the places where martyrs and other distinguished Christians were interred, soon becoming consecrated in the opinion of the people; altars, and afterwards churches, were erected on the spot; and monarchs, who had rendered essential services to christianity, were allowed to be interred in the church porch, *Euseb. vit. Const.* l. 4. c. 71. *Chrys. Hom.* 26. a privilege which was soon extended to bishops and other eminent ecclesiastics; and even to laymen who had borne a good testimony to the Christian faith, either by their sufferings or their liberality. Council of Nantes. can. 6. This law was violated in behalf of archbishop Theodore, whose body was buried *in the church*, *Bede.* l. 2. c. 3; and the custom, once allowed, soon became prevalent throughout the whole kingdom.

⁵³ The instances of this are numerous, even in private cases; I select one as a specimen. John Carre, Lord Mayor of York, by his will, which was proved 20th April, 1488, commended his soul to God Almighty his Saviour, to St. Mary, to *St. John of Beverley*, to Mary Magdalene, and to All Saints. *Torre's Ant. York.* p. 55.

The Danes and Saxons.

Chap. V.

The Danes—Comparative view of the Roman, Saxon, and Danish character—Danes in the province of Deira—their ravages—Monastery of St. John of Beverley destroyed—Partially restored—Athelstan—Gives a charter to the town of Beverley—Privilege of sanctuary to the church—This privilege illustrated—Fridstol—Origin of the privilege of sanctuary—Athelstan pledges his knife at the altar of St. John—Victory over the Scots—Grants to the Church—and Town—Archbishops of York reside at Beverley—Riches of St. John's tomb—Three new offices constituted in the church—Hospital of St. Giles built at Beverley—St. John canonized, and his bones enshrined—Fairs established—Ancient laws respecting fairs—Tower built to the minster, and bells introduced—History of Bells—Minster decorated by Aldred—Character of the fabric before the Norman Conquest.

THE Saxon octarchy had no sooner found an union under Egbert, than a horde of northern invaders appeared on the coasts of Britain in hostile array. The degeneracy of the British Saxons was now at its lowest ebb, and the country was soon exposed to all the horrors of indiscriminate slaughter. We have arrived at a period of calamity, which cannot be contemplated, even at this distance of time, but with sentiments of regret and horror. The land was deluged with blood, and no corresponding benefits were produced to the community.

There are points in the Roman and Saxon character, which the historian may, and must approve; but to counterbalance the evils introduced into this country by the Danes, we do not find a single redeeming virtue. Expunge the name of one king from their records, and their political existence in England exhibits nothing but a deformed mass of perfidy and slaughter, profligacy and crime. The Romans and Saxons commenced their encroachments by the infliction of severity, and their progress was marked by streams of blood; but the arts of civil and social life,

which were subsequently introduced by each of these invaders in their turn, amply compensated to the country for the injuries it had previously sustained. If they destroyed public edifices, they erected others of greater magnificence; if they overturned existing institutions, they founded others more congenial, and of a tendency more beneficial. The Romans are worthy of praise for the introduction of arts and civilization; the Anglo-Saxons must be applauded, notwithstanding the unpropitious impressions excited by their first appearance, for their superior genius, wisdom, and piety, which laid the foundation of all our liberties, civil, religious, and political. But the conduct of the Danes merits severest reprehension. Their courage was cruelty; their ambition, avarice; their aggressions proceeded from rapacity, and their conquests, were but another name for ruin and devastation.¹

The first appearance of this band of freebooters on our shores, was about the year 787;² but they did not succeed in forming a permanent establishment until 867, when the party divisions of the inhabitants during the inauspicious reign of Ethelred, enabled the invaders to penetrate with complete success into the northern districts of England, and secure to themselves the sceptre of Northumbria. During their unnatural progress, "language cannot describe their devastations. It can only repeat the terms plunder, murder, rape, famine, and distress. It can only enumerate towns, villages, churches and monasteries, harvests and libraries, ransacked and burnt. But by the incessant repetition, the horrors are diminished; and we read, without emotion, the narration of deeds which rent the hearts of thousands with anguish, and inflicted wounds on human happiness and human improvement, which ages with difficulty healed."³ In the indiscriminate and universal destruction which was thus inflicted on the province of Northumbria, by Hubba and Hinguar, the two avenging sons of Ragnar Lodbrog, the establishment of St. John of Beverley, embosomed in the wood of Deira, diffusing its blessings in secret and unostentatious prodigality, like the sylvan violet, which sheds its fragrance amidst silence and seclusion, was again included, its walls and battlements were levelled with the ground, its books and records destroyed, its inmates wounded and dispersed,⁴ and the establishment for the present totally annihilated.⁵ Amidst the conflicts that ensued between the Danes and the English for political supremacy, it lay neglected and in ruins until the year 870, when the marauders having aban-

¹ H. Hunt. p. 347. M. West. p. 388. ² Hovedon. p. 410. M. West. p. 282.

³ Turn. Ang. Sax. vol. ii. p. 130.

⁴ Angl. Sac. vol. i. p. 602. ⁵ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 101.

doned the province of Deira, which they had utterly impoverished, to commit new ravages in the south, the dispersed monks, clergy, and nuns,⁶ venturing to re-assemble in their accustomed habitations, restored the buildings to a state fitted for the performance of divine worship, and the residence of the monks and nuns on the foundation.⁷ In this state of insecurity and comparative uselessness it remained⁸ till the time of Athelstan, the grandson of Alfred the Great.

This famous monarch, though a natural son,* succeeded Edward his father, to the exclusion of his more legitimate brother, because of his mature age and shining abilities. He received the honour of knighthood from the hand of his grandfather, while yet an infant,⁹ and discovered in his youthful days, unquestionable tokens of bright intellect and a vigorous mind; qualities which afterwards displayed themselves with such unsullied splendour in a wise and judicious administration of public affairs.¹⁰

Athelstan is styled by Alured of Beverley, "primus monarcha Anglorum." And he is right. Egbert laid claim to this honourable title, but without just grounds; for he did not incorporate with his own kingdom, those of Northumbria and East-Anglia; and it is even doubtful whether he successfully asserted an absolute supremacy over Mercia. And Alfred, highly as his virtues and his talents exalted him in the estimation of mankind, was not the monarch of all England, although in his fluctuating reign, the glory of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty began to shine with unveiled effulgence; because he only silenced, and did not destroy the Danish power in England. It was reserved for Athelstan, the benefactor of the town of

⁶ The monks of Beverley were of the order of St. Columba, and followers of the celebrated Aidan. They are described by Bede, l. 3. c. 17, as of the most pious, patient, and charitable character; as men possessed of all the practical virtue recommended by their religion.

⁷ Tan. Notit. York XII. Fabyan, p. 129. says, that the monastery was not restored till many years afterwards; and then "by y^e helpe of Seynte Dunstan in y^e tymes of Edmond and Edgare, it was agayne sufficiently repayrd, and so cotynued tyll y^e coming of y^e Normans." But I find no other authority to countenance this opinion, and have therefore rejected it.

⁸ Vid. Ling. Ang. Sax. Ch. p. 386. Sim. Dunelm. Dec. Script. Col. 206.

* The author of the life of Athelstan in the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. i. p. 60, says, that though his mother was only the daughter of a shepherd, she was the *wife* and not the concubine of Edward.

⁹ Malmsb. de Reg. p. 49. Spelm. Life of Alf. by Hearne, p. 201.

¹⁰ The title of this monarch is said to have been attested by the decision of heaven. One of his nobles, accused of having disputed his right to the crown, offered to prove his innocence by a solemn oath in the presence of the pope; a test, which, in those times, was deemed of such supreme efficacy, that falsehood was always punished by a judicial dispensation from above. Athelstan accepted the appeal. The oath was administered, and the perjured thane was seized with sudden convulsions which put an end to his life. Malmsb. l. 2. c. 6. Hume. Engl. vol. i. p. 103.

Beverley, to unite the whole kingdom under one head by the annihilation of the Danish sovereignty, and thus become fairly entitled to the distinction of *primus monarcha Anglorum*.¹¹

In the first year of his reign, he gave a charter of liberties to the church and town of Beverley;¹² which placed it at the head of the East-riding of Yorkshire;¹³ conferred upon the town the privilege of exemption from all imposts and tolls of stallage,¹⁴ lastage,¹⁵ tonage,¹⁶ wharfage,¹⁷ keyage,¹⁸ passage,¹⁹ and all similar exactions, payments, and duties, by land or by water, throughout the realm of England; that they might take distresses for their debts, defend themselves from all appeals, &c.; and that no man should disturb them under pains and penalties; in a word, he redeemed the inhabitants from a state of vassalage, and placed them in the situation of free tenants. He further endowed the church with *sac and soc*;²⁰ and *thol*²¹ and *them*,²² and granted a perpetual college of secular canons, consisting of seven priests to celebrate masses, and perform the rites of divine service in the church, and endowed it with four thraves of corn for every plough in the East-riding;²³ with other privileges and immunities, which will be found in the charter itself.²⁴

¹¹ According to White of Basingstoke, Athelstan claimed a sovereignty extending from the Orcades to the Pyrenean mountains. Speed. Brit. p. 15. Dugdale produces a charter of Edgar, which describes Athelstan as *primus regum anglorum omnes nationes qui Britanniam incolunt sibi armis subegit*. Monast. vol. i. p. 140. And again, on p. 154, the Chronicle of Tewkesbury styles him *Adelstani regis qui primus monarcha fuit*.

¹² Vid. the Charter. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 269. xii. fo. 213.

¹³ Riding; from the Saxon *trithing*, because the county had *three* divisions.

¹⁴ Money paid for erecting a stall in a fair or market.

¹⁵ A duty on goods sold by the *last*; as corn, wool, herrings, &c.

¹⁶ A duty on goods sold by the *ton*.

¹⁷ Money paid for shipping or landing goods at a wharf.

¹⁸ A toll paid for loading or unloading goods at a key or wharf.

¹⁹ A duty paid for passing over or through a river.

²⁰ *Sac and soc*, means the jurisdiction of holding pleas, and imposing fines, and the right which a lord possesses of exercising justice on his vassals, and compelling them to be suitors at his court. Kilham. Domes. Illustr. p. 320. Bawd. Dom. Boc. Gloss. p. 18.

²¹ A liberty to *take*, as well as to be free from toll.

²² The prerogative of having, restraining, and judging bondmen, naifs, and villanes, with their children, goods and chattels in his court. Cowel. in Kelh. Domes. Illustr. p. 349.

²³ A thrave was sometimes *twelve*, and at others twenty-four sheaves; and land for one plough was about 160 acres; therefore, though the privilege might be productive over such an extensive tract of country, it would not fall very heavy on the land.

²⁴ Vid. App. A. Reasonable doubts have been entertained respecting the genuineness of this charter. It might probably be proved, from internal evidence, that it was not written until times long posterior to the age in which Athelstan flourished.

The right of sanctuary was now first vested in the church of St. John, by the pious munificence of Athelstan, and a Fridstol, or chair of peace, was placed in a conspicuous situation near the altar, as an emblem of protection to the refugee.²⁵ The limits of the sanctuary, called Leuga,²⁶ were comprehended within the circumference of a circle, of which the church was the centre, and whose radius was about a mile.²⁷ It was defined by four crosses, one of which still remains in a dilapidated state. These crosses were placed on the four principal roads leading to the town. One was called Molescroft cross, and stood near Leckonfield Park; another towards North-Burton; a third towards Kinwalgraves; and the last to the south of Beverley, on the road which led to the ferry across the Humber.²⁸ "If a malefactor flying for refuge was taken or apprehended within the crosses, the party that took or had hold of him there, did forfeit *two hundreth*; if he took him within the town, then he forfeited *four hundreth*; if within the walls of the churchyard, then *six hundreth*; if within the church, then *twelve hundreth*; if within the doors of the quire, then *eighteen hundreth*, besides penance, as in case of sacrilege; but if he presumed to take him out of the stone chair near the altar, called Fridstol, or from among the holy relics behind the altar, the offence was not redeemable with any sum, but was then become *sine emendatione, boteles*, and nothing but the utmost severity of the offended church was to be expected. by a dreadful excommunication, besides what the secular power would impose for the presumptuous misdemeanor."²⁹

The following inscription, which has been preserved by Camden,³⁰ is said to have been engraven on the original Fridstol. Hæc sedes lapidea Freedstool dicitur; i. e. Pacis Cathedra, ad quem reus fugiendo perveniens omnimodam habet securitatem. This chair of peace was a full refuge and safety from the immediate infliction of punishment for any crime whatsoever.³¹ In general it afforded pro-

²⁵ Dugd. Monast. vol. ii. p. 128. ²⁶ Kel. Domesday. Illustr. p. 250.

²⁷ The king's peace extended 3 mila, 3 furlong, 3 æcera bræde, 9 fote, 9 scefta munda, 9 bere corna. Wilk. Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 63.

²⁸ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 103.

²⁹ Pegge. in Archæol. vol. viii. p. 44. "Mr. Staveland observes, and has it from his author, citing Richard Prior, of Hagulstad, that the *hundreth* contained eight pounds; so that the last penalty was most immense, nearly as much as the wergild for killing a crowned head in Wales; and indeed, every act of violence committed against the right of sanctuary, was esteemed a breach of the churches peace, a high crime, and a species of sacrilege." Ibid.

³⁰ Gibson. col. 738.

³¹ A statute of Edward II provided that "so long as the criminals be in the church, they shall be supplied with the necessaries of life, and exire libe pro obsceno pondere deponendo. 9 Edw. II. 1315—16. Stat. i. Art. Cler. c. 10.

tection while the nature and circumstances of the crime were investigated, which the church always placed in the most favourable point of view, and while its protection was continued, the culprit remained in perfect safety within the limits of the sanctuary. And this course continued until the offending party was reconciled. In all cases, the life of the criminal was safe at Beverley, be his crime whatever it might.³² The fugitive having taken the oath of fealty to the abbot;³³ and being placed in the chair of peace, might compel his adversary to accept of a pecuniary compensation. And this privilege was an additional cause of the high degree of respect paid in these times to the ministers of religion; for it is thought by some,³⁴ that persons obtaining sanctuary, who had been guilty of capital crimes, received their pardon on the condition of becoming slaves to the abbot, or lord of the place where the privilege was claimed.³⁵

The peace of the kingdom being continually disturbed by the Danes who had settled in Northumbria, Athelstan brought his powers upon them, and they were soon dispersed. But one of their chiefs having taken refuge in Scotland, a formal application was made to the king of that country to surrender the rebel to justice. The refusal of Constantine brought on him the heavy vengeance of the English monarch. He marched into the north with a numerous army of veteran soldiers, determined to inflict a signal punishment on the man who had thus dared to set his power at defiance. But amidst all his warlike preparations, Athelstan was

³² Vid. Spel. Gloss. v. Fridstole. ³³ Append. B.

³⁴ Vid. Maseres. Ant. Engl. Parl. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 313.

³⁵ The introduction of this extensive privilege into the Christian church took place about the time of Constantine; although no laws respecting its regulation exist, which are more ancient than the time of Theodosius. Bingh. Orig. Eccl. vol. iii. p. 291. It had its origin in the laws of Moses, who, at the divine command, appointed six cities of refuge, as a protection to the involuntary homicide, against the summary vengeance of his incensed pursuers. Numb. c. 35. It was used also in the times of pagan superstition. In the druidical grove some particular tree was a sanctuary; Evelyn. Sylva. p. 614. and according to the authority of Jeffery of Mönmouth, ii. c. 17. the circular temples were all sanctuaries, and also the principal roads leading to them within a prescribed distance. Vid. Archæol. vol. viii. p. 16, 17. The altars of idolatry were decorated with horns, which were always reputed a sanctuary for crime; so that even murderers fleeing for safety to the horns of the altar, esteemed themselves perfectly secure from the danger of apprehension; for such was the sacred veneration in which the horned altar was held, that to violate this sanctuary was accounted most impious, and the highest degree of sacrilege that a human being could commit. The protection thus afforded, became at length so notoriously prostituted from its original purpose of sheltering offenders until their crimes were legally investigated, that the temples of the gods were polluted with the residence of the vilest malefactors, who remained there with impunity, and set at defiance the operation of the laws. Tiberius Cesar abolished the protection afforded by these sanctuaries, and confined it to the two temples of Juno and Esculapius.

fully impressed with the certainty, that human strength and human policy are unavailing if not accompanied with the blessing of heaven. In accordance, therefore, with the customs which at that period universally prevailed, he endeavoured to propitiate the divine mercy by prayer and religious observances. Directing his army to proceed without delay to York,* he went himself to Beverley, and with humble prostration before the altar of St. John, prayed with unassumed earnestness for his favour and protection. But prayers were thought to be of no efficacy unless accompanied by donations commensurate with the quality of the petitioner. Athelstan, however, was in too much haste to be provided with the means of doing ample justice to the saint, and was therefore obliged to have recourse to a very whimsical expedient. He left his knife on the altar as a pledge, vowing that if he returned victorious, he would redeem it with a noble price.³⁶ Then taking with him a consecrated standard, which had been deposited in the church,³⁷ he marched in full confidence against the Scots; gave them battle, and totally routed them with great slaughter. And from a principle of respect and gratitude to the patron saint of Beverley, to whose influence the victory was attributed, he named a village near which the battle was fought, St. John's Town.³⁸ Hovedon says,³⁹ that he compelled Constantine to do homage for his kingdom; and other historians assert, with much less regard to probability, that wishing to leave some permanent mark or token in that country of its subjection to his sword, he prayed to God, and St. John of Beverley, for assistance, and smiting a great stone or rock, near the castle of Dunbar, with his sword, he made an incision both wide and deep,⁴⁰ which, says Fabyan, "in the tyme of Edwarde the thirde was there remaynyng to be sayde (seen.)"⁴¹

After this signal success, Athelstan returned to Beverley in triumph, and deposited the meritorious banner in its former situation. And to redeem his pledge, he founded a *college* of secular canons, and endowed it with lands in Brandesburton and Lockington; gave to the church his right to Horstaffa, or a commutation for the pasturage and forage of horses, which was paid annually

* Cressey, in his Church History, p. 832, says that Athelstan entered Beverley with his army. But this is doubtless an error, as all other authorities are unanimous in their opinion that the king entered the town privately, to offer his vows at the altar of St. John. Vid. Rym. Fæd. tom. ii. p. 566.

³⁶ Dugd. Monast. vol. ii. p. 127. Rym. Fæd. tom. ii. p. 566. Fabyan. Chron. p. 183.

³⁷ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 101. ³⁸ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 101. ³⁹ Hoved. p. 422.

⁴⁰ Lel. Coll. vol. ii. p. 3, 4. Rym. Fæd. tom. ii. p. 884. Ethelr. de Geneal. Reg. Angl. p. 357.

⁴¹ Fabyan. Chron. p. 183.

throughout the whole East-riding.⁴² Nor did his liberality end here. To the town he conveyed substantial tokens of his favour; not only by confirming his former grants, but by adding new privileges, from which the inhabitants soon reaped the most extensive benefits. Thus by an act of royal munificence the town progressively assumed the appearance of mercantile rank. Opulent merchants were induced to make Beverley their place of residence, because here they enjoyed superior advantages; and from this auspicious period we may date the rising prosperity of the town.

The archbishops of York, in honour of the memory of St. John, often resided in Beverley, for the convenience of paying their devotions at his tomb; and Athelstan, to encourage the observance of these religious duties, assigned the manor of Beverley to the see of York; which was henceforward held by the archbishop in right of his office, until deprived of it at the general dissolution of the monasteries by king Henry VIII.⁴³

The merit of the saint being now indisputably established, people flocked to his tomb for assistance on the most trivial occasions, and always departed fully sensible of his gracious interposition in their behalf. And, as all applications were necessarily accompanied with presents, the saint's tomb soon became enriched by the pious offerings which were so liberally showered upon it. The accumulation of wealth usually produces a desire for increasing magnificence; and this productive mausoleum was now deemed worthy of being gorgeously enshrined. In 1023, therefore, Alfricus Puttoc, the twenty-second archbishop of York, erected a costly shrine over his holy predecessor's grave, and decorated it so highly with the superb offerings of those holy devotees, who had been attracted by the fame of his miraculous performances, that it actually glittered with gold and precious stones.⁴⁴

The archbishops of York, who claimed the immediate patronage of the collegiate church,⁴⁵ appear to have uniformly bestowed upon it all the attention which fond and affectionate parents devote to a beloved child. Archbishop Puttoc constituted three new officers in the church, a chancellor, a precentor, and a sacrist, who were allowed to wear the canonical habit; and converted the hall and dormitory in the place anciently called the Beddern, into a house of residence for the provost. He

⁴² Dugd. Monast. vol. ii. p. 128. *Lel. Col.* vol. iii. p. 101.

⁴³ Willis on Cathedral Churches. *Drake. Ebor.* p. 544.

⁴⁴ *Lel. in vit. St. John.* ⁴⁵ *Tan. Notit. York.* XII.

endowed the newly appointed offices with estates at Middleton, Holm, and Fridaythorpe, which he purchased for that express purpose of a wealthy man named Fortius;⁴⁶ and commenced building a refectory and dormitory, which however he did not live to see completed.⁴⁷ While thus engaged in conferring benefits on the church, he did not wholly neglect the interests of the town, for about this time, "a hospital, dedicated to St. Giles, was founded at Beverley, by one Wulfe, belonging to the archbishop of York," for the maintenance of poor and indigent people.⁴⁸

It is with sentiments of amazement, not unmixed with regret, that we, in this refined age, contemplate the absurd devotion which our remote forefathers addressed to the memory of holy men. Although at this distance of time, to arraign the motives which produced such an excess of superstition may be esteemed invidious, yet, amidst all the unaffected though mistaken piety undoubtedly possessed by some, it is impossible to divest ourselves of the idea, that, in others, there was much of artifice and delusion mixed up with the professed veneration for deceased mortals, how high soever their character might have stood for superior virtue while living in the world. To the memory of St. John of Beverley these useless honours were abundantly multiplied. As if the distinctions already assigned to this eminent man came entirely short of his transcendent merits, an expedient was now adopted by which his name might be brought once more before the world, and its pretended influence be magnified to the utmost extent. On the 8th day of November, 1037, the remains of St. John were formally disinterred, under the authority of a papal bull of John XX. in the presence of the archbishop and the chapters of York and Beverley; his bones were translated, and placed, together with his archiepiscopal ring,* and the fragments of a book of the Four Gospels which were found in his tomb, within the splendid shrine which had already been erected to his honour;⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Lel. Coll.* vol. i. p. 118.

⁴⁷ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 102.

⁴⁸ *Lel. Itin.* vol. i. p. 40.

* *Archæol.* vol. iv. p. 60.

⁴⁹ *Dugd. Hist. St. Paul's*, p. 2. p. 55. *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 102. The ceremony of translation was thus performed:—A certain indefinite number "of years after the death of the man, the object of their veneration, when it might be presumed that the less solid parts of the body had been reduced to dust, the monks or clergy assembled to perform the ceremony of his elevation. A tent was pitched over the grave. Around it stood the great body of the attendants, chanting the psalms of David: *within*, the superior, accompanied by the more aged of the brotherhood, opened the earth, collected the bones, washed them, wrapped them carefully in silk or linen, and deposited them in the mortuary chest. With sentiments of respect, and hymns of exultation, they were then carried to the place destined to receive them; which was elevated above the pavement, and decorated with appropriate ornaments. Of the shrines, the most ancient that has been

and he was publickly canonized at Rome, by the same pope, with much pomp and ceremony, in St. Peter's church.⁵⁰ And to add further to the posthumous honour of his favourite saint, the archbishop made an ordinance, that the most respectable inhabitants of Beverley and the neighbourhood should follow the relics of St. John, barefooted and fasting, in solemn procession throughout the town, and round the extremest limits of the sanctuary, three times a year.⁵¹

This good archbishop appears to have had a strong partiality for the town of Beverley. Not content with the extensive benefits already conferred upon the church, he gave his attention, during the latter part of his life, to the wants and wishes of the inhabitants, respecting the general prosperity of their trade and commerce. They were not backward in suggesting the means of improvement, and by his influence with king Edward the Confessor, he procured for them the privilege of holding three annual fairs,⁵² which, in these times, was of the utmost importance to the prosperity of the town; for no trade of any consequence could be carried on without a chartered fair, except in the burghs; because the Saxon laws forbad the transaction of any business above the amount of four-pence, but within the limits of these privileged places; and there only in the presence and under the sanction of the chief magistrate, or some other responsible person.⁵³ The institution of fairs tended to increase the means of inland communication, and conveyed the advantages of mutual traffic to places which had been previously interdicted by Anglo-Saxon policy. Thus, by royal munificence, the town of Beverley was invested with rights and privileges, which secured to it the blessings of a free and unrestricted trade; protected and encouraged by the immunities with which it was already endowed by the charter of Athelstan.⁵⁴

described to us, contained the remains of St. Chad, the apostle of Mercia; it was built of wood, in form resembling a house, and was covered with tapestry. But this was in an age of simplicity and monastic poverty; in a later period, a greater display of magnificence bespoke the greater opulence of the church, and the shrines of the saints were the first objects which invited the rapacity of the Danish invaders." Ling. Angl. Sax. Ch. p. 264.

⁵⁰ MS. Benet. Coll. Camb. ⁵¹ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 102.

⁵² Ibid. These were probably the primitive *marts*; for I find it asserted in "The Curiosities of Great-Britain," vol. iii. p. 332, that there were only five ancient fairs in this country distinguished by the name of mart; those of Beverley, Hedon, Boston, Lynn, and Gainsborough. "The word Marte seems to have no less bounds than *civitas*, which signifieth a whole Commonwealth." Oldworth. Cur. Disc. vol. i. p. 99.

⁵³ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 226.

⁵⁴ Sir Isaac Newton gives the following ingenious account of fairs, &c. which I think worth transcribing. "Before the Phœnicians introduced the deifying of dead men, which was about the

An important æra in the early history of the minster church, now presents itself to our consideration. The primitive churches of the Saxons were usually oblong buildings, without the elevation of any one part to a greater altitude than the rest. The use of towers had indeed, in some particular instances, been adopted by that people, very soon after their conversion to christianity; but it appears clear that the church of St. John, at Beverley, was not yet distinguished by that stately ornament; and consequently had no bells; the want of which, in a town of this magnitude, would be sensibly felt by the inhabitants. Archbishop Kinsius resolved to apply a remedy for the evil, by erecting a tower at the west end, and furnishing it with bells.⁵⁵ This was accomplished soon after his consecration; and it gave to the sacred edifice a solemnity of character, and general dignity of appearance, which it had never before exhibited.

The decorations of this edifice received their final improvement at the hand of Aldred, the last Saxon prelate that was permitted to hold the see of York. This distinguished personage finished the refectory and dormitory, which had been commenced by archbishop Puttoc. He rebuilt the choir; decorated the whole church

time of king David, the Greeks had a council of elders in every town, for the government thereof; and a place where the elders and people worshipped their god with sacrifices; and when many of these towns for their common safety united under a common council, they erected a Prytaneum in one of the towns, where the council and people met at certain times, to consult their common safety, and worship their common god with sacrifices, and to buy and sell; the towns where these councils met, the Greeks called *δήμοι*, peoples, or communities, or corporation towns; and at length when many of these *δήμοι* for their common safety united by consent under one common council, they erected a Prytaneum in one of the *δήμοι* for the common council and people to meet in, and to consult and worship in, and feast, and buy and sell; and this *δημος* they walled about for its safety, and called it *την πόλιν* the city; and this I take to have been the origin of villages, market towns, cities, common councils, vestal temples, feasts, and fairs in Europe." Newton. Chron. p. 158, 174.

⁵⁵ "The history of bells, as used in collecting a congregation to divine service, is involved in some obscurity. Mr. Whittaker displays great learning in shewing that bells were in frequent use among the Romans, and even probably introduced by them to the Britons during their sway over this island. Their first adaptation to the uses of the Anglo-Saxon church, is not so clearly to be ascertained from written testimony." Brewer. Introd. to the Beaut. of Engl. and Wales, p. 263. Some say, they were introduced there by pope Leo I; and others by Paulinus. Dr. Milner, Eccles. Archit. of the Middle Ages, p. 34, observes, that the use of small bells, *nolæ*, in this country, if we may credit William of Malmsbury, may be traced as high as the fifth century. And it is clear from Bede, that even those of the larger kind, *campanæ*, such as sounded in the air, and called a numerous congregation to divine service, were employed in England as early as the year 680, being that in which the abbess Hilda died. Brewer. ut supra. It is clear, however, that the towers of churches were not constructed solely for the use of bells, but partly to direct the weary and benighted traveller to a place of human habitation; for which benevolent purpose lights were frequently burnt in them during the darkest nights. Wolst. in Act. S. Ben. p. 631. Mr. Lingard thinks, that in these times the tower was distinct from the church.

from thence to the tower with painting; and adorned the pulpit with elegant devices in gold, silver, and brass.⁵⁶ He constituted the seven canons, prebendaries; and added an eighth to the number, appointing vicars for them;⁵⁷ and incited the king to endow his new establishment with a lordship in Leven. In a word, archbishop Aldred appears to have been as great a benefactor to Beverley, as any of his predecessors.

The character of "the noble fabric,"⁵⁸ as it now stood, appears to be justly described by Mr. Coltman, in the pamphlet already referred to. "On the whole," says this gentleman, "we may suppose that at the time of the Norman Conquest, it was an oblong stone building of two stories, having a low tower at the west end, probably without any transepts, divided into two parts, a nave and a choir, each having side aisles, supported by massive columns of moderate height, surmounted by circular arches, with thick walls, pierced by small, circular-topped windows, adorned, as we may suppose, with all the usual Saxon ornaments."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *Lel. Coll.* vol. i. p. 118.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 337.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 110.

⁵⁹ *Coltman's Short History of Beverley Minster*, p. 34.



PART II.

The Normans.

Chap. I.

William the Conqueror resolves to reduce the power of the church—Oppresses the clergy—Insurrection in the north—Quelled—The king issues an order to ravage the county of York—Extraordinary judgments inflicted on the party who were deputed to desecrate the minster at Beverley—The property of this church exempted, by royal proclamation, from injury—Archbishop Aldred dies—Provostship constituted—The island divided among the Normans—Tenures—Inconveniences of the system—Terms in Domesday explained—Property of the archbishop of York in Beverley and the neighbourhood—Property of the canons of St. John described—Disputed claims—Observations—Population of Beverley at this time—Wood of Deira—Town of Beverley, how divided and occupied—Ferme—Mills—Extent.

THE most authentic account which we possess of the town of Beverley, its inhabitants, and the appropriation of its soil to lords and vassals, in times immediately subsequent to the Norman Conquest, is in the record compiled by the command of William the Conqueror, and now generally known by the name of **Domesday**; which, independently of its uses to the Conqueror, “is to this day a record of no small importance to the historian and to the antiquary, for the light it throws on the different classes of persons into which the English people were divided; the different denominations of lands, their culture and measurement; the different denominations of money, and the persons and places that enjoyed the liberty of coinage; territorial jurisdictions and franchises; tenures and services;

criminal and civil jurisdictions; ecclesiastical and historical matters therein noticed, besides many curious illustrations of ancient manners."¹

From this invaluable record we learn some very important particulars respecting the town of Beverley and its dependencies at the Conquest, and during the twenty subsequent years. In Saxon times, the greater part of Beverley belonged to the archbishop of York, and under him the canons of the collegiate church; the latter of whom held the tolls, the mills, and the fishery; for happily the hand of power did not despoil these holy men of their possessions, in common with the greater portion of the religious orders, and the principal Saxon families in every other part of the kingdom. This apparent partiality in favour of St. John of Beverley, proceeded not from any respect which the Conqueror entertained for religion generally, but it was elicited solely by the effects of superstition.

To secure his conquests, this monarch resolved to harass and oppress the clergy, by vexatious processes and arbitrary exactions, that the enormous influence they undoubtedly possessed, might be reduced to a standard consistent with his views, and subservient to the supreme authority which he himself was determined to maintain over all ranks and descriptions of people. He began his system by imposing heavy fines and burdensome tallages, under colour of defraying the expenses of his wars; and at length proceeded to seize their shrines and sacred vessels;² issued orders to destroy some churches, and despoil others of their treasure and chief ornaments;³ he alienated tithes; deprived many divines of their personal liberty; and placed in the vacant bishopricks, abbacies and benefices, his own followers, on whose integrity he could safely depend.⁴ The church at Beverley appears to have formed an almost solitary exception to the general system of plunder which had been instituted against the church, and was frequently executed, even on the superior monasteries,⁵ under William's own personal inspection.

In the third year of his reign, the Anglo-Saxons in the north, under the impulse of a delirium, arising from the deadly injuries they had sustained, roused themselves from their stupor, and determined to make one desperate effort to regain their legitimate possessions by force of arms. They possessed themselves of the city of York, put the governor to the sword, and massacred the whole garrison, consisting of three thousand men.⁶ But this was only a momentary burst of impotent rage,

¹ British Review, vol. xviii. p. 115. ² Speed. Brit. p. 428.

³ Chron. Spot. p. 114. ⁴ Johnson's Eccles. Laws, vol ii.

⁵ Alured. Bev. p. 130. ⁶ R. Hoved. p. 451. Mat. Par. p. 5.

for they were unable either to advance, or to secure the advantage they had gained. The merciless conqueror of England soon reduced them to submission, and they sank into their former apathy, but to endure the infliction of still greater miseries and privations; for the tyrant, that he might effectually paralyze their efforts, and disable them from any future attempts of the same nature, issued his orders for laying waste all the country between the Humber and the Tees.⁷ His armies covered the district, like the locusts of Egypt, and spread equal desolation and dismay. William crossed the Humber to superintend the work, and to feast his eyes on Saxon misery, in its most aggravated form; and fixing his camp at about seven miles distance from Beverley, despatched a commander, with a party of soldiers, to destroy the church, which he saw with elevated pinnacles proudly rising before him, and desolate the neighbouring villages. The country people took the alarm, and fled towards Beverley, to inform the inhabitants of their danger; but the soldiers were speedily in the town; and one of them, named Thurstinus, pursuing a veteran, who fled towards the church for safety, proved that no sanctuary was a protection against the sanguinary designs of the infuriated Conqueror. The Norman knight did not overtake the fugitive until he arrived within the church, and there he raised his sabre to destroy him. But the insulted justice of heaven interposed, to prevent the sacred edifice from being polluted with human blood. The knight was immediately paralyzed, and struck with an incurable disease; and in this situation was carried by his attendants to the camp. A judgment so striking could not remain unnoticed; and it was followed by another equally signal, inflicted on the commander of the party; who, in the course of this expedition, falling by some accident from his horse, his neck was dislocated in such an extraordinary manner, that the position of his head was completely changed, and his face turned backwards. The king was forcibly impressed with these unexpected occurrences, and considered them as a celestial intimation that the territories of St. John were under the immediate protection of heaven. He therefore announced, that these possessions were from henceforth wholly exempted from the general interdict pronounced against the county of York, and that in what situation soever they were found, they should be preserved from violation.⁸

From this time, the whole county of York lay nine years uncultivated,⁹ Saint John's land only excepted; so that the inhabitants were reduced to the necessity

⁷ Sax. Chron. p. 174.

⁸ Brompt. X. Script. col. 966. Knighton. b. 2. c. 2. Fab. p. 241. edit. 1811. ⁹ Sax. Chr. p. 174.

of subsisting on the most loathsome vermin, and endured the hardest extremities of famine.¹⁰

Archbishop Aldred, who had placed the crown on William's head, and really felt a very high degree of esteem and attachment towards his person, beholding the desolation of the country, and the distressed state of the church, from the effects of his jealous policy, ventured to expostulate with the tyrant, on his rigorous and unjust measures. His admonition was disregarded; for the Conqueror was too intent on his scheme of filling all offices of trust and influence with Normans,¹¹ to be diverted from it by the protest of an English archbishop, whose views might be dictated by the selfish considerations of interest, or the aggrandizement of his own countrymen; or who might probably be actuated by the dread of personal suffering, from the active measures which had been adopted to reduce the power of the church, and deprive the English clergy of their possessions and influence. If William had bowed in silent acquiescence to the remonstrance of the archbishop, it would have been considered, in his opinion, as an open acknowledgment of that very power, which he thought it his interest to curtail and destroy. But William miscalculated the archbishop's motives; they were dictated by the honest feelings of humanity, for the suffering population within his own diocese, and an ardent zeal for the cause of religion; and the king's marked indifference to his reasonable request, was an unexpected blow, which he did not possess sufficient strength to encounter. He denounced a bitter curse against the tyrant and his descendants, for such an open violation of his coronation oath, and almost immediately expired, heart-broken at the prospect of the woes with which the British church was threatened;¹² and by his death, the town of Beverley was deprived of one of its greatest benefactors.

Thomas the Norman, a canon of Bayeaux, was nominated to the vacant see; and, some time afterwards, on visiting the church at Beverley, he constituted a new office in favour of his nephew Thomas the younger,* on pretence that the canons were involved in perpetual disputes, which could only be prevented by the actual presence of an officer possessing secular authority over them; and therefore, with the king's consent, Thomas the younger was made the first provost of Beverley; a dignity, which, in many instances, has led the way to a bishoprick.

¹⁰ Fabyan. Chron. p. 241. ¹¹ Ingulf. p. 70. ¹² Malms. de gest Pont. p. 154.

* Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 56.

A residence was erected for him on the site of the ancient Bedern, and he was invested with lands and rents for his maintenance, but was restricted from either voting in the chapter, or possessing a stall in the choir.¹³

Whether we consider the Norman Conquest in its success or in its consequences, it is still an event equally stupendous and unprecedented. It was effected almost without a struggle. Never were such important results accomplished with so little sacrifice on the part of the conquerors. The rash attempt made by a provincial duke to reduce this powerful island, would in any other age have been deemed preposterous, and its success contrary to all the chances of political calculation. William himself could scarcely anticipate, or even hope for that perfect good fortune with which it was accompanied. The native inhabitants appear to have been completely paralyzed by the unexpected result of the battle of Hastings; which feeling, the superior genius of William well knew how to convert to his own advantage, that even the sacrifice of their liberties, their property, and innumerable lives was insufficient to rouse them to any effective resistance against the tyranny which trampled them underfoot, and reduced their ancient nobility to a state of servile thralldom.

To confirm his authority, William on his part, adopted the most bold and active measures. He expelled the English from their estates, and reserving to himself about one thousand four hundred manors, divided the kingdom amongst his Norman followers,¹⁴ who held their new possessions of the king on the tenure of homage and fealty and military service; by which they were bound to attend him in the field with a certain number of retainers, armed, mounted, and provided for a specified number of days in every year. And this was the *redditus* or return made to the monarch for their estates in lieu of rent.¹⁵ The lands thus acquired and maintained, they again subdivided into knights' fees, and let them to tenants on a similar tenure; and thus all the principal manors in the kingdom, except those which the king had reserved to himself, were held of him by tenants *in capite*, or in other words, by his barons; and these consisting of about seven hundred persons, were the legitimate parliament¹⁶ or council of the realm; but in

¹³ Leland. Coll. vol. iii. p. 103. ¹⁴ West's Enquiry, p. 24.

¹⁵ Vid. Blackst. Com. vol. ii. p. 62.

¹⁶ Some say that the word *parliament* does not occur until the reign of Henry II. and that before that time it was usually denominated the king's court or great council; and the first was held at York, 1160. Drake. from H. Boet. Ebor. p. 93. Camden, however, thinks that this word was

process of time, as their numbers increased to a prodigious multitude, the great barons only were summoned by the king, and the others assembled at the writ of the sheriff, and were placed in a separate house. This was the origin of the two houses of parliament.¹⁷

All land held of the king, by bishops, abbots or priors, was also held on military service;¹⁸ and abbots who thus held by barony, or whose abbeys or monasteries were of royal foundation, possessed the unalienable right of a seat in the council. But the abbot of Beverley, although possessed of twenty thousand acres of land, well provided with tenants and occupiers of every description, besides the advowson of churches and other property, had no claim to a seat there, because he held of the archbishop of York, who, himself being a member of the council—could not introduce this dignitary, who was, in fact but as one of his retainers; for it appears not to have been so much the amount or value of property, as the nature of the tenure, which constituted a baronial right; and a chief tenant *in capite* of the king, whether ecclesiastic or layman, was undoubtedly a legitimate baron.¹⁹ Thus, if the king tallaged his barons; they in return, to raise the money, tallaged all their tenants; and if the king demanded military service, it was provided for the lords by their retainers, who held of them by a tenure, somewhat similar to that by which they were bound to the monarch, and who always fought under their banners, and conquered or bled as they shewed them the example.

The operation of this system was such, that in every province of the kingdom, the monarch had an army ready on the shortest notice to repel any attempts which the native English might be disposed to make for the purpose of regaining their liberties, or recovering possession of their confiscated estates. This scheme of policy, though useful, and even necessary to secure to the invader the peaceable

used 16. Hen. I. Cur. Disc. vol. i. p. 304. Blackstone says, it was first applied to general assemblies of the States, under Louis. VII. in France, about the middle of the twelfth century; and that the first mention of it in our statute law, is in the preamble to the statute of Westm. 1. 3. Edw. I. A. D. 1272. Com. vol. i. p. 146. Ingulphus used the word parliament for a meeting of the chapter of a convent, and he died 1109.—*veniens coram conventu in publico Parlamento nostro similiter Juramentum præstitit, &c.*

¹⁷ Seld. Tit. of Hon. 2. 5. 21. Blackst. Com. Archb. vol. i. p. 398.

¹⁸ Maseres. Anc. Const. Parl. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 307.

¹⁹ Some baronies consisted of but 4 or 5000 acres, and others of 100,000 or more. The Honour of Ey was contained 900,000 acres. Maser. Ant. Parl. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 334. Gale, p. 513, asserts, that no person holding less than 40 hydes of land, could rank as a legitimate member of the great council. And *unam hydam per sexies viginta acras*. Ibid. p. 472.

process of time, as their numbers increased to a prodigious number, the barons only were summoned by the king, and the others the sheriff, and were placed in a separate house. This was the house of parliament.¹⁷

All land held of the king, by bishops, abbots or knights in military service;¹⁸ and abbots who thus held by barony, or knights' fees were of royal foundation, possessed the unalienable right of council. But the abbot of Beverley, although possessed of land, well provided with tenants and occupiers of ever increasing advowson of churches and other property, had no claim to sit in the council held of the archbishop of York, who, himself being a knight, could not introduce this dignitary, who was, in fact but for it appears not to have been so much the amount or nature of the tenure, which constituted a baronial right in the king, whether ecclesiastic or layman, was a baron.¹⁹ Thus, if the king tallaged his barons; they in turn tallaged all their tenants; and if the king demanded money of the lords by their retainers, who held of the king

similar to that by which they were bound to the monarch, and who always fought under their banners, and conquered or bled as they shewed them the example.

The operation of this system was such, that in every province of the kingdom, the monarch had an army ready on the shortest notice to repel any attempts which the native English might be disposed to make for the purpose of regaining their liberties, or recovering possession of their confiscated estates. This scheme of policy, though useful, and even necessary to secure to the invader the peaceable

used 16. Hen. I. Cur. Disc. vol. i. p. 304. Blackstone says, it was first applied to general assemblies of the States, under Louis. VII. in France, about the middle of the twelfth century; and that the first mention of it in our statute law, is in the preamble to the statute of Westm. 1. 3. Edw. I. A. D. 1272. Com. vol. i. p. 146. Ingulphus used the word parliament for a meeting of the chapter of a convent, and he died 1109.—*veniens coram conventu in publico Parlamento nostro similiter Juramentum præstitet, &c.*

¹⁷ Seld. Tit. of Hon. 2. 5. 21. Blackst. Com. Archb. vol. i. p. 398.

¹⁸ Maseres. Anc. Const. Parl. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 307.

¹⁹ Some baronies consisted of but 4 or 5000 acres, and others of 100,000 or more. The Honour of Eyre was contained 900,000 acres. Maser. Ant. Parl. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 334. Gale, p. 513, asserts, that no person holding less than 40 hydes of land, could rank as a legitimate member of the great council. And unam hydam per sexies viginta acras. Ibid. p. 472.

No.

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REPORT EXTRAS

UC/B—Serials 21A—100m-7,'66 (G443684) 411

possession of his dominions, yet was fatal to his posterity; for the physical power, thus inconsiderately placed at the disposal of the barons, became in a few generations, more than sufficient to counterbalance the authority of the crown; and so early as the reign of John, absolutely erected itself into an oligarchy, which superseded and overthrew for a time, the monarchical form of government in this island.

It appears from Domesday, that the church of St. John possessed at the time of this survey a very considerable extent of property, if the carucate be taken at one hundred and twenty acres, as is admitted by almost all the authors who have written on the subject.²⁰ A knight's fee was estimated at six hundred and eighty acres;²¹ and the quantity of land sufficient for one plough in a year, was one hundred and sixty acres.²² For the better understanding of this record, it may be further remarked, that by a *manor*, was meant a certain extent of ground occupied by the lord himself, or by servants for the express use of his family; a *berenick* meant a hamlet, or partial manorial right lying within a greater manor. The land was occupied by three denominations of tenants, distinguished by the names of sokemen, bordars, and villanes. The *sokeman* was a free man, who held his lands of his lord freely on payment of rent or service; the *bordar* was a free cottager, who held his limited possessions on the tenure of providing the mansion of his lord with a stipulated quantity of poultry, eggs, or other small produce; and the *villane* was a menial servant or slave, who was attached either to the soil, or to the person of his lord. Each of these orders was liable to military service.²³

The archbishop of York possessed the manor of Beverley, which appears to have suffered depreciation from the Norman inroads, as it was valued in king Edward's

²⁰ Coke on Littl. Inst. l. Blackst. Com. vol. ii. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 622. Agard. Cur. Dis. vol. i. p. 47. M. Par. Gloss. in voc. Carucata. I have in my possession an old extent book belonging to the borough of Grimsby, made A. D. 1286, in which the carucate or hyde is rated at 120 acres, and the bovat or oxgang at 20 acres.

²¹ Maser. Ant. Parl. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 332. Coke. on Littl. Inst. l. p. 69. The knight's fee must have varied considerably; perhaps, like the oxgang and other dimensions, it was estimated in proportion with the fertility of the soil. Vid. Surtees. Hist. Durh. vol. i. p. 217. Sir John Dodderidge thought that a knight's fee contained 1600 acres; and Mr. Holland set it down at 800 acres. Cur. Disc. vol. i. p. 40, 42. Blackstone. Comment. vol. ii p. 62. says, that the knight's fee was originally 12 plough lands. In the time of Edward I. it was rated at £20. a year.

²² Fabyan.

²³ "From a scarcity of capital, it was usual for the landlord to provide both a stock of cattle and the necessary implements of agriculture for his tenant, who accounted for them at the expiration of his term." Surtees. Durh. vol. i. p. 224.

time at twenty-four pounds, and at present it was worth only fourteen pounds. He held also the berewicks of Skidby and Burton, which formed a part of the manor of Beverley. It is, indeed, a melancholy task to record the history of this period. Property of all kinds was considerably reduced in value; and in many instances the land was entirely waste, particularly in this part of the country. The favour extended to the canons of Saint John, might and did convey benefits to that community to a certain extent. Their possessions in the town of Beverley had suffered no diminution of profit; but the calamity was too deeply inflicted on the country, for any individuals to escape without injury. A religious establishment was bound to administer to the wants and distresses of others; and it may be fairly calculated that in this season of unprecedented misery and wretchedness, when absolute famine raged amongst the population of Yorkshire, the canons would apply the whole of their superfluities as a remedy for the evil, and regret, at the same time, that it was so completely inadequate to the calls which would necessarily devolve upon them. But it appears that the land of the archbishop was not spared, although he was a Norman of William's own appointment. King Osrick, out of the love he had to Saint John, had presented to his successors the manor of Dalton,²⁴ but it was now reduced in value one half.²⁵ The archbishop held also, in conjunction with the canons, about three hundred and sixty acres of land in Molescroft, a moiety each, with servants to keep it in cultivation. He held also the following berewicks in Beverley and Holderness:—

Berewick. In Wagene (Waghen) two carucates of land, and two oxgangs to be taxed. Land to one plough. Eleven villanes and two bordars have there three ploughs.

Berewick. In Weld (Weel) to be taxed two carucates of land. Land to six oxen. Six villanes and one bordar have there one plough.

Berewick. In Ticketone (Tickton) twelve oxgangs of land to be taxed. Land to six oxen. Three villanes have there half a plough.

Berewick. In Asch (Eske) two carucates of land to be taxed. Land to one plough. Six villanes and one bordar have there two ploughs.

Berewick. In Estorch (qu. Stork) one carucate of land to be taxed. Land to two oxen. Two villanes have there one plough. This is not in Holderness.²⁶

²⁴ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 101. ²⁵ *Domesday.*

²⁶ *Bawdwen's Dom. Boc.* p. 58.

The extent of the possessions which were retained by the canons of Saint John of Beverley, under the archbishop of York, amounting to about twenty thousand acres of land, is preserved in the following record.

In Bevreli (Beverley) the carucate belonging to Saint John has always been free from the king's tax. The canons have there in the demesne one plough and eighteen villanes; and fifteen bordars having six ploughs; and three mills of thirteen shillings; and a fishery yielding seven thousand eels. Wood pasture three miles long and one and a half mile broad. The whole four miles long and two and a half miles broad. Value in king Edward's time to the archbishop, twenty-four pounds, at present fourteen pounds. At that time to the canons twenty pounds, the same at present.

These Berewicks, Schitebi, Burtone (Skidby, Burton) belong to this manor. In these are thirty-one carucates to be taxed, and there may be eighteen ploughs. The canons have there in the demesne four ploughs; and twenty villanes with six ploughs; and three knights three ploughs.

In Delton (Dalton) to be taxed twelve carucates and there may be six ploughs. Archbishop Eldred held this for one manor. Saint John now has in the demesne one plough; and twelve villanes with seven ploughs. The whole one mile long and a half broad. Value in king Edward's time four pounds, at present forty shillings.

In Flotemanebi (Flotmanby) the clerks of Beverley have an oxgang of land.

In Risbi (Risby) to be taxed six carucates and there may be three ploughs. It is waste.

In Locheton (Lockington) to be taxed two carucates and a half, and there may be two ploughs. Saint John had and has it. Value in king Edward's time ten shillings, at present eight shillings.

In Ettone (Etton) eight carucates to be taxed, and there may be four ploughs. This manor was and is Saint John's. Eight villanes have there five ploughs. Value in king Edward's time ten shillings, at present eight shillings.

In Rageneltorn () three carucates to be taxed, and there may be two ploughs. Saint John had and has now in the demesne one plough; and three villanes one plough. Value in king Edward's time ten shillings, at present twelve shillings.

In Burtone (Burton) twelve carucates and six oxgangs to be taxed, and there may be seven ploughs. Uluiet had one manor there. Now Saint John has in the demesne three ploughs; and twelve villanes with three ploughs. Value in king Edward's time fifty shillings, at present forty shillings.

In Molescroft three carucates to be taxed, and there may be two ploughs. One moiety is the archbishop's, and the other Saint John's. Two villanes have there one plough.

In Calgestorp (qu. Kellingthorp) Saint John has two oxgangs to be taxed and one mill.

In Clinibicote (Kiplingcote) to be taxed two carucates and a half, and there may be two ploughs. Saint John had and has it. It is waste. Chetel holds it.

In Middletun (Middleton) five carucates and six oxgangs to be taxed, and there may be three ploughs. Archbishop Eldred held this for one manor. Saint John has now in the demesne one plough; and eight villanes two ploughs and a half. There is a church and a priest there. Value in king Edward's time forty shillings, at present twenty shillings.

In Lochinfield (Leckingfield) Saint John has two oxgangs of land.

In Chelche (Kelk) with the Berewicks Ghemeling (Gembling) Rictone (Righton) are thirteen carucates to be taxed, and there may be seven ploughs. Uluiet²⁷ held this for one manor: now Saint John has it, and it is waste, except that three villanes have there one plough. Value in king Edward's time forty shillings, at present twelve-pence. The whole manor one mile long and a half broad.

In Gartune (Garton) nine carucates to be taxed, and there may be five ploughs. Saint John had one manor there, and Uluiet another manor. Saint John now has both, and they are waste. Value in king Edward's time forty-five shillings.

In Langetorp (Langthorp) with the berewicks Roreston (Ruston) Ascheltorp () there are twelve carucates and a half to be taxed, and there may be seven ploughs. Saint John held this for one manor, and it is now waste, except that one farmer pays eight shillings.

In Benedlage (Bentley) to be taxed two carucates, and one plough may till it. Saint John had there one manor. It is now waste; yet there is wood pasture one mile long, and four quarentens broad. Value in king Edward's time twenty shillings.

These berewicks are St. John's, and are in Holderness, South Hundred.

Berewick. In Welvuic (Welwick) four carucates of land to be taxed: and in Wideton (Whitton) to be taxed two carucates of land and five oxgangs. Land

²⁷ Uluiet was a nobleman who possessed lands in Holderness, and was probably a descendant of that Ulphus, who endowed the church at York, with lands and other property, and sealed his endowment by drinking out of a horn, at the holy altar; which horn is still kept in the archives of York cathedral.

to six ploughs. There is in the demesne one plough and a half, and thirty-two villanes, and thirteen bordars have nine ploughs. There is a church and a priest, and twenty acres of meadow.

Berewick. In Grimestone (Grimston) two carucates of land to be taxed. It is waste.

Berewick. In Moneuic () two carucates of land to be taxed. Land to two ploughs. Six villanes have there three ploughs, and they pay ten shillings.

Berewick. In Otringeha (Ottringham) six carucates of land and a half to be taxed. There is a church and a priest there. A certain knight farms it and pays ten shillings.

Mith Hundret. (Middle Hundred.)

Berewick. In Billestone (Bilton) three carucates of land to be taxed. Land to two ploughs. Thirteen villanes have there two ploughs and five oxen.

Berewick. In Santriburtone (Pidsey Burton) five carucates of land to be taxed. Land to five ploughs. One knight has one plough in the demesne there.

Berewick. In Neutone (Newton) three carucates of land to be taxed. Land to two ploughs. There are twenty acres of meadow.

Berewick. In Flintone (Flinton) six oxgangs of land to be taxed. Land to four oxen. Three villanes and one bordar have there one plough.

Berewick. In Danetorp (Danthorp) one carucate of land to be taxed. Land to one plough. There is there one bordar.

Berewick. In Withfornewic (Withernwick) one carucate of land to be taxed. Four villanes have there one plough, and twenty acres of meadow.

Berewick. In Rutba (Rudby) fifteen oxgangs of land to be taxed. Seven villanes have there two ploughs. There are twelve acres of meadow. In the same village two carucates of land, which Drogo took away from Saint John, and it is waste.

Berewick. In Sudtone (Sutton) nine oxgangs of land to be taxed. One free Man (francus homo) has there three villanes with one plough and a half.

Berewick. In Sotecote (Southcote) one carucate of land to be taxed. In Dritpol (Drypool) three oxgangs, and soke upon five oxgangs. This is waste.

Nort Hundret (North Hundred.)

Berewick. In Coledun (Cowden) nine carucates of land to be taxed. Land to seven ploughs. One knight has one plough there, and twelve villanes with three ploughs.

Berewick. In Siglestone (Sigglesborne) eight carucates of land to be taxed. Land to five ploughs. There is one plough in the demesne; and fourteen villanes and five bordars having six ploughs. There is a priest and a church, and sixteen acres of meadow. In Rise, half a carucate of land to be taxed. It is waste.

Berewick. In Catingewieck (Catwick) one carucate of land to be taxed. One knight has there one plough, and three villanes and four bordars.

Berewick. In Brantishurtone (Brandesburton) one carucate of land to be taxed. One clerk has there one plough and one villane, and eight acres of meadow.

Berewick. In Leuene (Leven) six carucates of land to be taxed. Land to four ploughs. There is in the demesne one plough; and fifteen villanes and one bordar with three ploughs. There is a priest and a church.²⁸

It should appear that highly as the memory of St. John was generally revered, there existed some bold spirits who set his power at defiance. At the head of these stood Walcher, bishop of Durham. This prelate was an artful and crafty priest, of Norman extraction; who, for a valuable premium, was constituted governor of Northumberland, a situation of great trust and confidence, in these times of suspicion, jealousy, and insurrection. He was proud, covetous, and tyrannical in the extreme; and hence his administration was marked by cruelty and injustice, and was consequently exceedingly oppressive and unpopular. He not only connived at the exactions of his officers, but even gave a sanction to the most cruel murders, and shared in the plunder. The Conqueror, to secure the fidelity of this haughty prelate, conferred upon him an incredible number of manors, many of which were situated within the county of York. In addition to these grants of royal clemency, he did not hesitate to seize, with the lawless hand of violence, on any property that came within his reach. He had taken and retained possession of some property belonging to the canons of Beverley, which founded the subject of complaint, and perhaps litigation, when the survey of Domesday was made. The account given of it in that record, is as follows. "The soke of five carucates of land, and two oxgangs, which the bishop of Durham claims, the jurors say justly to have lain in Welton, but the canons of Beverley claim it as the gift of king William, and of his confirmation. They say the same of the soke of one carucate of land in Newton, which the bishop of Durham claims to Welton, because it was so in the time of king Edward; but the same clerks claim it of the king."²⁹ The extortions of this

²⁸ Bawdwen. Dom. Boc. p. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 238.

dignitary at length accelerated his fate. Siwolf, a Saxon nobleman of great merit and amiable manners, had sought and obtained the bishop's protection against the insults of his Norman countrymen; but was basely murdered within the precincts of the palace. This inhospitable deed roused the Northumbrians into action. They attacked the prelate and his followers, and slew him, as well as the murderers, and more than a hundred of their friends. Thus perished this proud priest, the victim of his own tyranny, and a rigorous example of retributive justice.

Morcar, the celebrated earl of Northumberland; held about one hundred and twenty acres of land in Burton, a manor of Saint John of Beverley, and thus was slightly connected with the church. He was of Danish extraction, and fought under the banner of the unfortunate Harold, at Hastings, but afterwards submitted to the Conqueror. The wrongs of his countrymen soon roused him into action, and after an unsuccessful attempt to regain possession of their ancient liberties; he once more received the king's pardon. He attempted a second insurrection, which deprived him of his liberty and possessions, and it is supposed that he remained in confinement till his death. Nigel Fossard took charge of his property in Burton and Welton, but was ultimately obliged to relinquish it.³⁰

Drogo de Beurere had also some claims, which, it is probable, he would not be able to substantiate. This nobleman was of Flemish extraction, and accompanied William in his expedition against this country, with all his vassals and retainers, for which service he was rewarded abundantly; for the Conqueror gave him his niece in marriage, and endowed her with many noble manors; amongst which was considerable property in Holderness. He is supposed to have been the ancestor of William de Brewer, who stood so high in favour with Henry the second, Richard the first, John, and Henry the third, as to be constituted a baron of the exchequer, and sheriff of several counties.³¹ Drogo has not left behind him a character free from stain. He is accused of having poisoned his wife,³² and of claiming all the church lands, which the king gave to Saint John of Beverley.³³

Gamel, a Northumbrian nobleman, who was cruelly slain by the unprincipled Tosti, at York, while engaged in petitioning the earl for a redress of grievances,³⁴ had four carucates of land in Risby, which in the time of king William, he sold to archbishop Aldred. The soke of this land formerly laid to Welton; but archbishop

³⁰ Bawdwen. Dom. Boc. p. 237.

³¹ Kelh. Dom. Illustr. p. 105.

³² Gough. Camd. vol. iii. p. 248.

³³ Bawdwen. Dom. Boc. p. 243.

³⁴ Sim. Dunelm. apud. Dec. Scriptores. col. 192.

Thomas had king William's writ, by which he granted the undisturbed possession of that soke to Saint John of Beverley.³⁵

The observations which occur on the perusal of this record, are not numerous, and relate principally to the population. We find no waste land in the lordship, and comparatively little in any of its dependancies. Hence it appears that the rights of Saint John were respected, during the devastations which reduced the county of York to a desolate wilderness, in other places, as well as in the immediate vicinity of Beverley. His churches were all spared, and generally, his property; for there appears less waste land upon his possessions, than on any which belonged to other lords. As far as regards the ecclesiastical edifices, little injury was sustained in Holderness, which is rather extraordinary; as William, in a paroxism of fury, had devoted the whole of Yorkshire to utter extermination; and his troops demolished the city of York, and many towns and villages in the county, and put to the sword one hundred thousand of the inhabitants; in some places even the sacred edifices did not escape the lawless rage of the desolating army. But William, from causes which have been already enumerated, not only abstained from injuring the property belonging to the church of Beverley, but actually bestowed on it some substantial marks of his royal favour, by endowing it with the manor of Sigglesthorpe.³⁶ The protection afforded to this property everywhere, is evident from the record before us. In Beverley itself, the archbishop's land was reduced in value more than one-third, while that of the canons remained uninjured. In some instances, the value of their property had increased from the time of king Edward. Thus, in Ragenelton, the value in the time of the Confessor, was ten shillings, and now twelve shillings. It is true the canons *had* waste land at some distance from their residence; for it was not possible that their large possessions should entirely escape, amidst the indiscriminate ravages of an army intent on spoil; because it would be very difficult to determine the precise boundary lines, which might distinguish the exempted patrimony of Saint John. Still the churches escaped, for it appears from the preceding record, that in addition to the churches at Beverley, the canons possessed those of Leven, Welwick, Sigglesthorpe, and Middleton, which were all provided with officiating ministers, and had the divine services of christianity regularly performed.

³⁵ Bawdwen. Dom. Boc. p. 239.

³⁶ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 103.

We find here also some remains of the very extensive wood of Deira, whose profits were appropriated to the canons. Great quantities of wood land were distributed over the whole district, which originally formed one immense and trackless forest, known only to the superstitious priests of the great gods, Hu and Ceridwen. At Cottingham two hundred acres of wood still remained,³⁷ and prodigious masses were found in other contiguous places. Much of the original woods was destroyed by the jealous policy of the Romans, who employed the captive natives in the laborious occupation of clearing woods and draining marshes, (*in sylvis et paludibus emuendis*;) that they might be prevented from concerting schemes of insurrection and revolt; and in this state of menial servitude, they wore out their bodies and enslaved their minds.³⁸ Much more was burnt to ashes, during the indiscriminate ravages of the Saxons and Danes. The wood extended, in the times of the Saxons, to Godmanham;³⁹ and was partially destroyed when Edwin was converted; for the people not only levelled the temple of Thor with the ground, but also burned the surrounding groves.⁴⁰

The town of Beverley was at this period divided into tofts, on which tenements were erected, for the accommodation of merchants, tradesmen, or burgesses, and the occupiers of the land. A part of the inhabitants held their houses on burgage tenure, carrying on mechanical trades, under the protection of the canons, and devoting a part of the profits to them as tenants at will; others tilled the ground, and occupied small cottages, yielding such rent or service as the canons might

³⁷ Maseres. Ant Parl. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 326.

³⁸ Tacit. Vit. Agric. 31. Herod. vit. Sever. l. 3. Vid. Dug. Imbank. p. 16. 174.

³⁹ Burton, in the Appendix to his Monasticon Eboracense p. 433, says, that this division of the county contained several thousand acres of waste land, which formed part of the ancient forest, although great quantities have been inclosed. The boundaries of this extensive forest are now forgotten.

It was the opinion of Dela Pryme, that the forest extended over the whole of Hatfield Chase, and that it was cleared away by the Romans; and he grounds his hypothesis on the abundant remains which still exist at a certain depth beneath the surface, of trees, planks, roots, and brushwood, over the whole of this district. If this reasoning be sound, the woods at Beverley were cleared by the same people; for similar appearances have been exhibited in every place where excavations of a sufficient depth have been made. Great quantities were found in the common pastures of Swinmore and Figham, when the Beverley and Barmston drain was cut; and in many other marshy places in the neighbourhood, particularly at Eske, about two and a half miles from Beverley, where not only great oak trees have been taken up, generally with the roots attached; but trees of a lighter description, such as hazle, and on these the nuts have been found in good preservation, which shows evidently the season of the year when they were destroyed. The depth at which these trees were found is usually from one to four feet.

⁴⁰ Ling. Angl. Sax. Ch. p. 17.

from time to time impose. These were the villanes and slaves. The merchants or burgesses, although free in their persons, still held their property as tenants at will, and paid a certain duty on every article of traffic. This was the origin of tolls, the amount of which was entirely at the mercy of the canons, as no fixed rate was yet determined by law, for the regulation of this species of impost; and it was accordingly governed by existing circumstances. The borough of Beverley having been enfranchised, its inhabitants enjoyed a species of liberty unknown in other towns which did not possess the same privilege; and therefore men who, by any means, had realized a little property, would endeavour to procure a residence in this town, where they were certain of protection, under the mild sway of the canons;⁴¹ for it has been universally acknowledged, that in these times, the conventual courts of justice were conducted on principles strictly honourable, and uniformly applied to the protection of honest men, against the intrigues or aggression of villany. The inhabitants of Beverley possessed a merchant guild,⁴² and houses. and had the privilege of free trade, though they still held their tenements on burgage tenure.

The ferme of the town was in the canons, who paid the quit rents to the archbishop of York. This fee-farm rent was a compensation for the usual rents, tolls, fishery, and mills, the latter of which appear to have been a sort of public property, as they were usually attached to the ferme, or manor; and when the quantum of rent was accurately determined, the town became from thence a free borough. This rent was fixed, by archbishop Thurstan, at eighteen marks annually.⁴³

It was necessary, however, that this enfranchisement should be confirmed, as the alterations which had been introduced by the Norman invasion, although

⁴¹ "If the villane of any lord purchased a house in a borough, and remained settled and unclaimed in his burgage for a year and a day, he absolutely commenced a freeman, and had an equal right with the native burgesses, to all the franchises of the borough." Whittaker. *Manchest.* vol. i. p. 204. apud. Glanville. l. 5. c. 5.

⁴² "Gilda mercatoria, or Gild merchant, is a certain liberty, or privilege, belonging to merchants, to enable them to hold certain pleas within their own precincts. The word geldes, or gelbalda Teutonicorum, is used for the fraternity of Esterling merchants, in London, called now the Stillyard." Drake. *Ebor. Append.* xxxij.

⁴³ The mark was an indeterminate sum, which varied in different ages. Some have stated it at six ounces, others, at eight ounces. Vid. Turner's *Ang. Sax.* vol. ii. p. 127. Madox says, a mark of gold was equal to six pounds, or six score shillings. The mark of silver, thirteen shillings and four-pence. The besant, two shillings. Du Fresne, estimates the mark at half a pound. Gloss. p. 437. Tredecim solidis et quatuor sterlingis pro qualibet marca computatis. Ubi sterlingus, ejusdem valoris est cum denario Anglicano, quorum duodecim faciunt solidum. *Mat. Par. Gloss.* in voc. Sterlingus.

Beverley was exempted from the immediate consequences, would render the validity of their Saxon charters questionable at least, if they were not altogether invalidated by a change of policy and laws.

Still the power of tallaging the borough remained with the archbishop, in cases which demanded an extraordinary supply; but these tallages were now in the nature of subsidies to meet any emergency of the state, and could not be legally imposed merely to supply the necessities of the archbishop himself. If he was talliated by the king for his demesnes, he was then justified in calling on his tenants for a proportionate supply; and all of them, whether free or otherwise, must of necessity contribute their lawful share.

Another testimony to the abundant population of Beverley remains to be noticed. Before the Conquest it was customary for the people to grind their corn by hand mills, and hence a public wind or water-mill was capable of supplying a moderate sized district with meal and flour, sufficient for all the necessary purposes of life. But Beverley was furnished with three public mills, which probably belonged to the archiepiscopal demesne, and were appropriated to the town as part of the ferme thereof. And three mills would be amply sufficient for a population of several thousand souls. It is probable also, that Beverley contained at this period, a monetarius, or mint, because it is said in an enumeration of the places where the privilege of coining was exercised, that there was "one in every burgh."⁴⁴ We find no mention in the preceding record, of the merchants or tradesmen who at this time inhabited the town of Beverley; although we have abundant proof that business was transacted here to a very considerable extent, for the composition paid to the archbishop for tolls, amounted to a large sum; and the town is termed by Bale, a city.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Wilk. Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 59.

⁴⁵ De Script. Brit. p. 187.



Chap. XX.

Comparison of ancient and modern manners—Thurstan grants a charter to the town—Canal from the river Hull, called Beverley Beck—Thurstan builds the chapel of St. Mary—His privileges as the lord of the town—King Stephen's charter—Rebellion of Eustace Fitz-John—his ravages, in conjunction with the Scots—Battle of Cuton-Moor—Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, resides at Beverley—Stephen contemplates the fortification of the town—Is deterred from his purpose by a vision—Charter of Henry II.—Thomas à Becket provost of Beverley—Town and minster consumed by fire—Public offices put to sale—Fee-farm rents of Beverley—Disputes in the town—Disgrace of the archbishop—King John visits Cottingham—and Beverley—View of the town, and its inhabitants—Miracle there—Commandery of St. John founded—Disputes between the archbishop and the canons of Beverley—Property conveyed to the church—Provost of Beverley—Streets paved—Fines and taxes—Arrangement respecting the navigation of the Hull—Chivalry—Superiority of the Beverley cloths—Charters of Henry III.

SUCH were the circumstances of the town of Beverley at the latter end of the eleventh century. Enfranchised by royal charters; decorated by the architectural taste and munificence of succeeding metropolitans, and enjoying all the beneficent effects of a genial religion, it exhibited the appearance of an opulent and improving town. In forming an opinion, however, of its magnificence, it is necessary to divest the mind of all ideas of present splendour, because they will by no means apply to the case of ancient times. A common modern dinner service is composed of china dishes at the least, with forks, spoons, and other articles in silver; but an ancient dinner party ate with their fingers from wooden trenchers, or perhaps a whole company partook of the same viands out of a common bowl. How can we, of these luxurious days, form a competent idea of the banqueting halls and ladies' bowers of olden time, which are described by the poet and writer of romance in

such fascinating colours? Our conceptions must entirely fail, from the very essential difference which exists in the manners and customs of the two periods. An idea of modern splendour will embrace carpeted floors, beds of cygnet down, services of gold and silver plate, painted rooms, gilded cornices and stair-cases, seats and sofas of satin damask, statues and pictures, vases and rich trinkets, chandeliers of glass, and chased gold and silver, with all the elegancies that wealth can purchase, or luxury devise. These expensive superfluities had no existence in the times of our robust forefathers. The limbs of the most delicate and high born female were extended at night upon a bed of straw; and instead of Turkey carpets, her feet in the day time trod, at best, but on strewed rushes. The banqueting room, with its small loop-hole windows, stone walls, rough oaken tables and benches, all dark, gloomy, and cheerless, would afford to a modern taste, but a heavy picture of splendour and magnificence. Yet it was here that the high and chivalrous spirit of our ancestors was nurtured and brought to maturity; it was here that the weaker, but more lovely sex, impressed with romantic notions of honour and hardy virtue, excited, by its unbounded influence, an ardour for deeds of heroic prowess, which marked its superiority; and a single nod from a high born female, would either unnerve the stoutest warrior, or excite him to efforts fraught with such difficulty and danger, as appeared beyond the capacity of a mortal to perform.

To form an estimate of an Anglo-Saxon town, we must reduce our ideas even from this standard; for though the *public* buildings of that people were massive and splendid, and united the qualities of magnificence and durability, yet the common dwellings were very little improved from the tent or cabin of their ancestors; and consisted of a cottage, thatched with reeds, with a fire place in the centre, and a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. Some of them were composed of wicker work; but generally timber frames, filled in with lath and plaster, and thatch for the roofs, constituted the chief materials in the dwellings of the English at this period.¹

In the year 1109, an appointment was made which proved of essential service to the town of Beverley.² Thurstan, a canon of St. Paul's, and chaplain to king Henry the first, succeeded Thomas, archbishop of York, as provost of Beverley. During his residence here, his comprehensive mind beheld the capabilities which promised to raise the town to eminence, and he resolved to give it every encouragement which fortune should place within his power. He conferred with the

¹ Britt. Archit. Ant. vol. ii. p. 86. Fosbr. Encyc. of Antq. vol. i. p. 110.

² Prov. Regist. l. l. p. 57.

most intelligent merchants on this interesting subject, and having informed himself of every requisite which might tend to benefit the place, he laid a statement of his wishes before the king, and earnestly entreated him to confer some marks of favour on the inhabitants, by confirming their former charters, and granting such new privileges, as might place them on an equality with other reputable mercantile towns. Henry, who had only just compromised his quarrel with Anselm, the primate, was willing to allay the ferment of party spirit, which raged throughout the country, by conferring privileges on his subjects, and therefore gave the town of Beverley, as well as many other places, a charter of confirmation.³

The time however soon arrived, when Thurstan had power in his own hands to convey benefits to the town. On the death of archbishop Thomas, in 1114, he was nominated to the vacant see;⁴ and paid an early visit to his favourite town of Beverley, now under the government of Thomas the Norman, who succeeded him in the provostship. He held his court in the demesne; and made enquiries into the conduct of his officers; into the administration of justice; and into the general state of the town, its inhabitants, trade, and morals. The result of this inquisition was a charter of liberties, in which he conveyed to the men of Beverley, all free customs granted to Saint John, by his predecessors. He gave them in their *hanshus*⁵ the same laws and privileges which the citizens of York⁶ enjoyed, that is, throughout the realm of England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and Poitiers, &c. He gave them the tolls for ever, on payment of an annual sum of eighteen marks, &c. &c. as is more fully expressed in the charter itself,⁷ which was confirmed by king Henry. And in 1125, pope Honorius gave a charter of confirmation to the provost.⁸

³ My authority for this charter is rather doubtful. I have neither seen the charter itself, nor any authenticated copy; and the only testimony I am acquainted with, is a manuscript in my possession, containing, amongst other things, the following words, "Charter of king Henry I.; a confirmation of king Athelstan's charter, touching clerk of the market."

⁴ Hoved. 271. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 1. p. 57.

⁵ "Hansa, latinized, is derived from the German, *hansz*, or the Belgic *hans*, which is, says Skinner, cities or companies associated or confederated; so the *hans towns* in Germany still retain the old name." Drake. Ebor. p. 228.

⁶ The citizens of York were quit of toll, lastage, wreck, pontage, passage, and enjoyed all free customs in the realm of England, the duchy of Normandy, &c. and all the coasts thereof. They had liberty to take distresses for their debts, to defend themselves from appeals, and no man was allowed to disturb them under a heavy penalty.

⁷ Vid. App. C. ⁸ Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 1. p. 56.

The distance of the river Hull from the town of Beverley, was more than half a mile, which rendered the conveyance of goods and merchandise very tedious and inconvenient. To obviate the embarrassments thus necessarily occasioned, Thurstan encouraged the merchants to make a channel from the river, of sufficient depth "to carry boats and barges."⁹ And this canal was of infinite advantage to the commerce of the town. The benefits of Thurstan's administration were long visible in the increasing prosperity of the town; and the holy man was much gratified in beholding the genial effects of his endeavours to promote its welfare. He had a palace at Beverley, and spent a portion of his time in that delightful retreat, where he could join in the services of religion, and employ his time in distributing justice within the limits of his jurisdiction, and maintaining a strict regularity and sound discipline amongst the people. Nor were the canons neglected, while he conferred favours on the inhabitants. He granted to them the privilege of bequeathing two-thirds of their prebendal profits, for the year following their death, to their heirs, reserving the remaining portion only for the repair of the church.¹⁰ In a word, no description of people remained unnoticed by this excellent prelate; but all felt and acknowledged the benefits which he had conferred upon them.

The increasing population of the town, now demanded a further accommodation for administering the sacred services of religion; and for this purpose, the chapel or oratory of Saint Mary was erected.¹¹ The original buildings partake equally of the Norman and early English styles,¹² and were doubtless constructed about the present period, before the former was altogether abandoned, or the use of the latter fully established. There is little hazard in the conjecture, that this edifice owes its origin to the active benevolence of Thurstan.

At this time the archbishop exercised almost regal authority, in his baronies of Beverley, Ripon, Scireburn, Patrington, Otley, and Wilton, which were assigned to his predecessors by king Athelstan. He had prisons and justices in these towns, with full power to try, condemn, and execute criminals. King Henry, by his writ, had confirmed all the previous grants, and added new liberties and privileges, particularly that of *infangtheof*.¹³ He had returns of writs, pleas of *withernam*,

⁹ Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 47.

¹⁰ Drake. Ebor. p. 417.

¹¹ Lansd. MSS. 896. VIII. fo. 47. ¹² Rickm. Engl. Arch. p. 172.

¹³ *Infangtheof*. A criminal jurisdiction, by which thieves found on his territories, might be punished without appeal.

the taking of estreats by the hands of his sheriffs, for levying the king's debts upon those persons who had nothing without his liberties. He had a gallows, pillory, and cucking stool in all the above named towns. He had also his own coroners on each side of the river Hull, who took *prises* in that stream by his authority.¹⁴ He had assize of bread and beer; and waif and broken wreck of the sea, with park and free warren, and all his land quit from suit and service.¹⁵

On the accession of Stephen, the canons of Beverley received a corroboration of their liberties, by another royal charter,¹⁶ which confirmed the right of sanctuary, and all other rights and franchises granted by former monarchs; together with the thraves of corn, and their former privilege of holding fairs; for the new monarch sought to remove the disadvantages of a defective title, by liberal concessions to the people. This course was, however, only partially successful, and his bold usurpation produced a bloody war, before his title to a life estate in the crown could be formally acknowledged.

Eustace Fitz John, a powerful Anglo-Norman baron, who was much esteemed by the late king, and consulted by him in all matters of moment, on account of his consummate wisdom and excellent judgment, had been arrested by Stephen, contrary to law, and detained a prisoner till he had surrendered possession of the castle of Bamburg, and other places, which had been entrusted to his custody by king Henry. Highly resenting such a flagrant act of arbitrary power, Eustace fled into the north, and uniting his forces with those of David, king of Scotland, made an irruption into Yorkshire, with the intention of revenging the insult he had received, by a general ravage of that part of the kingdom. This rebellious baron now entered the county at the head of a numerous army, and miserably laid waste whole districts; destroying the property of his inoffensive and loyal countrymen, as he proceeded towards York; intending to make the castle in that city the head quarters of the Scottish army. It is incredible, says Simeon of Durham,¹⁷ to relate what flagitious wickedness the army perpetrated, in their unholy career. Wherever they appeared, fire and sword, plunder and desolation, marked their progress. They spared neither sex nor age; helpless infancy was alike sacrificed

¹⁴ Rym. Foed. tom. iv. p. 272. ¹⁵ Placit. Quo. War. in Scacc.

¹⁶ Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 99. and 102. b. Corp. Rec. 1. Steph. No. 1. Ex. Dade. This charter is attested by Thurstan, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, Hugh, bishop of Ely, Adelm, bishop of Carlisle, Roger the chamberlain, Robert de Vere, Hugh Bigot, and others.

¹⁷ Dec. Script. col. 250.

with hardy manhood and decrepid old age. The tears of the unresisting female made no impression on their savage hearts; nor was the sacred robe of the ecclesiastic a protection from their cruelty. Pregnant women were ripped up, and their infants cut in pieces. Maids and matrons were stripped naked, and driven into Scotland as slaves. Such was the kind of warfare which Eustace Fitz John waged against his countrymen and neighbours; and at length the whole army assembled and sat down before the city of York.

During these scenes, which were transacted under his own eye, archbishop Thurstan, who had been constituted lieutenant of the north by Stephen, had not been idle. He summoned the nobility, who all assembled with their tenants and retainers, and we may reasonably conclude that the inhabitants of Beverley, his own demesne, were not backward in joining the English army against the invaders. The archbishop addressed the troops, and recommended them to fight bravely in defence of their altars and their homes; he recapitulated the miseries already inflicted on the northern counties; miseries to which they themselves must inevitably be subjected, should the enemy gain possession of the citadel of York. Inspired by this address, the troops marched forward to the contest with a determination to conquer or die. The Scots beheld their ardour, and fearing to abide the issue of a battle, retreated with the utmost precipitation; for excessive cruelty is usually accompanied with pusillanimity and cowardice.

The English army pursued and overtook them at Northallerton, and a decisive victory was gained at Cuton Moor over the Scots, and their king narrowly escaped being taken prisoner.¹⁸ This was called the battle of the *Standard*; for a tall crucifix, composed of the mast of a ship, and decorated with many sacred banners, had been elevated on wheels, as a signal of conquest and peace;¹⁹ and the victory was attributed to the prompt and magnanimous conduct of our archbishop; by

¹⁸ Baker's Chron. p. 47.

¹⁹ "King David look'd athwart the moor,
With Prince Henry his brave son;
And they were aware of the English host,
Now merrily marching on.

Oh then call'd forth the King David,
And loudly called he—
'And who is here, in all my camp,
Can describe yon host to me?'

Then came there one beside the tent,
An Englishman was he;
'Twas not long since from the English host,
That traiterous wight did flee.

'And what's yon glittering tower I see,
In the centre of the host?'
O that is the hallowed *Standard*, of which
The English make such boast.

whose agency also, Fitz John was pardoned, on his submission to the king, and allowed to retain his possessions.

The success of this expedition was so gratifying to Stephen, that he now considered himself securely placed on the throne, and began to exercise the severities which were suggested by his bold and aspiring disposition. Amongst other acts of misrule, he determined to suppress the castles of the English prelates, and actually imprisoned the bishop of Lincoln until he had relinquished all his fortified places.²⁰ The clergy were alarmed, and many of them paid heavy fines for the king's favour, or in other words, to be exempt from oppression. On this occasion, we find that Robert, the fourth provost of Beverley, and Ralf, the archdeacon, fined to the king in the enormous sum of three hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, *de dono*,²¹ that they might be under the king's protection, as his demesne clerks.²²

Archbishop Thurstan growing old and infirm, found himself incapable to enter into the bitter disputes which now agitated the kingdom, and therefore resigned his bishoprick, A. D. 1141, and retired to a monastery. His successor, Henry Murdac, was consecrated by the pope, in opposition to the wish of Stephen, but when he attempted to take possession of his see, the gates of York were closed against him.²³ He retired to Beverley, thundered out his anathemas against all his opposers, and

A mast of a ship it is so high,
All bedeck'd with gold so gay;
And on its top is a holy Cross,
That shines as bright as day.

Around it hang the holy banners
Of many a blessed saint;
Saint Peter, and *John of Beverley*,
And Saint Wilfrid there they paint.

The aged folk around it throng,
With their old hairs all so grey,
And many a chieftain there bows down,
And so heartily doth pray.

Oh then bespake the King of Scots,
And so heavily spake he—
'And had I but yon holy Standard,
Right gladsome should I be.

And had I but yon holy Standard,
That there so high doth tower;
I would not care for yon English host,
Nor all yon Chieftain's power.

O! had I but yon holy Rood
That there so bright doth show;
I would not care for yon English host,
Nor the worst that they could do.' "

Battle of Cutton Moor.

²⁰ Malms. p. 181.

²¹ *Donum* was a general word, and was used with great latitude. Down to the time of Henry the second if it was paid out of the knight's fees, it was denominated *scutage*, if out of lands which were not of military tenure, it signified *hidage*, and if it was paid by boroughs, it was tallage. Afterwards it was principally used in the latter signification.

²² Mag. Rot. Madox. Exch. vol. i. p. 459.

²³ Sim. Dunelm. Drake. Ebor. p. 417.

laid the city under an interdict. Here he remained three years, and rendered essential services to the town. Fitz-John, having some compunctions of conscience for the devastations and murders to which he had been accessory, consulted with the archbishop about his penances, and was directed to re-edify the monastery of Watton, near Beverley, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the year 870. A penance, in these times, that was considered to be an effectual atonement for crimes of any magnitude.

To this monastery the archbishop was a liberal benefactor, and even after he was reconciled to the king, and had entered on the peaceable possession of his see, he did not forget its interests, but continued regularly to superintend the establishment.

He enjoyed his dignity about seven years, but never again attempted to enter the city of York; and at length died at Beverley, which had been his chief residence, in the year 1153.²⁴ He was succeeded by archbishop William, commonly called Saint William of York, who gave to the town of Beverley a charter of liberties in the same year, in which the privileges granted by Thurstan are established, and a merchant's guild, court of pleas, &c. are assigned to the burgesses.²⁵

The turbulence and insubordination which manifested themselves both amongst the nobility and the people, during the whole of this reign, kept the vigorous mind of Stephen on the alert. He neglected no means of defence which might tend to his own security; and, while he tried every expedient to induce his barons and clergy to place their castles in his hands, he himself erected many new fortresses in the most convenient situations, throughout every part of the kingdom. The town of Beverley appeared, to his penetrating genius, a most eligible situation for a strongly fortified castle, and here he determined to fix a permanent military garrison. The canons were alarmed, and even the archbishop, foreseeing that his rights and liberties would fall a sacrifice to the unbounded licence of mercenary soldiers, protected by military law—petitioned the king to desist from his purpose, but without success; for Stephen's affection for the church was not equal to the care he had about his own safety. Indeed, the clergy at this period, had few claims on his generosity, for he had recently been deserted by the ecclesiastical interests

²⁴ John Hagulst. Dec. Script. col. 282. Drake's Ebor. p. 418.

²⁵ Ex. MSS. penes me. Corp. Rec. No. 3. This charter is attested by William, earl of Albemarle, lord of Holderness, Everarde de Ross, Robert de Stutevil, Herbert Fitz-Herbert, Gilbert de Nevil, Richard de Verli, William Dapifer, Turstin the Reeve, Hyvon, abbot of Water, Simon the canon, Ralph the canon, Master Alfrid the sacrist, William de Falais, Reginald Theoloner, and others.

of the kingdom, and still smarted under the disgrace of those submissions which the papal power had obliged him to make, by laying the whole realm under an interdict. But though deaf to remonstrance, and callous to the feelings of kindness, or the policy of conciliation, this hardy monarch was tremblingly alive to the effects of superstition. He had a dream or vision, in which Saint John, the patron saint of Beverley, appeared to him *in pontificalibus*, and with stern looks and threatening gestures, denounced summary vengeance against him and his posterity, should he dare to have the temerity of polluting his peaceable establishment at Beverley, with a military garrison. The effect which this dream had on the mind of Stephen, who in battle would not hesitate to oppose himself, single-handed, to a whole squadron, is incredible. He immediately countermanded his order for building a castle at Beverley, and never again indulged a thought of infringing on the privileges of that sacred abode of peace and religious privacy.²⁶

At the commencement of his reign, king Henry II. granted a charter of liberties to the burgesses, of which the following is a copy.

	Carta privilegiorum burgensibus de Beverlaco concessa. Henricus. Dei gratiâ,
A. D.—	Rex Angliæ. Dux Normanniæ & Aquitaniæ, comes Ande-
An. Hen. II.	gaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, archidiaconis, decanis,
Cart. Antiq.	præpositis, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus &
in Turr. Lond.	omnibus ministris & fidelibus suis, salutem.
R. 16.	

Sciatis me consessisse & presenti cartâ meâ confirmasse burgensibus de Beverlaco, omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines, quas Turstinus aut Willielmus quondam Eborac' archiepiscopis dederunt & concesserunt & cartis suis confirmaverunt, & quas Rex Henricus avus meus, eis concessit & cartâ suâ confirmavit. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio quod prædicti burgenses de Beverlaco omnes ipsas libertates & liberas consuetudines, quas eis dederunt & confirmaverunt prædicti Eborac' archiepiscopi, habeant & teneant benè & in pace liberè, & quitè, plenairè integrè, in theloneo & in hansus, in liberis introitibus & exitibus, in villâ & extra villam, in foro, in bosco & plano, in marisco & tubariâ, in viis & semitis, & in omnibus aliis locis sicut cartæ prædictorum archiepiscoporum, Turstini & Willielmi scilicet testantur.

²⁶ *Lel. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 364. *Joh. Hagul. ap. Dec. Script.* col. 278.

Test.

R. Wynton,
G. Elyens, } *episcopis.*
J. Norwicens,
G. filio meo & cancellario
Johanne. filio meo
Magistro W. De. Custanc
G. De Luci
R. De Glanville
Reginaldo de Curtenay

R. Bigot
Hug de Cressi
Hug de Mornvic
Alano de Furnell
Roberto de Witef
Mich Belet
Willo Ruffo dapifero.

Apud Arundel.

The disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, being carried on in England with a spirit of vindictive feeling, which was highly injurious to the cause of religion, were now drawing to a crisis. Thomas à Becket, who afterwards caused such troubles in the kingdom, by his unyielding obstinacy and intrepid boldness, was at this period high in favour with the king, who appointed him to offices of the first importance in the state, and thus cherished the dawning of his mighty ambition, which incited him to aspire to sovereign rule and authority. Amongst other offices of power and trust, this celebrated man was made provost of Beverley;²⁷ but we are not possessed of documents to prove whether any transactions of importance occurred during the continuance of his provostship. He passed rapidly from one dignity to another, till he was placed at the head of the church, in the metropolitan see of Canterbury. In this high situation, his pride and arrogance accelerated his destruction, and he died a violent death at the altar's foot.

The king was no sooner delivered, by the hand of violence, from this determined enemy, than he received intelligence that his own sons were in confederacy against him. His great abilities were, however, always his protection. By the adoption of vigorous measures, and a judicious line of policy, he finally triumphed over all his enemies; took their ally, the king of Scotland, prisoner, and compelled his rebellious children to lay down their arms. The Scottish monarch was reduced to the necessity of submitting to the most humiliating terms, as the price of his liberty; and a meeting was convened by the royal authority at York, to receive the homage of king William, for his realm of Scotland. The barons, ecclesiastics, and canons of

²⁷ Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 630. Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 57.

York, Beverley, and other places, were summoned to give their attendance on this great occasion; but the canons of York refused obedience to the royal summons; which so highly incensed the English monarch, that they were glad to appease his wrath by paying a fine of one hundred pounds.²⁸

Nothing, however, could reduce these refractory young men to submission, or preserve their obedience inviolate to Henry, as their monarch and their father. The king, therefore, was obliged to take decisive measures for his own safety. In the year 1181, an order was issued to train the whole population of Britain to the use of arms, under the ostensible pretext of preparing for a crusade against the infidels, whose successes in Palestine, it was said, had covered all christendom with horror and dismay. The ordinance enjoined that every possessor of one knight's fee, should be provided with a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; and that "every knight shall have as many coats of mail, helmets, shields, and lances, as he has knight's fees on his domain. Every free layman who has in chattels or rent, to the value of sixteen marks, shall have the same arms as above; and every free layman having ten marks in chattels or rent, shall have an habergeon, a scull cap of iron, and a lance, pike, or spear; and all *burgesses*, and the whole community of *freemen* shall have a wambais, a scull cap of iron, and a lance."²⁹ Commissioners were sent into every county, city and borough throughout the kingdom, to ascertain the number of persons able to serve, and to see that they were properly equipped according to the statute. Every description of people in the town of Beverley would be embraced by this ordinance; and having received so many royal favours, it is but reasonable to conclude, that they prepared with alacrity to obey the mandate of their king.

While thus actively engaged in military exercises, that they might give effect to the views of their sovereign, the inhabitants of Beverley were visited with a calamity which overwhelmed them with severe affliction. At this period, as has been already noticed, the houses were mere temporary structures of wood, thatched with reeds or straw; even the city of London, according to Stowe, was principally composed of buildings of this description. The inconvenience and danger of these edifices, unfurnished with chimneys to let out the smoke, which usually found vent by a large hole in the roof, became at length impressed on men's minds by the

²⁸ Mag. Rot. Scac. 22. Hen. II. Madox. Exch. vol. i. p. 103.

²⁹ Berington. Hist. Hen. II. p. 316.

effects of fatal experience. The feast of St. Matthew the apostle, 1188, had been celebrated at Beverley with the usual ceremonies; and whether from carelessness, turpitude, or intoxication, a fire broke out during the night, which raged with such violence, as to consume the whole town, together with the minster of Saint John; though every exertion was used to preserve this noble edifice from the flames.³⁰ Similar calamities, in different parts of the kingdom, having proceeded from the same cause, a law was passed, in 1190, to enforce the construction of stone buildings, which afforded a more certain security against the ravages of this devouring element. London was the first to commence a system of reformation, and the example thus afforded by the metropolis, was followed in every part of the kingdom, by the more wealthy part of the population, though the common people still continued to reside in huts of mud and thatch. About this time stone mansions were built in Beverley, and occupied by families of note and consequence.

Richard, the successor of Henry, was a brave and warlike prince; and being inflamed with the desire of martial fame, which could be reaped only in the plains of Palestine, he resolved to lead his armies against the Saracens; but his treasury being exhausted, he had recourse to every feasible expedient to replenish it. He offered for sale all offices of trust and honour; the situations of sheriff and justiciary were disposed of to the highest bidder; and he declared that he would sell the city of London, if he could find a purchaser. The corporation charters were renewed on payment of heavy fines, and the borough of Beverley received from him a charter of confirmation, for which doubtless he received a full compensation.³¹ And in 1195, Geoffery Plantagenet, archbishop of York, the natural son of Henry II. a man of bold and turbulent disposition, though no favourite with Richard, contrived to possess himself of the shrievalty of the county of York, on payment of a fine to the king of 3000 marks.³² Having by this means united the temporal and spiritual authorities, Geoffery flourished with all the power and dignity of a sovereign prince, in the north of England. The situation of high-sheriff was in these times an office of great trust and responsibility. As the keeper of the king's peace, he was the

³⁰ *Lel. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 210. *Stow. Chron.* p. 157. *Holinsh. Chron.* vol. ii. p. 196.

³¹ *Prynne. Chron. Corp. Rec.* No. 5. dated at Worms, 30 Sept. 5. Rich. I. attested by S. bishop of Bath, H. bishop of Coventry, Mast. Philip, and John the Provost of Duai, and Safred; treasurer of Chichester, Baldwin de Betun, &c. and given by the hand of Wm. de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, the chancellor. The hand writing of this charter is very fair; one seal is destroyed, the other imperfect, representing the king on horseback, brandishing a sword in his right hand. On the reverse, the king seated under a throne of pinnacle work.

³² *Mag Rot.* 10. Rich. I.

first man in the county, and superior in rank to any nobleman therein.³³ To his custody was entrusted all the royal castles and manors lying within the bailiwick. He provided the castles and fortified towns with ammunition and other necessities, and stocked and improved the royal manors; in a word, the sheriff was the king's farmer or bailiff, and the collector of all the royal rents and revenues within his district.³⁴ He was dignified with the title of viscount;³⁵ and all the freeholders of the county, whatever might be their rank, were obliged to give their personal attendance, to swell out the magnificence of his train; and to afford weight and authority to his periodical courts of justice. From this service, even the richest and most powerful barons were not exempt.³⁶ Hence the retinue of a provincial sheriff must have equalled that of a powerful monarch. Well might this ambitious prelate desire to occupy a situation of such splendour and influence; and accordingly, we find him exercising its powers with an authority almost amounting to despotism. His rents, from the borough of Beverley, at this time amounted to the sum of £62. 14s. 10d. annually. For the fairs, £2. 0s. 0d.; for the tolls, £12. 0s. 0d.; and for the ferme rents, customs, lands, and appurtenances, £48. 14s. 10d.³⁷

Several disputes, which existed at Beverley about this time, respecting titles to property, appear to have been decided by favour, rather than by the immutable rules of equity and justice. Fines and amerciaments constituted the most valuable part of the royal revenue; to induce the profuse payment of them, justice was openly perverted, and decisions were principally regulated by the gross amount of the sum paid by way of *present* into the king's treasury. The example thus set by the monarch, was followed with avidity by those who held inferior offices, particularly as *they* also were the results of purchase. A dispute was determined in the court of Westminster, respecting some land in the fee of Saint John of Beverley, held by Robert Villiers, of that town, on the death of Humphrey Waspail.³⁸ Walter de Ou, and his brother Thomas, fined to the king in forty shillings, that a writ might be issued to the provost of Beverley, *directing him to deal justly with them*, respecting some land to which they had a claim, in Beverley, against Richard Fitzhenry and Hyda his wife, and that the proceedings may not be stopped, if the rents and property so claimed shall exceed the value of their fine.³⁹

³³ Blackst. Com. vol. i. p. 342.

³⁴ Blackst. Com. vol. i. p. 344. Madox. Exch. vol. i. p. 326.

³⁵ Berrington. Hist. Hen. II. p. 110. ³⁶ Hume. Engl. vol. ii. p. 122. in notâ. n.

³⁷ Mag. Rot. 6 Rich. I. ³⁸ Placit. Abbrev. 6 Rich. I. ³⁹ Mag. Rot. 7 Rich. I.

The unruly temper of archbishop Geoffery led him into many excesses, during the king's absence from the country. At his return, the canons of Beverley were so loud in their complaints against this prelate, that a commission was appointed to hear and determine the matters in dispute between them. The archbishop's men were accused of robbery, and the charge having been substantiated, the commissioners ordered them to be imprisoned. The archbishop himself refused obedience to their summons, alleging that as he was the sheriff and custos of the county, it was impossible that he could be amenable to their tribunal, and therefore, he would neither acknowledge their authority, submit to their judgment, nor appear at their command. His contumacy was punished by a summary process. The commissioners disseized him of all his manors, except Ripon. Beverley was taken from him; and William de Stuteville, of Cottingham, and Geoffery Haget, were appointed custodes over him, and Roger de Batvent, over his under-sheriff.⁴⁰ Thus were the honours of this prelate miserably faded; and being at this time under a papal suspension, the king also seized his spiritualities, for the recovery of which, his proud spirit submitted to the payment of a heavy fine.⁴¹ The king's death did not materially improve his prospects, for John, the new monarch, entertained no very favourable opinion of him; on the contrary, his possessions were once more sequestered by royal authority,⁴² and he was obliged to commute for their restoration, by the payment of a thousand pounds, after they had been alienated one whole year.

During the period of Geoffery's disgrace, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded to the very novel extremity of holding a council within the city of York, at which, the dean and chapter of York, the provost of Beverley, and all the principal canons of that church, with many other dignified ecclesiastics in the same province, were summoned to be present. At this council several laws were decreed, which became permanent ordinances of the church, and binding on posterity.⁴³

John, whose reign began in turbulence and ended in disgrace, wielded the sceptre with an unsteady hand, and found the royal couch a bed of thorns. According to the custom of these times, when the monarch had no settled revenue, it was usual for him to renew the borough charters at his accession, for the purpose of recruiting his treasury. John followed this example; for his title to the crown was disputed, and he needed a supply, to enable him to meet and defeat the

⁴⁰ Madox. Excheq. vol. i. p. 23. ⁴¹ Drake. Ebor. p. 423.

⁴² Ibid. p. 423. ⁴³ R. Hovedon. p. 430.

confederacy which had been formed against him in favour of his nephew Arthur. At the commencement of his reign, this king, accompanied by his beautiful consort, Isabella, and many of the principal barons who had embraced his cause, made a progress into the north. After visiting the city of Lincoln, the royal party crossed the Humber from Grimsby, and proceeding to Cottingham, were entertained with great magnificence at Baynard castle, by William de Stuteville, who received from this monarch in return, many important privileges. He was constituted high-sheriff of this county, an office which he held at present only by substitution; obtained permission to fortify his castle, and received a charter for holding fairs and markets within his domain.⁴⁴ From hence the monarch and his suite made an excursion to Beverley; and the king was so highly gratified with his reception by the ecclesiastics and burgesses, that he granted to the town two charters, in which, added to other privileges, the burgesses were declared free from toll of every description throughout England, London only excepted; for which however, they paid the enormous fine of five hundred marks, and received their quietus.⁴⁵ The king proceeded to York, to effect a compromise with the Scottish monarch, who had agreed to meet him in that city. It should appear however, that the citizens were not well affected towards John, for they refused to shew him any marks of honourable greeting, or to display the usual tokens of joy and congratulation at his presence amongst them. The irritable monarch was so highly incensed at this instance of neglect, which almost amounted to contempt, that he amerced the city in the sum of one hundred pounds.⁴⁶

A subsidy had been levied by the king, to enable him to carry on the war, which was generally paid, though in some parts of the country it excited murmuring and discontent. His brother Geoffery however, the refractory archbishop of York, would not suffer it to be collected within his peculiar jurisdiction. He forbade the king's collectors to approach his manors of Beverley and Ripon, at the peril of his resentment; which, as he possessed the power of life and death in those places, was no imbecile threat. The king, enraged at his presumption, commanded the sheriff to seize his lands. Geoffery replied to this proceeding, by thundering

⁴⁴ *Lel. Coll.* vol. i. p. 293.

⁴⁵ *Mag. Rot. I. Joh.* Corp. Rec. 6 A. Dated at Porchester, 18 April, I. John, and attested by Geoffery Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex, and many others. The second dated two days afterwards, and attested by William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, William, earl of Salisbury, and others.—Marked 6 B.

⁴⁶ *Mag. Rot. III. Joh.*

out his anathemas and excommunications upon all who should be concerned in the execution of these orders; he directed his retainers to seize the officers, and punish them by scourging; and ultimately laid the whole province of York under an interdict. But the king was not thus to be diverted from his purpose; and the archbishop, after an ineffectual struggle, submitted once more to the royal authority.⁴⁷ These violent measures were not resorted to by the archbishop, out of respect to the inhabitants of his boroughs, nor could they have a reference to a supposed incapacity in the burgesses to furnish their quota of the tax, for the canons of Beverley, though their church was in ruins, were very rich; nor were the merchants less opulent. They had recently rebuilt the town, on a scale of great improvement; and from the extensive and successful trade which they carried on by means of the river Hull, communicating as it did with the Humber, and thus affording facilities for external commerce, they had attained an elevation which gave them consequence in the eyes of their neighbours; for a wealthy English merchant, by a law of Athelstan, the royal patron of Beverley, who had made three voyages by sea into a foreign country, was thenceforth entitled to the rank and privileges of a gentleman, or thane.⁴⁸

Imagination may carry us back to the remote period which is now under our consideration; and in the long perspective we may in fancy behold the town, how large soever in extent, still uncouth and unsightly, according to our improved ideas of the beauty and magnificence of domestic architecture. The houses, composed of various materials, some of stone, others of brick or wall-tiles, and others of humble clay, all cased in a heavy frame work of timber, stretched their overhanging roofs across the street, as if they frowned mutual defiance. Each upper story projecting beyond the lower, brought the most lofty parts so nearly in contact, that opposite neighbours were not only capable of conversing together from their upper apartments, but might almost give the gripe of friendship across the narrow space thus left vacant between them. In fancy, we may behold the worthies of ancient Beverley, strutting along the darkened streets with more than Spanish gravity, arrayed in costly clothing; bolstered with cushions, to hide all imperfections of shape and person; their long and curling hair dancing in the wind, and their high-peaked shoes fastened to their knees with chains of gold, and ornamented with rich tassels and fringes.⁴⁹ A goodly sight! Pourtraying, in the most striking colours, the change

⁴⁷ Speed. Brit. p. 496. ⁴⁸ Hume. Engl. vol. i. p. 107.

⁴⁹ Hollinsh. Chron. p. 341. Hume. Engl. vol. i. p. 307. Strutt. Man. & Cust. vol. ii. p. 87.

which has taken place in the customs of this country, resulting from its gradual approaches to refinement, and its present eminence in the arts of civil and social life.

About this time, an extraordinary attempt was made, arising out of the superstitions of the times, to curtail the hours of labour. A foreign ecclesiastic named Eustace, abbot of Flay, in Normandy, appeared in Yorkshire, with pretended divine credentials, authorizing him to put a period to all kinds of labour, from three o'clock on Saturday afternoon, till the rising of the sun on Monday morning. His exhortations on the subject, how gratifying soever they might be to his own vanity, were not sufficiently powerful to induce the poor mechanics to forego the honest profits of so many hours of labour,⁵⁰ and he was obliged to have recourse to the usual mode of successfully enforcing obedience to his injunctions, which distinguished the ages of papal christianity. He caused rumours to be circulated, that a divine interposition had been miraculously displayed in numerous instances, to give effect to the particular design of his mission. Many are the miracles which were said to have announced the will and pleasure of heaven, in the summary punishment of those obdurate wretches who had dared to slight or disobey the newly promulged ordinance. It was pretended that a miller's corn, at Wakefield, which had been ground on a Saturday evening, was changed into blood; that a person at Nafferton, having profanely baked a cake within the interdicted hours, was unable to eat it, for when broken, streams of blood issued profusely from the wound, and he cast it aside with horror; and that a poor shoemaker of Beverley, presumptuously neglecting to lay aside his implements of trade at the prescribed hour, was struck with a dead palsy, to the astonishment and terror of all the town!⁵¹

In the year 1201, Sibylla de Valoniis gave to the knight's hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, the manor of the Holy Trinity, on the east side of Beverley, with several tenements in the town, and also the manor of North-Burton, &c. it became necessary therefore, that a preceptory, or commandery of the order, should be established here, to take care of the rents and profits,⁵² for such societies were usually placed on their estates under the government of commanders, who were allowed a proper maintenance out of the revenues under their care, and accounted for the remainder to the grand prior in London.⁵³ This order "began and took its

⁵⁰ R. Hoved. p. 467.

⁵¹ Drake. Ebor. p. 425.

⁵² Tan. Notit. York. XII. 2.

⁵³ Burt. Monast. Ebor. p. 63.

name from an hospital, built at Jerusalem, for the use of pilgrims coming to the holy land, and dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. For the first business of these knights was to provide for such pilgrims at that hospital, and to protect them from insult and injury on the road. The order was instituted about A. D. 1092, and very much favoured by Godfrey of Bullogne, and his successor, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem. The brethren followed chiefly Saint Austin's rule, and wore a black habit, with a white cross upon it. They soon came into England, and had a house built for them in London, A. D. 1100. And from a poor and mean beginning, obtained so great wealth,⁵⁴ honours and exemptions, that their superiour here in England, was the first lay baron, and had a seat among the lords in parliament, and some of their privileges were extended to their tenants."⁵⁵ Such was the origin of the commandery at Beverley, which was of some magnitude, and must have possessed considerable influence in the domestic regulations of the town.⁵⁶

In the year 1203, a patent was granted to the canons of Beverley, confirming their right to the thraves of corn in Holderness and elsewhere, which had been conveyed to them by the charter of Athelstan.⁵⁷ A few years subsequently to this event, the burgesses of Beverley preferred a petition to the king, in which they complained bitterly of certain illegal aggressions, committed upon them by the archbishop of York. They stated that he had disseized them of their pastures and tolls, which they held by charter, at an annual rent; that he had deprived them of their turbaries, fenced off their gravel pits, and withheld from them sundry rights, from the time that he had departed from Beverley to elude the royal vengeance; and further, that he had proceeded to excommunicate William de Stuteville, of Cottingham, the sheriff of Yorkshire, by bell, book, and candle, and also his majesty's humble petitioners, the burgesses of Beverley.⁵⁸ The king graciously received their appeal, and made a progress into Yorkshire, to enquire into these disorderly transactions. He spent some time with the sheriff, at his manor house at Cottingham, and ultimately restored to the petitioners their former rights and liberties, after they had established, to his satisfaction, the facts contained in their

⁵⁴ The knights of Saint John, at first, had but one horse between two of them, but about a hundred and fifty years after their institution, they had 19,000 manors in christendom.

⁵⁵ Tan. Notit. pref. xv.

⁵⁶ Vide. inter collect. V. cl. Roger. Dodsworth. vol. viii. p. 27, 83, 93, 118, 177, 192, 211, 215, 217, 244, 245, 276, 279, 284, 288, 293, Cartas quinquaginta plus minus ineditas de terris, &c. in comitat. Ebor. pertinentibus hospitali S. Joannis Jerusalem.

⁵⁷ Rot. Pat. 5 Joh.

⁵⁸ Placit. Abbrev. 11. Joh.

memorial. And to facilitate the means of collecting their portion of corn in the East-riding, he gave the canons of Saint John a precept, by which they were empowered to compel the farmers to place the *thraves* at the barn doors, at a specified time, on pain of imprisonment, that they might be led away by the servants of the church, without causing any unnecessary or vexatious delays.⁶⁹ He then proceeded to York, where he kept his christmas, with the lords and barons of his realm.

The perplexed affairs of this monarch had now reduced him to the extremity of despair. His kingdom was under a papal interdict; he was forsaken by many of his barons, and his crown had been assigned to the king of France. He succeeded, with some difficulty, in effecting a compromise with the pope, but it was attended with the degradation of formally surrendering his diadem, and consenting to hold his dominions as a tributary of the holy see. The barons beheld his cowardice with disdain, and entered into a combination to secure their ancient liberties, thus threatened with extermination, by being subjected to the will of a foreign despot. The princely and independent tenures of these nobles, afforded them ample means of putting their designs in execution. They had recourse to treaty, but this proving ineffectual, they appeared in arms against the unhappy monarch, and after some unimportant successes in the field, they induced John to propose terms of peace. The GREAT CHARTER, by which our most valuable liberties are secured, was then tendered to him for signature, and five-and-twenty of the most powerful barons were appointed as conservators of the public liberties, with full powers to act in the name of the rest. He signed the charter, and died in the succeeding year.

The custom of alienating property for the benefit of the monastic institutions, was very prevalent in these ages, and we find numerous instances of it in the town of Beverley. The beneficence of the donors was evidently excited by the expectation of future reward; and a firm belief that such donations and bequests would effect much as an atonement for actual sin. These practices, in our times, would be considered of doubtful benefit, and very questionable tendency. Faith in the efficacy of masses for the souls of deceased persons, was, in the thirteenth century, considered as the very essence of religion; and every means were resorted to, by persons of real piety, to secure to themselves the benefits resulting from the performance of this efficacious atonement. Thus Helen, the daughter of Josceline, formerly seneschal of Beverley, gave a rent of fourteen shillings and four-pence, out of her

⁶⁹ Corporation records, 9 A.

lands in that town, to the priory of Wycham.⁶⁰ Nicholas de Middleton confirmed the grant of one oxgang of land in Beverley, to the monastery of Ellerton, in Spalding-mere, with a toft, and Alexander the carpenter, with all his family and their cattle, as his brother Richard de Middleton had held the same, which was confirmed by Fulco Basset, provost of Beverley, about the year 1229. These premises were again confirmed to the same monastery, in 1253, by sir William Ross, along with one carucate of land in West-Cottingwith and Crossum.⁶¹ Richard of Beverley, and his wife, granted to the abbey of Saint Mary, at York, all their lands, with the edifices which they had in Saint Mary's gate, in the suburbs of York.⁶² Maud de Barthona gave land and a house in Beverley, in East-gate, in breadth from the road of East-gate, to a croft called Saint John's acre, to Nun-Appleton priory, in the ainsty of York.⁶³ John, son of John the vintner, gave a house and land in Fleming-gate, in Beverley, to Rievaulx abbey.⁶⁴ Robert, the son of Robert Ingelberd, of Beverley, gave all his land there, called Brackenthwaite and Storks, of the fee of Saint John of Beverley, with a toft, to the priory of Bridlington; which had been confirmed to the said Robert, by the chapter of Saint John of Beverley, and by king Henry, on the 30th day of April, at Westminster, in the 19th year of his reign;⁶⁵ and Patricius de Chaurcis gave to the church the manor of Swenton.⁶⁶

Walter Gray, the archbishop of York, was high in favour with king Henry III. and deservedly so, for he was a prelate of sound judgment, strict morality, and great experience. He was not only enabled to resume all the privileges and immunities of the see, but also to add to their number and value. In 1235, he had a charter from the king, granting him the privilege of *free warren* in the woods beyond his park at Beverley; and in his demesnes of Molescroft and South-Burton;⁶⁷ by which he was endowed with an exclusive power of killing game within these limits.

The provost of Beverley was an officer of considerable importance, for his authority extended to the civil, as well as the ecclesiastical government of the domain, under the archbishop, and in many instances it led to the primacy. We find the provost of Beverley summoned to assist at the great council, held at York, by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury;⁶⁸ and he was called in by king John, to present the charter which that monarch granted to the borough of Boston, in the fifth year

⁶⁰ Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 256. ⁶¹ Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 261.

⁶² Drake. Ebor. p. 582. ⁶³ Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 277. ⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 359.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 221. ⁶⁶ Rot. Chart. 26 Hen. III. ⁶⁷ Rot. Chart. 20 Hen. III.

⁶⁸ R. Hovedon.

of his reign.⁶⁹ John Maunsell, provost of Beverley, assisted as a subscribing witness to the charter granted by Henry III. to the city of York;⁷⁰ he procured a patent to receive an aid from the knights and free tenants of the church, for the purpose of liquidating the debts of the provostship;⁷¹ and was finally elevated to the high office of keeper of his majesty's seals.⁷²

The town of Beverley was now rising rapidly to a state of considerable improvement, and comparative perfection. The merchants and canons projected the general paving of the streets, and the convenience of foot passengers was the first consideration. A patent was therefore obtained, for enabling them to impose a toll for the accomplishment of this purpose;⁷³ and thus a portion of the town was furnished with a good and substantial footwalk on each side of the principal streets, which must have afforded a great accommodation to the inhabitants. The measure appears to have given general satisfaction; for in the thirty-ninth year of the same reign, a similar patent was granted for the same purpose,⁷⁴ which would enable them to make a considerable progress in paving the footways, throughout all the most frequented parts of the town.

During the whole of this reign, the king was excessively needy; which may account for his severe and repeated exactions on the Jews. Nor did his own subjects escape, for fines were imposed on the most trifling and even ridiculous occasions,⁷⁵ and tallages were levied at the king's pleasure. In the forty-sixth year of his reign, he granted to the church of Saint John, at Beverley, a charter of liberties, for which a heavy fine was paid.⁷⁶ A few years afterwards, he issued writs to the archbishop of York, and also to the sheriff, commanding each of them to levy four hundred marks within their respective jurisdictions, by a given time, under pain of corporal punishment, loss of goods, and royal displeasure; and if

⁶⁹ Rot. Chart. 5 Joh.

⁷⁰ Drake. Ebor. p. 264.

⁷¹ Rot. Pat. 18 Hen. III.

⁷² Rot. Pat. 33 Hen. III. Amongst the Warburton MSS. in the Lansdowne collection, we find a roll, entitled, "*Ordo pro ministratione Refectorii in Bederno.*" From this document, which Mr. Warburton professedly extracted from "*vetusto Rotulo in pergameno, tempore Henrici secundi, Ricardi primi vel Johannes Regis, ut character in quo exaratur ostendit, in custodio D'ni Sedgwick Vicarii de Marfleete qui mihi amice præbuit,*" we learn, that notwithstanding the authority of the provost, he found some difficulty in governing this religious community. This ordinance assigns the following reason for its origin. "*Quoniam de ministratione refectorii p'pter incuria et negligentia ministrorum sæpe inter p'posit' et canonicos querela oriebat^{ur}.*" Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 132. The whole document is curious and valuable, but much too long for insertion here.

⁷³ Rot. Pat. 33 Hen. III.

⁷⁴ Ibid 39 Hen. III.

⁷⁵ Vid. Mad. Exch. vol. i. p. 326. et passim.

⁷⁶ Rot. Chart. 46 Hen. III.

they failed in the performance of this requisition, the writs went on to denounce, that, "they should be so severely chastised, that others should learn by their example, how dangerous it was to disobey the royal precept."⁷⁷ This would fall heavy on the merchants and inhabitants of Beverley; but the occasion was urgent, and it was therefore complied with, for the king was furnished with the stipulated sums within the time prescribed.

In 1296, an arrangement was made by the archbishop, with Johanna de Stuteville, and Saerus de Sutton, in which the last named parties agreed to remove the weirs and fences that had been erected for the convenience of fishing, so as to leave a certain breadth of the river free and unobstructed, at all times, for the passing and repassing of ships, belonging to the merchants of Beverley; in consideration of an annual rent of six marks, to be paid to them by the archbishop, which the burgesses of Beverley agreed to reimburse;⁷⁸ for during a short period anterior to this agreement, the commerce of Beverley had been obstructed by the encroachments of these fisheries; an inconvenience experienced on every navigable river of small dimensions throughout the kingdom.⁷⁹

The chivalrous spirit of these ages is well known; and it was sedulously encouraged by the mock contests which formed the principal amusements of the nobility. On all great and extraordinary occasions, a tournament was formally proclaimed; and here the aspiring warrior was furnished with an opportunity of recommending himself at once to the notice of his sovereign, and the commendation of his superiors, which led the way to honourable distinction and supreme command; and of exciting at the same time, the admiration and esteem of the softer sex, by the display of superior strength, activity, or military skill. A splendid meeting of the English and Scottish monarchs, attended by all the principal nobility of both nations, had recently taken place at York, to celebrate a marriage between the youthful king of Scotland, and Henry's daughter. The gallantry and magnificence displayed on this occasion, are said to have been almost without precedent.⁸⁰ The archbishop, "like a northern prince," says Drake, "shewed the greatest hospitality to all. He entertained the whole company several times, insomuch, that this meeting cost him four thousand marks."⁸¹ Whether the knights hospitallers at

⁷⁷ *Mad. Exch.* vol. i. p. 356. ⁷⁸ *Lansd. MSS. B. Mus.* 402. fo. 23, 73, 122.

⁷⁹ *Vid. Barrington's Observations.* p. 15. ⁸⁰ *Mat. Par.* p. 716.

⁸¹ *Drake. Ebor.* p. 99.

Beverley, inflamed with these exhibitions, to which, doubtless, all the inhabitants of the county were spectators, had attempted to display their martial ardour by a similar tournament, on a smaller scale, within their own domain, is not known; but some probability is attached to the conjecture, for a writ was soon afterwards issued, forbidding tournaments to be held within the town and liberties of Beverley.⁸²

It should appear that this town had been, time out of mind, a celebrated mart for the sale of coloured cloths. A colony of Flemish weavers and dyers had already formed an establishment, in a part of the town called after their name; and the Beverley cloths were noted for their superior fineness of texture and brilliancy of colouring. In the sixth year of John's reign, the merchants had fined to the king, that they might enjoy the liberty of buying and selling dyed cloth, as they used to do in the time of king Henry.⁸³ From that period the trade had progressively increased, and was now carried on on an extensive scale.⁸⁴ About the latter end of the reign of king Henry III. an event took place connected with this traffic, which forcibly illustrates the unbounded licence which distinguished the whole of this protracted reign. Bands of robbers infested every part of the country, and property was no where safe. The hand of violence seized on every thing within its grasp; murders were very prevalent, and the weak and unprotected were a prey to the strong. Amidst all this mass of moral evil, some Spanish merchants, who traded to Beverley, appeared before the king, at Westminster, and complained that they had been robbed on the sea coast, near Blakeneye, of a rich cargo of scarlet and other cloths, which they had taken on board of their ship at Beverley, by a gang of lawless depredators, three of whom they named, Walter de Huntercumb, John Gurneys, and Robert Pauncefort; and humbly prayed his majesty to redress their grievances. A jury was impannelled, to examine into the truth of these allegations; and after a patient hearing, an order was entered for full damages;⁸⁵ which appears rather extraordinary; because, such men as were liable to serve on juries, were generally in league with the plunderers, and sharers in the spoil.⁸⁶

⁸² Rot. Pat. 55 Hen. III. ⁸³ Mag. Rot. 6 Joh.

⁸⁴ The town was subsequently included in an ulnage commission. "R. com'isit valetto suo Joh. Marreys officium ulnagi cavenaci linee tele naperie tam in Angl' q'm aliunde wadmell heydok menedeps kerseis sayoz de Louthe worstede norwys' hib'n' & causton' & o't'm' alioz sayoz & scarlettoz omni'odoz pannoz Linc' Essex' Norf' Suff' Kanc' Stanford BEV'LACI Sc'e Osithe Devon' & Cornub' & quicquid ad officium hujusmodi ulnarie p'tinet in Regno Angl' q'm ext^a ubicumq hujusmodi pannos vendi contig'it tam, &c. tenend' ad totam vitam suam." Rot. Orig. 27 Edw. III. Ro. 19.

⁸⁵ Placit. Abbrev. 56 Hen. III. ⁸⁶ Mat. Par. p. 509.

This monarch, whose long reign was now drawing to a close, gave to the town of Beverley, a few months before his death, a final charter; making in the whole, *five*, which he had granted to the burgesses, each having been purchased with a heavy fine. The first bears date 8 January, 14 Henry III. and is a charter of confirmation by *inspeximus*, by which, the burgesses are declared exempt from the payment of tolls throughout England, and the coasts of the sea, the city of London only excepted.⁸⁷ The second has no date, and is a charter of confirmation;⁸⁸ the third is dated 13 February, 21 Henry III.⁸⁹ and confirms the charter of king John, and those of Thurstan and William, archbishops of York. The fourth, dated May 2nd, 47 Henry III.⁹⁰ and the fifth, dated 2 June, 56 Henry III.⁹¹ both "exempting the burgesses of Beverley, for ever, from any arrests for debt within the realm, provided the principal bondmen or debtors be not forthcoming; and further declaring, that they shall not for any forfeiture or transgression of their servants, lose their goods and chattels, found in the hands of the said servants, or elsewhere placed by them, if the said burgesses be able to challenge and to prove them."⁹²

⁸⁷ Corp. Rec. 7 B.⁸⁸ Corp. Rec. 7 C.⁸⁹ Corp. Rec. 7 D.⁹⁰ Corp. Rec. 7 E.⁹¹ Corp. Rec. 7 G.

⁹² Corp. Rec. The first of these charters is attested by Hubert, earl of Kent, the king's justiciary; William de Stuteville, and others; the second by John, bishop of Bath; R. bishop of Durham; William, bishop of Carlisle; G. March, earl of Pembroke, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex; the third by John, lord bishop of Bath; Richard, lord bishop of Sarum; William, lord bishop of Carlisle, and many others; the fourth by Roger, lord bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; William, lord bishop of Oxford; Roger le Bigot, earl of Norfolk, and marshal of England; Humphrey de Behun, earl of Hereford and Essex; Thomas Basset, justice of England; John Maunsel, provost of Beverley, and others; and the fifth, by William, lord archbishop of York; Robert Burnell, archdeacon of York, and others.



Chap. III.

Injustice and extortion—Commission of enquiry—Instances of crime at Beverley—The archbishop grants Fegang and Byscodynges to the burgesses—Hospital of Saint Giles assigned to the priory of Wartre—Enumeration and explanation of the rights of the archbishop in Beverley—Disputes respecting private property—Charter of Edward I.—Donations to the church—Taxation of pope Nicholas—War between England and Scotland—First parliament or assembly of lords and commons—Standard of John of Beverley conveyed to Scotland—Victory over the Scots—Hostilities renewed—Second victory—Banner replaced—Edward I. visits Beverley—grants liberties to the church—Minster restored—House of the Franciscan Friars erected—Enumeration of many detached private transactions which took place at Beverley about this period—The king pays a second visit to the town.

“DURING the preceding reign, the revenues of the crown had been considerably diminished, by tenants in capite alienating without licence; and by ecclesiastics, as well as laymen, withholding from the crown, under various pretexts, its just rights, and usurping the privilege of holding courts, and other jura regalia. Numerous exactions and oppressions of the people had also been committed in this reign, by the nobility and gentry claiming the rights of free chase, free warren, and fishery, and demanding unconscionable tolls in fairs and markets; and again by sheriffs, escheators, and other officers and ministers of the crown, under colour of law. King Edward I. who was on his return from the holy land on the death of his father, did not reach England till towards the latter end of the second year of his reign, and these abuses remained uncorrected till his return. One of the first acts of his administration after his arrival, was to enquire into the state of the demesnes, and of the rights and revenues of the crown, and concerning the conduct

of sheriffs and other officers, and ministers who had defrauded the king, and grievously oppressed the people.”¹

The commissioners appointed to this service, were empowered, not only to enquire into, but to punish crimes and misdemeanors by fine and imprisonment; and hence, in an age of uncontrolled licence, when interest usurped the place of justice, the innocent were by no means safe, for the slightest suspicion of guilt, suggested by a secret enemy, was sufficient to endanger the property and personal liberty of the most harmless and inoffensive person. The prisons were soon surcharged with a promiscuous assembly of innocent and guilty, and emancipation from confinement was only to be procured by the payment of heavy fines. Little can be said in praise of the inhabitants of Beverley during this period, for they appear to have partook of the extortion and injustice which characterized these unhappy times. Numerous were the complaints exhibited against them before the king’s commissioners, many of which might indeed be false, but it is to be presumed that many were also true. In their principal branch of trade, the sale of coloured cloths, grievous complaints were made by the purchasers respecting the deficiency of their measure. Before one inquest, it was stated on oath, that the burgesses of Beverley *purchased* their goods and materials by a measure of extraordinary length, and *sold* their manufactures by another measure, which was considerably shorter than the proper standard; and it was sworn, that no cloth measures in use within the borough, were of a sufficient length.² On another inquest for Howdenshire, it was stated, that the measure by which corn was measured in the borough of Beverley, was much more capacious than that which was used in other places; and that the cloth weavers there did not make their webs of a sufficient length.³ It will be recollected that the burgesses of Beverley were corn buyers and cloth sellers; and therefore this complaint of the farmers, or occupiers of land, may be strictly just. At a third inquest, held within the burgh of Whitby, the same complaints against the burgesses of Beverley are reiterated. Here the complainants say on oath, that the inhabitants of Beverley make their webs of cloth deficient in length, and purchase their corn and salt by measures which have been increased in magnitude, since the last journey of the marshal, Peter de Bruys, who was probably a general inspector of weights and measures.⁴

¹ Ann. of Waverly. Introd. to Rot. Hund.

² Rot. Hund.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

It might appear invidious to enlarge the catalogue of crime which was elicited at Beverley and other places, during the course of this enquiry. A few examples, however, may be selected from the mass, to shew that power, where it existed only in a delegated form, was stretched to the utmost limit; and that the licentious and oppressive conduct of the great lay barons, was imitated with avidity, on a smaller scale, by all, in these disorderly times, who possessed even the shadow of authority. Hugh de Driffild, of Beverley, had by some means acquired possession of about eighty-five acres of land, of the royal demesne, which he pretended to hold of the chapter of Saint John of Beverley. Nicholas, the vicar of Hessle, had been insulted by Richard Ross, of Beverley, and others; and they imposed on the peaceable man a heavy fine, as the price of his exemption from studied and habitual indignity. And more than this, the burgesses had erected a new gallows⁵ *in terrorem*, and were in the constant practice of apprehending men under false pretences, with a view, probably, of eliciting the payment of fines.⁶ It is needless to multiply the instances of iniquity which stained this unhappy period; suffice it to add, that summary punishment was inflicted on the offenders, and the face of things was soon changed. Order and propriety succeeded to violence and injustice; the people found themselves protected from the aggressions of their more powerful neighbours, and returned cheerfully to the prosecution of their usual employment, which had been suspended, if not superseded, by the arbitrary encroachments of power, shrouded under the panoply of an abused authority. Turn we to subjects of more gratifying interest.

In the year 1273, William Wickwane, archbishop of York, with the consent of the dean and chapter, granted unto certain burgesses of Beverley by name, and the commonalty there, a messuage, with the buildings, in the Market-place there, called Byscopdynges; and also a certain meadow, with arable land, known by the name of Out Ings, with the appurtenances, lying between New Dyke, and a pasture in the lordship of Beverley called Fegang; to hold the said property to the burgesses and their successors, and the commonalty of the town, for ever, on paying an annual quit rent of six shillings and eight-pence. This grant further exempted the burgesses of Beverley from the payment of pannage money, for the feeding of their swine, as well in the wood called Hag, as in Westwood, from Michaelmas to Christmas in every year, being the season when acorns, mast,

⁵ Rot. Hund. Placit. de quo War.

⁶ Rot. Hund.

and other fruit were in perfection; it relinquished, on the part of the archbishop and his successors, all claim to the agistment of Westwood; provided that a certain division should be made between the pasture of Westwood and the arable land, and restricted the burgesses from reducing any part of Westwood to tillage. And it further declares, that in future, no villane of Woodmansey, or any other villane of the archbishop, should stock in common, within the pasture of Fegang.⁷ In the same year, the prior and convent of Wartre, and the burgesses of Beverley, came to an agreement respecting the payment of tolls and stallage, at a fair holden at Wartre; in which the prior and convent covenant that the burgesses of Beverley shall be free from toll and stallage, provided they will not disturb the peace of the fair, and will be contented with such a place for their stalls, as the prior and convent shall honestly mark out.⁸

The hospital of Saint Giles, in Beverley, was assigned, in the year 1277, by Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, to the priory of Wartre, during the superintendence of John Queldrake, the tenth prior, who maintained here a specified number of poor people.⁹ And the prior of Wartre gave the archbishop, in lieu of the advowson of this hospital, the wood called le Haye de Langwath, in the county of York.¹⁰ The annual income of the hospital was very limited, and scarcely sufficient to support the establishment; it was therefore wisely annexed to the above convent, which was capable of supporting it according to the intention of the founder. It had a chantry or free chapel annexed, in which prayers were regularly offered for the souls of its benefactors.

Amongst the pleas of quo warranto, we find that a writ was issued against John le Romaine, archbishop of York, to examine by what authority he claimed to have, within the boroughs of Beverley and Ripon, infangthef and utfangthef, markets and fairs, personal property, (*catalla*) a gallows and a gibbet, a pillory and a cucking stool, judgment of fugitives and felons, wreck and waif, fines for the escape of thieves, coroners for prizes, return of writs, custody of prisoners and gaol delivery, pleas de frisca forcia et vetito namia, and other pleas which ought to belong to the sheriff; why neither sheriff nor bailiff of the king was suffered to enter into

⁷ Corp. Rec. 8 B.—Ex MS. penes me.

⁸ Corp. Rec. 8 A. Dated the Sunday next before our Lord's Nativity, 1273.

⁹ Lel. Itin. vol. i. p. 40. Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 382. Tan. Notit. p. 637.

¹⁰ Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 432.

his two boroughs of Beverley and Ripon, to exercise the duties of his office; why the king's justices were not permitted to hold pleas, or try prisoners within the liberties of these boroughs; on what authority he claims to have a park in Beverley; and to ascertain whether, for these privileges, he has the lawful authority of the king, or any of his predecessors.¹¹

To which the archbishop answered, that he claimed all these privileges by virtue of his office, from charter, and ancient usage; and proceeded to give a copious enumeration of all his rights and immunities, within the boroughs of Beverley and Ripon. He instituted a claim to *infangthef* and *utfangthef*; established his right to possess moveable goods and chattels within these boroughs; claimed the privilege of weekly markets at Beverley and Ripon; in the former place, on Wednesday and Saturday, and in the latter on a Thursday; and also four annual fairs¹² at Beverley; one, on the eve and day of Saint John the Baptist, and three following days; another on the eve and day of Saint John of Beverley, in winter (*yeme*); a third, on the day of Saint John of Beverley, in May; and the fourth, on the eve and day of the ascension of our Lord. He claimed a fair at Ripon twice in the year; on the eve and day and morrow of the Invention of the Holy Cross; and on the eve and day and morrow of Saint Wilfrid, after the feast of Saint Michael the archangel. He further claimed, *ab antiquo*, in Beverley and Ripon, to have a gallows and a gibbet, with the privilege of executing criminals without appeal to the king; and also broken wreck of the sea in the river Hull and Beverley Beck, and all other property, whether living or dead, which shall be left on the shores of these waters by the retiring tide. He further laid claim to the right of having, at Beverley and Ripon, a pillory and cucking stool, (*pillorium et tumbellum*)¹³ and

¹¹ Placit. de quo. War.

¹² Fairs were called by the Romans *nundinæ*, and were held every ninth day. A court of justice was always open during their continuance. At these fairs new laws were rehearsed, which were esteemed valid after three separate readings. Macrob. Saturnal. c. 16. A law of William I. provides, that no fair or market shall be held except in cities, boroughs, castles, or other safe places; and that openly, in the presence of the magistrates and people. De Emporiis. Dr. Pettingall thinks, that if a fair be discontinued for some time, and gone into desuetude, it cannot be revived on the prior grant without a fresh concurrence of the lord of the fee. Archæol. vol. i. p. 196.

¹³ *Tumbellum*. Cucking or ducking stool. It is thought by some writers, that the tumbrell and the ducking stool were different instruments of disgrace and punishment. In an inquisition held at Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, about the year 1273, it was complained, that Sir Walter de la Lynde, had erected in the village of Laceby, a *tumbrell* and a *thew*, with which he unlawfully punished the villagers. Rot. Hund. The latter of these instruments was undoubtedly a ducking

fines on the escape of felons. He claimed also to have his proper coroners in both boroughs, to be appointed and removed at his pleasure, and sworn to execute the duties of their office faithfully; also the returns of writs within his jurisdiction, on this principle, that if, for any crime committed within the liberties of Beverley or Ripon, the criminal be impleaded before the king's justices at Westminster, they shall freely render to his bailiffs, a fair and true copy of the writ and process, who shall hear and determine the cause in the archbishop's court at Beverley or Ripon. But if the accused party, before judgment be given, shall return to the king's court, and claim from the justices there to resume his defence, on a suspicion of unfair dealing in the archbishop's court, it shall be granted, and if he can substantiate his charge of partiality or prejudice against the officers there, the plea may then be finally determined in the king's court.

The archbishop further laid claim to the custody of prisoners and gaol delivery, in the boroughs of Beverley and Ripon; with pleas de frisca fortia,¹⁴ et vetito

stool; what then was the former? I am inclined to think, that the tumbrell was also a machine intended for the same purpose, though differing perhaps in some peculiarity of construction. The following authorities will shew the various reasonings which have been used on this word. Brand says plainly, that the word tumbrell is but another name for the ducking stool. Dr. Jamieson is more particular. He says, Scot. Dict. v. cock-stule, "Writers differ in their account of the tumbrell. According to Cowel, this was a punishment anciently inflicted upon brewers and bakers transgressing the laws, who were, therefore, in such a stool immersed over head and ears in *stercore*, some stinking water. In the Burrow laws, the pillory was the punishment of men; the cockstule, of women. But I have a strong suspicion," the learned doctor adds, "that Skene, in translating tumbrellum by cockstule, did not use a term exactly correspondent. For cockstule, as far as we can judge from etymological affinity, seems much the same with pillory. Sibbald, indeed, derives cockstule from Teutonic kolcken, *ingurgitare*; from kolck, *gurgis vorago, vortex*. But Belg. kaak is a Dutch pillory, being an iron collar, fastened either to a post or any other high place; Teut. kaecke, *catasta, pegma*, columna in qua damnati conspiciendi et deridendi proponuntur; Kilian. Suio-Gothic, Kaak, *infelix lignum*, ad quo alligati stant, qui vel verbera patiuntur, vel alias ignominie ergo publice ostentiu sunt. Danish. Kaag." But in Beverley, the archbishop claims both a pillory and a tumbrell; and Fabyan distinctly notes the difference between the one and the other. He says, Chron. A. D. 1257, that the bakers of London were subjected to the punishment of the tumbrell, "for lacke of syze;" and adds, that this punishment was "contrarye to the libertyes of the citye, where before tymes they were punysshed by the pyllerie;" which explains that passage in the Burrow laws, just cited, which consigns *men* to the pillory, and *women* to the cockstule or tumbrell; and this may be further illustrated, by an occurrence which took place at Grimsby, about the beginning of king John's reign. A poor woman had been accused before the mayor of crimes which she had never committed, and such was the injustice that prevailed in the borough, that without either confirmation or proof of guilt, she was hurried away to the tumbrell, and almost drowned. This act of arbitrary power was enquired into, on a complaint made by the woman's friends, and the community of the borough were fined ten marks for their injustice. Mag. Rot. 2 Joh. And this instrument, the tumbrell or ducking stool remained in Grimsby down to a very recent period, and has been actually used within the memory of many persons now living in the town.

¹⁴ Fresh force. Any species of violence committed within the period of forty days.

namia,¹⁵ and also insisted that, from his charters and ancient usage, no sheriff or bailiff of the king, had power to enter either of his said boroughs, to serve summonses, distringases, attachments, or to exercise any other office there, unless in default of his own bailiffs, for the time being. He claimed free warren and free chase in all his woods and demesnes; and also the privilege of having coroners on each side of the river Hull, to take prises, and to secure for his benefit, waif¹⁶ and broken wreck; and of tasting wines, and purchasing them or any other merchandize, which shall be brought into the ports of Hull or Beverley, immediately after the king's prisage,¹⁷ and before they be exposed for sale in the market, with many other privileges respecting the administration of justice, &c. within the said boroughs, which it would be equally tedious and uninteresting to enumerate.¹⁸

How consistent soever with the manners and customs of the times this may have been, or necessary to restrain the turbulence of an uneducated population, it may be safely pronounced, that such an extent of civil power, united with his ecclesiastical influence, was far too great for a subject to possess; and though in the hands of a wise and well disposed prelate, it might be beneficial, in bad hands it would become noxious, and prove destructive of the liberties it was intended to protect. Hence arose the frequent complaints which were instituted by the inhabitants of Beverley against successive archbishops, who had encroached on their privileges, and stretched their prerogative beyond the limits prescribed to it by law. The present archbishop does not appear to have been altogether exempt from this censure, for though he granted an indulgence for the support of an hospital dedicated to Saint Nicholas, at Beverley,¹⁹ which had been founded in 1286,²⁰ yet he is represented by Knighton, as "a sordid hireling;" and he certainly was so unjust as to impose upon the inhabitants the payment of pannage money, for the

¹⁵ The taking of a distress, and carrying it to a place where it cannot be replevied.

¹⁶ Waifs are goods which have been stolen, and thrown away by the thief in his flight, for fear of being apprehended. These are given by law to the king, as a punishment upon the owner, for not himself pursuing the felon, and taking away his goods from him. Blackst. Com. vol. i. p. 296.

¹⁷ *Prisé*, was a word of equivocal meaning. Properly it signified capture; and in this sense it was sometimes used for captures taken in war, sometimes for purveyance, impost, or captures of other kinds. In the text, *prisage* means "the right of taking two tuns of wine from every ship, English or foreign, importing into England twenty tuns or more; one to be taken before, and the other behind the mast." Blackst. Com. vol. i. p. 315.

¹⁸ Placit. de quo War.

¹⁹ Reg. J. Romaine. Archiep. ²⁰ Lel. Itin. vol. i. p. 40. Tan. Notit. York XII.

feeding of their swine, in defiance of the charter of immunity, granted to them by his predecessor, William Wickwane.²¹

In an age when the use of coals was not common, a turbary, or privilege of digging turf for fuel, constituted a valuable appendage to the possession of property. The Britons were undoubtedly acquainted with the use of coal, but it was not generally introduced till long after the times we are now contemplating. The preservation of this right, uninvaded, was attended with some difficulty, amidst the general licence which prevailed, when laws were ill understood, and justice was administered with partiality. Many disputes arose at Beverley, respecting the adjustment of this privilege. In the year 1288, a violent controversy arose, between John de Melsa and Maria de Sutton, which produced the following circumstances. Melsa possessed the privilege of cutting a specified number of cart loads of turf annually, in a certain district of land within the jurisdiction of the provost of Beverley. Not content with the prescribed quantity, he usually exceeded it to the amount which was dictated by his necessities, and consequently carried off more than his just rights, to the manifest injury of Maria de Sutton, who was probably the tenant in fee. This lady, finding her privileges thus encroached on, year after year, determined at length to vindicate her natural rights, and authorized her son to adopt the necessary means of preventing a recurrence of the aggression, which in these times could only be effectually accomplished by the application of physical force. He assembled his friends near the spot, and waited in ambush the arrival of Melsa, with his carts and servants. They suffered him peaceably to cut the turves, and load his carts; and then issuing from their concealment in a body, they made an attack upon him, seized his stores, and bore them away in triumph. This was not accomplished without high words, and probably blows; and as the provost of Beverley declined to interfere, the circumstance formed the subject of litigation before the king at Westminster.²²

About this time king Edward I. granted a charter to Beverley, confirming all the former privileges enjoyed by the burgesses, and containing an additional clause for the improvement of the borough, and to afford the inhabitants an opportunity of applying themselves more quietly to their several employments. This charter provides that none of the burgesses, their heirs or successors, shall henceforth plead, or be impleaded, before the king's justices *without* the borough, of lands or tene-

²¹ Placit. Abbrev. 16 Ed. I.

²² Placit. Abbrev. 17 Edw. I.

ments lying *within* the borough; or of trespasses, covenants, or contracts, made within the borough, or of any other matters whatsoever arising there,²³ except the pleas of maiming and breaches of the peace, which are not allowed in this charter to the court at Beverley, because they affect the honour and dignity of the crown.²⁴

The minster still lay in ruins; but as domestic peace became gradually re-established in the kingdom, and property began to be placed on a firmer basis, the canons and inhabitants of Beverley addressed themselves to serious thoughts of restoring the venerated fabric. The more opulent afforded their aid towards forming a fund for this beneficent purpose, and we find about this period many rich donations to the church, which were, doubtless, intended to be employed for its re-edification. In the year 1289, William Chambers alienated for this purpose, to the archbishop of York, certain parcels of land in the town of Beverley, and other places,²⁵ having obtained a licence of the king for that especial purpose in the preceding year.²⁶ Johannis le Caretter assigned to the same prelate a rent of 2s. 6d. in Woodmansey; William del Clay gave him eight acres of land in Beverley; and Robert presented him with a messuage, and the appurtenances, in the same place.²⁷ Roger Fitzosbert also gave lands in South Ferriby-upon-Humber, to the church of Saint John of Beverley.²⁸

“In the year 1288, pope Nicholas IV. granted the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices to king Edward I. for six years, towards defraying the expenses of an expedition into the Holy Land; and that they might be collected to their full value, a taxation by the king’s precept was begun in that year, and finished, as to the province of Canterbury, in 1291, and as to that of York, in the following year; the whole being under the direction of John, bishop of Winton, and Oliver, bishop of Lincoln.”²⁹ From this record, we learn the following particulars respecting the church at Beverley, although it should appear from the casual occurrence of a date in the valuation, that it was not completed till many years afterwards.

Ebor’ Dioc’.

Tenores Rotulor’ de p’ticulis antique taxac’ois bonor’ sp’ual’m et temp’alm Cleri diocesis Ebor’ penes Sc’c’m D’ni Regis hic remanenc’m sequit’. in hec. verba.³⁰

²³ Placit. Abbrev. 18 Edw. I.

²⁴ Placit. Abbrev. 19 Edw. I. ²⁵ Inquis. Post. Mort. 18 Edw. I.

²⁶ Inquis. Post. Mort. 17 Edw. I. ²⁷ Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 63. 18 Edw. I.

²⁸ Inquis. Post. Mort. 21 Ed. I. ²⁹ Introd. to Tax. Eccl.

³⁰ Collegiatar’ ec’ciar’ Bev’lac et Hovedon uno ec’ciar’ sp’ual’ Ep’i et P’oris Dunelm’ in Alvertonskyr ac ec’ciar’ p’positur’ Bev’l et sac’star’ Ebor’ ec’cie oimb’ bonor’ temporal’ dn’i Archiep’i Ebor’.

Ebor. Sp.

Taxatio P'bend' Eccl'ie Beverlacen'

	£.	s.	d.
Prebend' Sci Martini.....	45	0	0
Preb' Sci And'	27	0	0
Preb' Sci Jacobi.....	26	0	0
Preb' Sci Steph'.....	25	0	0
Preb' Sci Mich'is	17	0	0
Preb' Sci Peter	25	0	0
Preb' Sci Marie	16	0	0
Porcio dni' Caroli de Bello Monte (vocat' Sce Kath') } alibi benefic'	6	13	4
Comm'ia Eccl. Bev' que consistit in victualibus	66	13	4
Porcio Cancell' que consistit in vict'.	6	13	4
Porcio Sacrist' que consistit in vict'.	12	0	0
Porcio Cantar' que consist' in vict' alibi bnf'	6	13	4
Sm ^a . taxac'ois P'bendar' Eccl'ie Bevl.	279	13	4

Taxatio Porcionu' dec'iab'lm Cl'icor' et al' recipien' corrodia
in Bedern' Beverl'.

Porcio Rob'ti de Cruce alibi b'nficiat'	3	6	8
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Johes de Exestr' possidet.

Istam porc'oem non fuit alibi b'nficiat' in dioc' Ebor' sexto die Octbri
Anno xxij^o Reg' E' t'cij p'ut cont' in quadam c'tifica'oe Willi. Arch.
Ebor' hic inde f'c'aque est int' bill' de t'io Michis Anno xxiiij^o ejusd' Reg.

Porcio Rogi Burd' qui h'et corrod'm Aurifabri	6	13	4
Sm ^a . taxac'ois porcionu' in Bedern'	9	6	8

Taxacio Eccl'iar existenem in p'p'oitura Bevl'
cum pensionbz.

Ecclia de Middleton p't' pens'	26	13	4
Pens' ppositi Bev' in eadem	2	0	0
Ecclia de Dalton p't' pens'.....	16	0	0
Pens' ejusdem pposit' in eadem.....	1	0	0
Ecclia de Scourburgh	5	6	8
Ecclia de Leckenfield	10	0	0
Ecclia de Northburton	20	0	0
Ecclia S. Nich. Bev. p't' pens'	6	13	4

	£.	s.	d.
Pens' ejusdem pposit' in eadem.....	0	4	0
Ecclia de Leven p't pens'	13	6	8
Pens' ejusdem pposit' in eadem.....	0	10	0
Ecclia de Bransburton p't pens'	13	6	8
Pens' ejusdem pposit' in eadem.....	2	0	0
Ecclia de Siglestone p't pens'	26	13	4
Pens' ejusdem pposit' in eadem	2	0	0
Ecclia de Rise	5	0	0
Ecclia de Halsam p't pens'	10	0	0
Pens' ejusdem pposit' in eadem.....	1	6	8
Ecclia de Patrington p't pens'	40	0	0
Pens' ejusdem pposit' in eadem.....	1	0	0
Ecclia de Wellwyk p't pens'	26	13	4
Pens' ejusdem pposit' in eadem.....	3	5	0
Sm ^a . taxac'ois p'positure Bev'	232	19	0
Sm ^a . tot' taxac'ois p'bend' Porcionu' decimabil'm } in Bedern' et p'positur' Bev'	521	19	0
Unde de beneficiis valorem £6. 13s. 4d. non exceden' } quor' possessores non sunt alibi b'nf'	37	0	0

To confine ourselves to mere local notices of the town of Beverley, would be committing an injustice, for which it would not be easy to furnish an excuse. The design of history is more general and diffusive. We shall now therefore take a wider range, as the public records of the kingdom furnish us with abundant materials to testify that the town and its inhabitants were honourably connected with the ecclesiastical and political transactions of these eventful times.

The two independent kingdoms of England and Scotland, from their contiguity and facility of access, were continually at variance. The ravages of war contributed to drain both countries of their wealth, without producing any permanent advantages to either. Thus weakened by intestine divisions, the noble island of Great-Britain, intended by nature for union against foreign foes, was left exposed to the attacks of every hostile invader, and frequently suffered severely from the effects of indiscretion. The kings of England, sensible at length of the advantages which would result from an indissoluble union of interests, endeavoured to secure this point, by establishing a claim to the Scottish crown, which, according to the defective policy of the times, could only be effected by the sword. The Scots, a

brave and hardy people, indignant at repeated aggressions, which they considered equally wanton and unprovoked, resisted all the attempts of the English monarchs to enslave their native land, and usually retaliated, with great severity, the injuries they had suffered from hostile invasion. These proceedings kept the inhabitants of the borders in a continual state of dread and insecurity. The whole strength of the island was frequently summoned to decide these unnatural contests, and much valuable blood was almost annually shed in the dispute. Edward I. a wise and politic monarch, beheld with a steady eye, all the benefits which would mutually result from a union of the two kingdoms, and resolved to accomplish it at the risk of any sacrifice ; convinced, that should his endeavours be crowned with success, his name would be transmitted to posterity covered with immortal glory.

In the year 1295, he projected the invasion of Scotland, with an army calculated to bear down all opposition ; but his treasury was exhausted, and he had already levied subsidies in so many questionable shapes, that he felt himself at a loss for a new pretext which might sanction the imposition of any additional burden on the people. He had recourse, at length, to a device which was attended with all the success he could desire. Being involved in these pecuniary embarrassments, he “ became sensible that the most expeditious way of raising a supply, was to assemble the deputies of all the boroughs ; to lay before them the necessities of the state, and to require their consent to the demands of their sovereign. For this reason he issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough, within their county ; and these, provided with sufficient powers from their community, to consent, in their name, to what he and his council should require of them. As it is a most equitable rule, said he, in his preamble to this writ, that what concerns all should be approved of by all, and common dangers repelled by united efforts ; a noble principle, which may seem to indicate a liberal mind in the king, and which laid the foundation of a free and equitable government. After the election of these deputies by the aldermen and common council, they gave sureties for their attendance before the king and parliament. Their charges were respectively borne by the borough which sent them ; and they had so little idea of appearing as legislators, that no intelligence could be more disagreeable to any borough, than to find that they must elect ; or to any individual, than that he was elected to a trust from which no profit or honour could possibly be derived.”³¹ To this parliament the

³¹ Hume. Engl. vol. ii. p. 274.

borough of Beverley was summoned to send two representatives, who attended the sessions of 1298, 1300, and 1302; after which, the burgesses possessed sufficient influence to be relieved from the custom, until it became of less risk and greater importance, about the year 1563.

Thus assisted by the voluntary benevolence of his subjects to an enormous amount, for at this first parliament the barons gave him an eleventh part of their annual income, the clergy a tenth, and the burgesses, with still greater liberality, a seventh; Edward raised an army of 30,000 foot, and 4000 horse; and to make security more sure, a patent was issued for bearing before the army into Scotland, the famous standard of John of Beverley,³² which, it appears, had been saved from destruction when the church was in flames; a deputation, accompanied by a strong party of soldiers, was duly authorized to remove the banner with all suitable solemnity, and the honour of carrying it, on this occasion, was conferred on one of the vicars of Beverley, called Gilbert de Grymesby,³³ who received eightpence halfpenny per diem for his wages. The superstitious soldiers, inspirited by the presence of this consecrated ensign, bore down all before them; gained the victory in every conflict, and forced the Scots to accept of the most humiliating terms of peace. Edward brought with him into England the palladium of Scottish liberty, and returned to his metropolis in triumph, with the king of Scotland as a captive in his train.

At the close of this year, the king paid a visit to lord Wake, and spent his Christmas, with great gaiety, at Cottingham.

A parliament was held at York in 1298, and the Scottish nobility were summoned to attend. They refused; and the assembly determined on a renewal of hostilities, to punish their contumacious disobedience. Edward commanded the people of Beverley, and of other parts of Yorkshire, to assemble at Alverton, about Candlemas, with horses and arms;³⁴ and issued orders for a general muster of his army at York, in the following April, resolving to take a signal vengeance on the Scots, for their breach of faith. But this warlike people, though once defeated, were not finally subdued. Their national spirit soon placed them in a condition to hurl defiance at their conqueror, and the celebrated William Wallace appeared in the field, at the head of a formidable army, to assert the independence of Scotland, and rescue the martial character of its inhabitants from a dishonourable

³² Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. ³³ Rym. Foed. tom ii. p. 732. Prynn. Ant. Const. Angl. vol. iii. p. 667

³⁴ Madox. Exch. vol. ii. p. 219.

imputation. But nothing could suppress the zeal and activity of the English king. His preparations were conducted on a most magnificent scale. To secure a supply of soldiers, well disciplined, and prepared against any emergency, he made an ordinance for arming the whole population of England, and prescribed the different sorts of armour, both offensive and defensive, with which every person was expected to be provided, according to his rank and substance. And that the letter of the act might be strictly complied with, it was further ordered, that proper officers be appointed, with powers to make search in every house, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the arms were kept in due order, and ready for service; and to make their report periodically to the justices of the peace.³⁵

The dispute was again settled by a single battle, and at Falkirk the English gained a complete and decisive victory. In the succeeding year, another parliament was summoned at York, from whence Edward proceeded in triumph to Scotland, to secure his conquests; and having finally reduced the Scottish nation to submission, a patent was issued for replacing the standard of Saint John, which was formally deposited, by its distinguished bearer, Gilbert de Grymesby, with every mark of veneration and respect, in the presence of the victorious monarch, who visited Beverley for this especial purpose, in the month of November, 1299.³⁶

This royal visit appears to have been of essential service to the town. Proper representations were doubtless submitted by the canons, of the desolate state of their church, now a heap of ruins; and its former extent and magnificence would be eagerly pointed out to this wise and prudent monarch, who probably recommended its re-edification; for he had already granted a charter to the church, confirming all its former privileges and immunities;³⁷ and given to the canons a patent, enabling them to raise a voluntary contribution for this purpose.³⁸ A recommendation from a potent monarch, in the arms of victory, has the nature of a command; and great preparations were from this time made for rebuilding the fabric. Donations poured in from all quarters, which, added to the accumulations arising from former grants, enabled the canons to accomplish their purpose. The king had also granted to them corrodies, or allowances for providing his servants with meat, drink, and other necessities, in case his visits should be repeated;³⁹ which forms decisive evidence of his perfect satisfaction with the canons, and his

³⁵ Strutt. Man. & Cust. vol. ii. p. 43. ³⁶ Rot. Pat. 29 Edw. I.

³⁷ Rot. Chart. 25 Edw. I. ³⁸ Rot. Pat. 25 Edw. I.

³⁹ Inquis. Post. Mort. 25 Edw. I.

intention of honouring them again with his presence. The building now commenced auspiciously, and proceeding with equal rapidity and spirit, the choir was soon finished, in its present style of architectural beauty; with the exception of the east window, which was probably added about the 15th century. On the 29th of May, 1300, the king again entered Beverley, with a large and splendid train, giving, by his presence, a new impulse to the work; and granted a free pardon to all fugitives who had taken sanctuary at Beverley, and had voluntarily followed him to the Scottish wars.⁴⁰

The ecclesiastical interests at Beverley appear to have been generally benefitted by the royal visit. At this time, John de Hightemedede, William Liketon, and Henry Weighton, gave some land, near the chapel of Saint Helen, at Beverley, which adjoined the old church, to the Franciscan friars, for the purpose of erecting a monastery, which was immediately commenced.⁴¹ The master and brethren of Saint Giles's hospital found themselves much inconvenienced for want of a garden, and a small portion of land, for the use of the establishment, and the king, in council, had passed a general statute of mortmain, which precluded the possibility of alienating land to these institutions, except by royal licence. The peculiarity of their situation was pointed out, and the monarch graciously gave them a licence for alienation; and Robert Roos de Hamlake exchanged an oxgang of land at Wartre, for three acres adjoining the hospital of Saint Giles, at Beverley, which he appropriated in mortmain, for the use of the establishment.⁴²

It is impossible to conjecture how far such kind of records as the following, may be deemed interesting. They occur very frequently in the materials, and a specimen is purposely introduced at the conclusion of this chapter, although it is evident that the omission of such private documents as do not tend to illustrate any general principle, will not be esteemed a blemish in the work. Dionysius de Monte Caniso held at this time, in Beverley, an annual rent of 22d. which was accounted for to Adam Lulleman, for certain tenements held of the archbishop of York, on the tenure of doing suit and service at his court at Beverley, twice a year.⁴³ Robert Pykering gave to the chapter of Saint John of Beverley, eight newly built shops in that town.⁴⁴ A curious patent was issued in 1306, for arresting false or assumed procurators,⁴⁵ who had employed themselves in collecting voluntary contri-

⁴⁰ Rot. Pat. 30 Edw. I. ⁴¹ *Lel. Itin.* vol. i. p. 40. *Tan. Notit.* York. XII. 8.

⁴² *Inquis. Post. Mort.* 32 Edw. I. ⁴³ *Placit. Abbrev.* 33 Edw. I.

⁴⁴ *Inquis. Post. Mort.* 34 Edw. I. ⁴⁵ Rot. Pat. 35 Edw. I.

butions in different parts of the country, under the pretext of applying the amount towards the repairs of Beverley minster; and succeeded in levying considerable sums, which they converted to their own use; a clear proof that impositions were practised on the community, in these times, for fraudulent purposes; and it is highly probable that the credulity of the English people was as characteristic then, as it is at present. We know that open crime was much more prevalent at this period of ignorance and partial civilization, when the gentry, the citizens, and burgesses, had little learning of any kind,⁴⁶ and the monarchs themselves scarcely possessed the power of enforcing an observance of the laws, or of punishing the most notorious malefactors;⁴⁷ but it is only by such casual notices as the present, that we can form a competent idea of their *perfection* in the more polished arts of dissimulation and concealed imposture. Edward had effected much towards restraining crime, by his activity and improved method of administering justice;⁴⁸ but still the country swarmed with restless spirits, whom no honour could bind, no laws could restrain. An instance of this occurred at Beverley, which may be here recorded. A notorious malefactor, named John de la More, had made his escape from prison, while under sentence of death at York, and came to the town of Beverley, probably for sanctuary. It should appear, however, that he was recognized without the prescribed limits, for Thomas Jarwell, one of the vicars, with two other clergymen, and a posse of the inhabitants, took him, after a desperate resistance, and delivered him over to the sheriff.⁴⁹

At the close of his long and prosperous reign, Edward once more honoured the town of Beverley with his presence, and was joyfully received by its loyal and grateful inhabitants. He was attended by his court, and transacted public business in the town. A patent was granted to the earl of Lincoln, under the king's private seal, dated Beverley, July 22nd, 1306;⁵⁰ the charters of the burgesses were inspected at his court, and he subsequently confirmed all the liberties and immunities which former kings had granted and conveyed.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Aubrey MSS, in Ashm. Mus. Oxf. ⁴⁷ Robertson. Scotl. b. 1.

⁴⁸ Vid. Spelm. Gloss. v. Justiciarius. ⁴⁹ Placit. Abbrev. 1 Edw. II.

⁵⁰ Rym. Fæd. tom. ii. p. 1004.

⁵¹ Rot. Chart. 35 Edw. 1. Corp. Rec. 8. D. 11 Ap. 35. Edw. I. Attested by William, lord bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; John, lord bishop of Carlisle; Henry de Laci, earl of Lincoln; Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and others. Given by the king's own hand, at Carlisle.

Chap. IV.

Provost's court—House of Black Friars erected—Writ to arrest false procurators—War with Scotland renewed—Commission of array—Suburbs of York burnt—Archbishop of York vanquished by the Scots—Soldiers raised at Beverley—Church of Saint Mary endowed—Decoration of the Minster—Commission of array—Town of Beverley reluctant to provide the stipulated number of soldiers for the Scottish wars—Edward III. visits Beverley—The bailiffs of Beverley pay a fine to the king to be released from the conscription—Naval armament—Extensive trade of Beverley—Donations to the church—Pardon to Grithmen at Beverley—Invasion of the Scots—Vanquished by the archbishop of York—Humility of the inhabitants of Beverley during the conflict.

EDWARD II. succeeded his father to the throne, and found the kingdom well provided with every thing necessary to maintain its pre-eminence abroad, or its tranquillity at home, and had he possessed the talents and virtues of his father, England would have been advanced during his reign, to the highest pinnacle of glory. The late monarch, by his prudence and perseverance, had succeeded in permanently uniting the principality of Wales to the crown of England; and left the preparations for reducing Scotland also, in such a favourable train, that a small portion of spirit and firmness would have sufficed to accomplish this arduous undertaking, which appeared so desirable for securing the peace and tranquillity of the whole island. At the commencement of his reign, Edward secured the alliance of France, by a marriage with Isabella, the king's daughter, and seems to have been desirous of completing the designs of his warlike father, respecting the entire subjugation of Scotland. He issued precepts for raising and manning a competent navy, and strengthened his funds by renewing and confirming the borough charters.

In the first year of his reign, Robert le Constable, rector of Foston, appeared in the provost's court at Beverley, before the bailiffs there, to recover possession of

a messuage in Beverley, with the appurtenances, which had been illegally detained by Herbert de Sutton.¹ There appears to have been at this period, instances of perversion of justice in the provost's court, which, on some occasions, elicited the strongest expressions of public censure. Thus, in 1309, a writ was addressed by the king to the bailiffs of this court, accusing them of injustice and partiality, in the decision of a litigated cause, between Richard de Seton and William de Brideshale, respecting the possession of a cottage; and commanding them to restore the property to its rightful owner.²

In 1310, the king granted a charter of confirmation and *inspeximus*, securing to the provost his right to thraves of corn throughout the East-riding.³ About this time, a house of black or preaching friars, was founded in Beverley, by a person named Goldsmith;⁴ and a piece of ground, to erect a house upon, was assigned to them by Thomas de Holm, containing in length, 237 feet, and in breadth, 120 feet;⁵ and three years afterwards it was confirmed to them by royal patent.⁶ All these grants, patents, and institutions, were calculated to confer additional weight and stability on the town, now rapidly advancing to celebrity as a wealthy and populous place.

At this period, the system of collecting money under false pretences, was again commenced on a scale of increased magnitude, notwithstanding the statute of the late reign; and a band of impostors, who appear to have acted in concert, feigning themselves to be messengers and procurators of the chapter of Saint John of Beverley, made large collections of money and goods, in several parts of England, Wales, and Ireland, under colour of applying the produce towards the repairs of the minster. It was soon discovered, however, that their intentions were fraudulent, and that the benevolence of the public was appropriated to their own use. The case being laid before the king in council, letters-patent were issued to all sheriffs, bailiffs, and others, strictly commanding that all such feigned procurators should be arrested, and required to give an account of their pretended mission; and that all monies in their possession should be applied to the use for which it had been collected.⁷

¹ Rot. Orig. 1 Edw. II. ² Ibid. 3 Edw. II.

³ Corp. Rec. Sep. 7. 4 Edw. II. 9 A. Inquis. ad quod dam. 3 Edw. II. Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. II.

⁴ Lel. Itin. vol. i. p. 40.

⁵ Inquis. ad quod dam. 2 Edw. II. ⁶ Rot. Pat. 5 Edw. II. Tan. Notit. York. XII. 7.

⁷ Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. II. Rym. Foed. tom. iii. p. 248.

The versatile and inconstant disposition of the king, encouraged the Scots once more to revolt, and with Robert Bruce at their head, they appeared in the field, and gained some advantages over the small army that was opposed to them. But when they advanced towards the borders, and threatened an irruption into England, the king was roused, and resolved to make a vigorous effort, and crush them by a single battle. He assembled his army from all quarters; purchased the assistance of the Irish, the Welsh, and even the Flemings, who joined the English army in expectation of plunder; and his united forces amounted to 100,000 fighting men. He took up his quarters at Beverley for a short time, during his march into the north;⁸ and while there, he granted a pass, or writ of safe conduct, to Alexander Conyers, to proceed to Ireland or Scotland;⁹ and also for a ship called Saint Mary Bot, to proceed from Beverley, with her crew and passengers, for Scotland.¹⁰ All these mighty preparations, however, came to nothing, for want of activity and decision on the part of the monarch; and the army, disproportionate as it was, suffered the disgrace of a total defeat at Bannockburn, by a handful of Scottish soldiers, under the able and judicious conduct of the brave Robert Bruce; which restored to Scotland her pristine rank and consequence as an independent kingdom. The king fled to York, and called a parliament, to advise how to proceed in this lamentable crisis, for Bruce had threatened to pursue him to his own metropolis. Nothing could be done; the panic which had infused itself amongst his soldiers, after having sustained a loss of 50,000 men in one battle,¹¹ was too overwhelming to permit them soon to face the victorious army, with the necessary confidence of success. Bruce pursued his advantage, and penetrated into the north of England; and it was famine, and not the sword, which drove him back into his native country.

In 1315, the king granted a charter to the church at Beverley, of free warren in South-Dalton, North-Burton, Middleton, Lockington, Walkington, Leven, Welwick, Wilketon, Roston, Firmer, Rydings, and Singleshams; and also a fair at the latter place.¹² In the same year, William Melton, provost of Beverley, was elevated to the see of York, but did not receive consecration till two years afterwards; and the custody of the manors of Beverley and Ripon was committed by the king to Simon de Driby, during the vacancy, to hold at the royal pleasure, at an annual rent of £350.¹³ The temporalities were restored to the archbishop immediately after his consecration.¹⁴

⁸ Rot. Scot. Ap. 7. 1314.

⁹ Rot. Scot. 7 Edw. II.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Buchanan.

¹² Rot. Cart. 8 Edw. II.

¹³ Rot. Orig. 9 Edw. II.

¹⁴ Abbrev. Placit. 11 Edw. II.

The king still continued his preparations for retrieving his losses in the north, and in the year 1316, we again find him at Beverley, issuing orders for arming the whole population of Yorkshire and Northumberland, between the ages of sixteen and sixty;¹⁵ and appointing officers to see that his commands were carried into execution.¹⁶ In 1318, he issued precepts to every city and borough throughout England, commanding his officers to raise an army of foot soldiers, well armed and accoutred, for an expedition into Scotland; and the quota assigned to the town of Beverley, was 30 men, which the bailiffs were ordered to raise without delay.¹⁷ Early in 1319, the king again visited Beverley, from whence he issued his commands, that the whole population of the kingdom, between the ages of twenty and sixty, should be armed, to resist the threatened invasion of the Scots.¹⁸ From hence he proceeded to York, and commanded the courts to be removed thither, and the judges of the King's Bench to attend.¹⁹ He appointed commissioners for every district in the county of York, to superintend the arming of all able-bodied men between the two specified ages, and to determine on the different species of armour offensive and defensive, which should be the best suited to each. The commissioners for the borough of Beverley, were Richard de Burton and William de Rolleston.²⁰ His army being at length organized, the king marched into the north, and laid siege to Berwick.

But while Edward wasted his time in preparation, Murray, the Scottish general, was on the alert, and no sooner had Edward sat down before Berwick, than hastily marching by another route, he penetrated to York, and burned the suburbs of the city. At this period, archbishop Melton, the late provost of Beverley, "a reverend, grave divine, but a young soldier, more for the indignity of the affront, than any hopes of success, took up arms, and assembled such forces as he could raise; composed of clergymen, monks, canons, and other spiritual men of the church, with a confused heap of husbandmen, labourers, artificers, and tradesmen, in all to the number of 10,000. These *able soldiers* had as *experienced commanders*, the archbishop and the bishop of Ely, lord Chancellor, being the leaders of these warlike troops, much fitter to pray for the success of a battle, than to fight it. This formable army, breathing nothing but revenge, followed the Scots, but they did not follow the proverb, *to build a bridge for a flying enemy*, and overtook them

¹⁵ Rot. Scot. 7 Sep. 10 Edw. II. ¹⁶ Rot. Scot. 15 Sep. 10 Edw. II.

¹⁷ Rot. Scot. 12 Aug. 12 Edw. II. ¹⁸ Rot. Scot. 6 Jan. 12 Edw. II.

¹⁹ Ryley. Placit. Parl. p. 564. ²⁰ Rot. Scot. 6 Nov. 13 Edw. II.

at Myton-upon-Swale, about eleven miles from York. The Scotch army, finding themselves pursued, drew up on the other side of the river in battalia. Then they set fire to some haystacks which were upon the place; the smoke of which, driving with a brisk wind in the faces of the English as they passed the river, so blinded them that they could not see the enemy; who came down in good order upon them, and without any great resistance entirely routed them. There were slain and drowned of the English above 2000, some say, 4000; the rest, with their generals, made great haste back to the city. In this conflict fell Nicholas Flemming, then mayor of York, who had headed up his citizens to the battle; there were taken prisoners, sir John de Pabeham, knight, lord William Ayrmine, and several others. Here was such a fall of the priesthood, that the English, says Buchanan, called this fight, for a long time after, the *white battle*.²¹

In 1322, the king, after having conciliated the barons, held a parliament at York, which granted him a large subsidy to further his designs against the Scots; and his precepts issued to the sheriffs of counties and cities, and the bailiffs of boroughs, to raise men, and send them, properly armed, with sufficient stores of provisions to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were couched in very peremptory terms.²² A commission of this nature was directed to Richard Rice and William de Rolletson, commanding them to raise, in every town and place within the liberties of Beverley, all the effective men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, each being duly arrayed according to his estate; and being divided into companies of 100 and 20 respectively, to appear at York with them on an appointed day, to act against the Scots.²³ The projected expedition was again unsuccessful, and this ill-starred monarch was once more obliged to retire into his own country, vanquished by the superior activity and discipline of his hardy opponents.

In the 16th year of his reign the king gave to the burgesses of Beverley, an *inspeximus*, establishing their right to an exemption from toll throughout the realm, the city of London only excepted, and confirming the charter of Edward I.²⁴

In 1324, a royal patent was granted to Robert de Scorburch, enabling him to found and endow a chantry in the chapel of Corpus Christi within his house at Beverley;²⁵ and he made a fine with the king of 100 shillings, that he might assign

²¹ Drake. Ebor. p. 100.

²² Madox. Excheq. vol. i. p. 383.

²³ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 111.

²⁴ Corp. Rec. 9 B. 4 March, 16 Edw. II. Dated at Knaresborough, and attested by Thomas de Brotherton, earl of Norfolk and marshall of England; Hugh le De Spencer, the younger; Richard D'armory, steward of the king's household, and others.

²⁵ Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. II.

in mortmain a layman's fee in Beverley and Etton to a chaplain, for the purpose of performing the usual divine services in his newly founded institution.²⁶ At this time, Nicholas Cave and Christiana his wife, of Beverley, possessed a messuage, a wind-mill, and eight oxgangs of land in Brantyngham and North Cave; a house, with twelve oxgangs of land, in the parish of Middleton; and a substantial messuage, with ten oxgangs of land, in Beverley and Molescroft.²⁷ Richard de Scorburch held messuages and lands in Beverley and Etton for the benefit of a chantry priest in Beverley, to whom the annual profits were assigned.²⁸ And David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol, and Joan, his wife, possessed property in Beverley, consisting of lands, tenements, and rents.²⁹

In the year 1325, an arrangement was made for endowing the church of Saint Mary, and elevating it into a parochial establishment. On the 4th of May, Robert de Northburgh, prebendary of the prebend of Saint Martin; and Nicholas de Siglesthorne, vicar of the chapel of Saint Mary, submitted themselves to the award and decree of William de Melton, archbishop of York, concerning the portion as well of the vicar as of the prebendary, and the following ordinances were made binding on them and their successors. First, that the altar and chapel of Saint Mary be used for the performance of the sacred services of religion for ever; that the vicar shall have the cure of souls, and be at the presentation of the said prebendary, and be canonically admitted by the archbishop when the see is full, and in its vacancy by the dean and chapter of York. Secondly, the vicarage shall have these portions, viz: the tithes of all crofts and lands and gardens within the town of Beverley, which belonged to the prebend of Saint Martin, or his chapel of Saint Mary; all the customary fees for marriages and burials; the tithe of eggs, geese, ducks, fowls, pigeons, and pigs; the tithe of wool and lamb, goats and calves, and the oblations of principal festivals as far as they may be lawfully claimed by the prebendary or the vicar. The prebendary and his successors were also commanded to allow the vicar five marks per annum. In consideration of these profits the vicar of Saint Mary was bound to provide two chaplains to celebrate divine service daily, one at the altar of Saint Martin, and the other in the chapel of Saint Mary; and to be present with his priests in a regular habit in all processions of the prebendal church of Beverley, whether on Sundays or

²⁶ Rot. Orig. 17 Edw. II. ²⁷ Inquis. Post. Mort. 16 Edw. II.

²⁸ Inquis. ad quod. damn. 17 Edw. II. ²⁹ Inquis. Post. Mort. 1 Edw. III.

festivals. This decree was confirmed by the king in the year 1329,³⁰ and by the dean and chapter of York, 17 June, 1335.³¹

The murder of the king, and the accession of his son, a youth of only fourteen years of age, were events which appeared favourable for a Scottish invasion; and the king of that country did not fail to take advantage of the present aspect of affairs, but marched an army of 25,000 men, under the command of Murray and Douglas, two experienced generals, across the border, and sat down before the city of Carlisle.³² The Scots had formed a false estimate of the valour and spirit of the youthful monarch; for his character was decidedly the reverse of that of his father. Brave, ardent, and indefatigable, he rejoiced in the opportunity thus gratuitously afforded him of gratifying his thirst for martial glory, and displaying his courage in the field. He fixed his head quarters at York, with the determination of raising a gallant army, and convincing the Scottish monarch of his mistake. Precepts were issued throughout the kingdom to all sheriffs, bailiffs, and other officers to send up men to the army without delay; and the bailiffs of Beverley were commanded, on forfeiture of body and goods, to lead, *themselves*, "by day and night" until they joined the army intended to act against the Scots, all the able bodied men within their liberties, properly armed and provided; and to tax every person who was not able to bear arms, towards defraying the expenses of those who were engaged in actual service.³³ The young king also engaged the assistance of the celebrated John of Hainault, who brought over with him an army of 2000 foreigners. Thus provided, Edward took the field with great alacrity, hoping to bring the contest to the decision of a battle. But the Scots appear to have lost their wonted courage by the vigour and activity of his proceedings, and at his approach, they sounded a retreat. Edward sent the veteran Scottish generals a formal challenge to meet him in the field, but this the wary Scots declined, and returned by hasty marches into their own country, leaving the track of their course visible by burned villages, and other marks of barbarian devastation. Edward was obliged, in great chagrin, to disband his army without having had an opportunity of displaying his military talent, or his personal courage in the field of battle.

³⁰ Rot. Orig. 3 Edw. III.

³¹ Ex Reg. W. Melton Archiep. Ebor. an. 1317 to 1340. I. p. 66. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 47.

³² Rym. Fœd. tom. iv. p. 296. ³³ Rot. Scot. 1 Edw. III.

It appears highly probable that about the year 1329, the painted windows and other decorations were introduced into the choir of the minster, for a patent was now granted investing certain persons with the charge and responsibility of the fabric and painted windows of the church;³⁴ and these persons made a fine with the king for the confirmation of former charters;³⁵ and a further patent was issued by the king in council, confirming all the rights of the church, whether in lands or tenements, fisheries, rents, or any other goods, profits or advantages whatsoever.³⁶ A patent was also granted to the provost and canons in the next year, confirming their right to thraves of corn within the wapentake of Holderness.³⁷ In 1332, a charter of confirmation was granted to the borough,³⁸ for which the burgesses paid a fine to the king of two marks;³⁹ in the same year, a patent was issued for the chapter of the collegiate church;⁴⁰ and Robert de Pykering, clerk, gave to the same chapter two messuages and three acres of land for the benefit of one of their chaplains.⁴¹

A dispute having arisen in Scotland respecting the lawful heir to the throne, Edward Baliol, one of the competitors, secretly stipulated with the English king, that on condition of establishing a secure title to the crown by his assistance, he would engage to hold the kingdom of Scotland in homage. This stipulation fanned the embers of the youthful Edward's love of military glory into a flame, and he prepared, without hesitation, to complete the performance of his contract. He issued writs for training and arming horse and foot soldiers within the northern counties; and to collect together all effective men between sixteen and sixty years of age. Richard Dousyng, Adam Cupendale, and Adam Tyrwhit were appointed, jointly and severally, to array and train to arms all men within the liberties of Beverley; to send within three days, under the command of Adam Cupendale and Adam Tyrwhit, fifty hobelars and fifty foot soldiers, whether expert archers or not; and to train all other men, within the specified ages, to be ready to march on the shortest notice.⁴² The king, having thus furnished himself with a small army, well provided, laid siege to Berwick without delay. It should appear that the expected detachment from Beverley did not join him, in obedience to his writ, for Adam de Cupendale abandoned the command, and Thomas de Holm was appointed in his place, to train the population of Beverley to arms;⁴³ and he was

³⁴ Rot. Pat. 3 Edw. III. ³⁵ Rot. Orig. 3 Edw. III. ³⁶ Rot. Pat. 3 Edw. III.

³⁷ Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. III. ³⁸ Corp. Rec. 14 Dec. 6 Edw. III. 10 A.

³⁹ Rot. Orig. 6 Edw. III. ⁴⁰ Rot. Pat. 6 Edw. III. ⁴¹ Inquis. ad quod dam. 6 Edw. III.

⁴² Rot Scot. 12 May. 7 Edw. III. ⁴³ Ibid. 2 June. 7 Edw. III.

commanded to furnish the fifty horse and fifty foot soldiers from Beverley without further delay, and to send them to Richmond and Northallerton, to act against the Scots.⁴⁴ A writ of exemption was also issued in favour of John Cupendale, merchant, of Beverley, who was liberated from all military engagements, and allowed to go on a voyage into foreign parts, for which he had obtained a licence from the king.⁴⁵ The people of Beverley appear to have been averse to meeting the king's wishes on this subject, for the men were not yet sent, and Edward daily expected an attack from the Scottish army to raise the siege of Berwick. Impatient of delay, he issued another writ, in which he accused the arrayers not only of negligence and disobedience, but imputed their omission to peculation, and other causes of a still baser nature; and threatened them with summary and signal punishment, if they did not give their most earnest diligence and labour to send, without further notice, the required fifty horse and fifty foot soldiers to his aid against the Scots.⁴⁶ This threat was decisive; the men were sent, and in the month of July following, the king received the expected attack of the Scottish army with great coolness and intrepidity. In this action he effectually vindicated the national honour, which had been tarnished by his unfortunate parent; and the Scots were entirely routed, with the loss of Douglas their leader, and 30,000 men slain on the field of battle; while the English sustained a loss of only fifteen persons.⁴⁷ The Scottish nobility, on this signal defeat, were reduced to the galling alternative of relinquishing their possessions, or swearing fealty to the English monarch. They adopted the latter; Baliol was acknowledged king of Scotland,⁴⁸ and the contest between the two kingdoms appeared to be for ever finished.

Edward summoned a parliament to meet him at York in the following February,⁴⁹ and on his return in May, he made a short stay at Beverley.⁵⁰ The aspect of affairs in Scotland had been deceitful; the nobility could not be reconciled to a king imposed by their inveterate enemy, and taking an early opportunity of

⁴⁴ Rot. Scot. 6 June, 7 Edw. III. ⁴⁵ Ibid. 16 June, 7 Edw. III.

⁴⁶ Rot. Scot. 19 June, 7 Edw. III. ⁴⁷ Knighton. col. 2559. Hollins. Chron. vol. ii. p. 600.

⁴⁸ Ex. Rot. penes Camer. Rym. Fœd. tom. iv. p. 590.

⁴⁹ Drake. Ebor. p. 105. To these parliaments ladies were sometimes summoned. Mellish's Observations. Archæol. vol. i. p. 348. In the 35th of the present reign, "Mary, countesse de Norff.; Alienor, countesse de Ormond; Philippa, countesse de March; Agnes, countesse de Pembroke; and Katherine, countesse de Athol, were returned to parliament." Holand. Cur. Disc. vol. i. p. 307.

⁵⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. iv. p. 611.

disengaging themselves from the yoke, they succeeded in reducing Baliol to great straits. Edward, on hearing of these rebellious proceedings, resolved to assist his vassal; and gave orders for re-assembling his army, intending to punish the Scots, whom he termed "enemies and rebels," with the greatest severity. On the 7th of November, 1334, he commanded Richard Dousyng, Adam Tyrwhit, and Adam Cupendale, to furnish fifty horse and fifty foot within the liberties of Beverley, as before.⁵¹ Another writ was received by the same commissioners, directing them to lead their men to Roxburgh, with provisions for fifteen days.⁵² And again, shortly afterwards, they were ordered to select fifty men within the franchise of Beverley, and to arm and send them to join the army under the command of the earl of Cornwall.⁵³ Edward appears to have been fully determined to muster a gallant army before he commenced his meditated attack on Scotland. He now directed writs to the sheriffs and bailiffs of the counties, cities, and boroughs, to ascertain what assistance might be derived from their exertions, now that his arrayers had collected together all the men in their power, and with them had joined the main army. The bailiffs of Beverley received a command to send twenty horsemen to Newcastle-upon-Tyne;⁵⁴ and a very short time afterwards, they were *honoured* by a second royal mandate, to send up twelve horsemen, in addition to the former number.⁵⁵ The people of Beverley, however, were unable to raise this further supply, and therefore appeared before the king at York, and tendered a fine of forty marks that they might be excused from a compliance with this requisition, which they found themselves utterly incompetent to fulfil; and proposing also to furnish twenty archers, well armed and trained, in lieu of the prescribed number of hobelars.⁵⁶ Their petition was acceded to, and the consideration paid; and three days afterwards another writ was issued, directing the bailiffs of Beverley to arm thirty hobelars forthwith, and send them to the city of Carlisle.⁵⁷

The army was now complete, and ready to march against the Scots. The soldiers passed the border in high spirits, hoping to terminate the war, as before, by a single engagement. But the Scottish chiefs were afraid to hazard a pitched

⁵¹ Rot. Scot. 7 Nov. 8 Edw. III.

⁵² Rot. Scot. 15 Dec. 8 Edw. III. ⁵³ Ibid. 23 Feb. 9 Edw. III.

⁵⁴ Rot. Scot. 27 Mar. 9 Edw. III.

⁵⁵ Rot. Scot. 1 June, 9 Edw. III. ⁵⁶ Ibid. 3 June, 9 Edw. III. ⁵⁷ Ibid. 6 June, 9 Edw. III.

battle in the field, because they knew, by experience, the superiority of English discipline and English courage, led on by such a king as Edward; and therefore retreated at his approach, and sought shelter in their native fastnesses; so that Edward, after ravaging the country, was obliged to return without having been able to provoke the Scots to an engagement. At his retreat, however, the natives, forsaking their hiding places, again made war on their sovereign, and soon acquired possession of all the places they had lost during the late predatory incursion, and the king of England was under the necessity once more of making an attempt to subdue this refractory people. His first object was to provide for the security of the northern districts, as he conjectured that the Scots would probably make an irruption into England, and waste the country by way of retaliation. For this purpose, he issued a precept for arming and training defensible men for the protection of those parts which were most exposed to the effects of a sudden invasion; and to the bailiffs of Beverley was assigned the duty of providing sixty men.⁵⁸ And having received information that the Scots had fitted out a navy for the purpose of harassing the towns and villages on the English coast, the sea-ports were now commanded to furnish ships of war to oppose them at sea; and to this naval armament the town of Beverley sent one small ship, by the command of Thomas de Holm, Thomas de Rise, John de Thornton Copendale, and Walter Frost, all gentlemen of Beverley.⁵⁹ Edward again made his appearance in Scotland at the head of his victorious army, and his vigilance was again eluded by the artifice of retiring to mountains and barren wastes; where the Scots sheltered themselves, and set the power of England at defiance. An expected war with France now diverted the king's attention to other objects, and he left the Scots for the present to pursue their own policy undisturbed.

In 1338, we find the English again in Scotland, to support the unpopular authority of Baliol, whose throne must have been a bed of thorns, for his principal nobility entertained an invincible aversion to him, arising out of his connection with the English. A writ was directed in this year to Richard Dousyng, commanding him to raise within the liberties of the chapter of Beverley, three hobelars, two mounted archers, and the same number of archers on foot, all well clothed, armed and provided, and to convey them to the army at Perth.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Rot. Scot. 3 Oct. 10 Edw. III.

⁵⁹ Rot. Scot. 18 Dec. 10 Edw. III.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 20 Oct. 12 Edw. III.

During the continuance of these public transactions, the inhabitants of Beverley had not been inattentive to their own private interests. Its merchants carried on a considerable foreign trade; and the burgesses, through the medium of the fairs, transacted their business on advantageous terms; both were gradually advancing to opulence, and their piety prompted them to apply a portion of it in the service of religion. Thus Henry de Wyghton, merchant of Beverley, made a fine of forty shillings with the king, for a licence, empowering him to assign certain tenements with their appurtenances in Siggleshorpe, in mortmain.⁶¹ Richard de Melton, John de Wilton, and Robert de Shireburn, all of Beverley, executors of the last will and testament of Nicholas de Hugate, made a fine with the king of four marks, that they might have a licence to enable them to give and assign, in mortmain, one messuage with the appurtenances, in York;⁶² and at the same time, Gilbert of Beverley fined thirty shillings for a licence to assign over in mortmain, a certain tenement with the appurtenances, in Beverley.⁶³ The archbishop of York procured from the king a confirmation of his liberties in Beverley and Ripon;⁶⁴ William de Bradley, of Beverley, gave to a certain chantry priest in that town, five messuages and 4s. 1d. rent, for the use of himself and his successors for ever;⁶⁵ and a patent was granted for the precentor of the collegiate church.⁶⁶ The Percy family, about this time, assigned some property to the vicars choral of the church, in consideration of which, they bound themselves by indenture to pray for the soul of the lady Eleanor Percy, lately deceased.⁶⁷ About this time an opulent gentleman of this town, called Robert de Beverley, was distinguished by his majesty, and promoted to a confidential situation in the suite of his queen Philippa; and when he attended her on a visit to her native country, he received royal letters of protection, countersigned by the queen herself.⁶⁸

A writ was issued by royal authority in 1342, offering a full and free pardon to all fugitives and felons called grithmen,⁶⁹ who have taken sanctuary at Beverley, Ripon, and other places, for offences and felonies committed before the feast of the Holy

⁶¹ Rot. Orig. 10 Edw. III.

⁶² Ibid. 10 Edw. III.

⁶³ Ibid. 10 Edw. III.

⁶⁴ Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. III.

⁶⁵ Inquis. adquod dam. 12 Edw. III.

⁶⁶ Rot. Pat. 14 Edw. III.

⁶⁷ Ex. MSS. Dodsw. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. lxxiv. fol. 146.

⁶⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. v. p. 57.

⁶⁹ Grithmen, were persons who had taken the stool of peace or sanctuary. In the charter of king Athelstan to the church of Saint Wilfrid, at Ripon, the *sedes pacis* is called the Grithstole.

“ And within yair kyrke yate

“ At ye stan yat *Grithstole* hate.”

Trinity, providing that, at their own proper cost and charges, they voluntarily arm and place themselves at the disposal and under the command of Baliol, king of Scotland, to assist him in fighting his battles against the rebellious barons.⁷⁰ The Scottish malcontents had now chosen David Bruce as their leader, and opposed his pretensions to the crown against those of Baliol. This leader formed a resolution, suggested most probably by the French monarch, to invade and ravage the northern counties of England, during Edward's absence on the continent; and summoning an army of 36,000 men, well armed and trained, he entered by the eastern marches, in the year 1346, intending to take possession of Durham, and leaving a strong garrison in that city, to proceed along the eastern coast by Beverley to York. Bruce imagined that his progress would be unimpeded while the English army was in France; for he had been told that none remained in England but countrymen, shepherds, infirm old men, and the clergy; the rest being all in attendance on the king at the siege of Calais. To defray their expenses, the Scots proposed to lay an impost of a penny for every head and foot of each inhabitant, as the price of his personal safety. Fire and sword marked the course of the invading army, and, as it penetrated rapidly towards the south, Philippa, the heroic consort of king Edward, issued peremptory orders to arm the population, whether laity or clergy; which was soon accomplished, under the active superintendence of William de la Zouch, archbishop of York, lord Percy, and others. A gallant army was assembled before the gates of York, and the queen headed it in person. The second division was commanded by the archbishop, in which were found all the clergy of the diocese who were able to bear arms. Meanwhile, orders were given to the remaining clergy and others, at Beverley, Hull, and other places in the south, to be prepared, in the event of a defeat, with arms, and every thing necessary for a reinforcement. The armies met about three leagues south of Durham. The Scots did not expect the appearance of such a force, and were unprepared for immediate action. Sir William Douglas, with his clansmen, formed the advanced guard, and the English fell on him with great fury, and soon succeeded in driving this detachment upon the main body, and took their commander prisoner. David prepared with all expedition to revenge this affront, thinking it an easy matter to conquer an army of clerks and citizens, commanded by a woman and a priest. He divided his army into battallions, and amidst the

⁷⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. v. p. 328. Rot. Scot. 15 July, 16 Edw. III.

deafening clangor of trumpets and clarions, marched with his whole force to the engagement. The English, fighting for their altars and their homes, entered the battle with a full resolution not to survive the loss of their freedom and native rights; and rushing with intrepid boldness on the enemy, after a desperate struggle, forced them to give way, and seek for safety in a precipitate flight. Now the carnage became dreadful. The English pursued them with shouts of triumph, and retaliated with severity their former wanton cruelties. In this battle David Bruce was taken prisoner; the flower of the Scottish nobility were either slain or captured; about a hundred of the choicest knights in Scotland lost their lives, and upwards of 20,000 men perished in the contest. On the part of the English, the victory was not obtained without the sacrifice of 4,000 private men, and five esquires.

The monks of Durham, who had been reduced to such straits, that they had stipulated to pay down the sum of £1,000. for their security, and that of their manors and tenants, if they were not relieved within four and twenty hours, heard with joy that the queen was marching an army to their relief, and mounted the tower of their church to behold the battle, and to pray for the success of their friends. And when they saw the Scots give way and fly before the English army, showers of tears, combined with shouts of joy, simultaneously burst from them, and they offered up their thanks to God by singing a full *Te Deum*.

While this was passing, a singular scene occurred at Beverley. The ecclesiastics of this place, arming themselves in compliance with the queen's command, appeared in the market-place in a body, with naked feet, as an emblem of humility, and bareheaded, in token of reverential awe, each having by his side, a sword, at his back a quiver of arrows, and a bow in his hand; imploring of God and his saints, that the efforts of the queen might be successfully employed, in delivering the people of England from the cruel enemy who sought their destruction.

The inhabitants of Beverley, aged men, women, and children, greatly affected by this pious and magnanimous act of devotion, fell on their knees, and with tears of contrition, humbly besought the Almighty to aid them in this dreadful extremity of affliction. After they had thus poured out their souls to the Author of every good, they vowed constancy to each other in this public cause, and mutually determined to sacrifice their lives if necessary in defence of their native land.⁷¹

⁷¹ Knight. de Even. Angl. l. 4. MS. penes me.

Chap. V.

Motives of pious men in devoting a portion of their goods to the church—Nave of the minster erected—Endowments—Dispute between the towns of Beverley and Hull, about tolls—Charter of Richard II.—Comparative importance of the town of Beverley—Attack on the archbishop and his attendants, by the mayor and bailiffs of Hull—The archbishop assigns Westwood to the burgesses of Beverley—Enlargement and decoration of the minster church—Sanctuary claimed—Some demagogues threaten to burn the town—The archbishop forcibly expels the canons from their benefices—Litigation—Canons restored—Bridge at Beverley built—Ordinance for the better government of the college—Twelve governors appointed by charter—Ake's chantry founded—Henry IV. favours the town—Horrible punishments—Charters of Henry V.—Infamous attempt at murder—Festivals ordained by royal authority on the days of John of Beverley's death and translation—Charter of Henry VI.—Dispute between Beverley and South-Cave—Dispute between Beverley and Hull—Henry VI. visits Beverley—Several grants of that monarch enumerated—Civil war.

THE churches and monasteries, already abounding in wealth, were, by the superstitious feelings of the age, continually receiving accessions of property, which was bestowed by pious men, under the impression that they were thus rendering a service to God, and securing the salvation of their souls. This was a weakness, but it was not an unamiable one. To convey the means of creating a respect for the ministers of religion, is a certain method of making religion itself esteemed and practised; and, on the contrary, any portion of obloquy heaped on the minister, will indirectly affect the religion he professes, and overwhelm the sacred institution with neglect and contumely. The highest dignitaries of the church, as well as the most potent laymen, were not exempt from the influence of this feeling, which was firmly rooted in their system of faith, and pervaded all orders and descriptions of men. And we should pause before we consent to pass a sweeping censure on

these religious customs and practices, how preposterous soever they may appear to our improved ideas ; because, notwithstanding the errors of the system, it preserved an uniformity in the celebration of divine worship, which we in vain look for amidst the diversity of religious sects into which christianity is at present split and divided. We have no reason to conclude, although religion was deformed during the period of papistical domination, with many glaring and radical defects, that its professors were devoid of piety, temperance, justice, or any of the genial effects of vital religion. We have no just cause to condemn the *men*, because the *system* they professed had, in many instances, degenerated from its primitive purity. They had been educated in a profound veneration for certain practices, and an implicit devotion for certain articles of faith, which we of the reformed church reject ; but this does not constitute any legitimate proof that they were void of true Christian feelings, because, while it incited them, as a work of supererogation, to endow monasteries, found chantries, or bequeath provisions for priests to perform masses for the welfare of their souls, it kept them steady and uniform in the habitual performance of all their religious duties. Can it be believed that the man of property, who devotes a portion of his possessions to secure the welfare of his soul, is a hypocrite, and unimpressed with a belief that such masses are efficacious ? We may charitably hope not. His motives were, doubtless, conscientious, though prompted by a *mistaken* view both of the spirit and doctrines of christianity. And it savours more of pharisaical pride than sober religion, to arraign the piety of individuals, who have distinguished themselves by a steady adherence to a system of faith and practice, which they received from their forefathers, and which appeared to be invested with the high sanction of primitive observance. Our ancestors believed with as much sincerity that salvation could not be obtained without a strict observance of the rites and ceremonies of their religion, as our modern sectarists believe that they can be saved in a church without a legitimate priest.

Considerable possessions in Beverley and Holderness were held in mortmain by these establishments, and subsequent donations and bequests were periodically increasing the amount. Edward I. foresaw the evils which must ultimately result from an unlimited appropriation of lands to religious institutions, which could not afterwards be alienated, and endeavoured to guard against it by passing the statute of mortmain. But this was either set aside by the payment of fines when individuals were disposed to convey their property to the church,¹ or evaded by the

¹ Rot. Orig. Rot. Pat. passim.

invention of uses.² Added to the immense property which has already been recorded as belonging to the church of Saint John, at Beverley, and other religious establishments in the same town, we find that in the year 1346, John de Etton assigned to Robert de Howm and another chaplain, five oxgangs of land in Etton and Beverley.³ The master of the Bedern, in Beverley minster had, at this time, in the deanery of Yarborough, in the county of Lincoln, a rent of five shillings.⁴ William de Bradele, of Beverley, gave twenty shillings for a licence to convey the fee simple of certain lands and tenements in Beverley, to the commissioners appointed to superintend the fabric of Saint John's church, to be applied solely to the purpose of keeping it in a proper state of repair;⁵ and a patent was granted to the *custodes fabricæ* enabling them to hold the premises thus assigned in mortmain.⁶ And to the same effect, John de Beverley, some years afterwards, alienated by licence, certain tenements in the city of York, for the benefit of a chantry priest and his successors.⁷ Peter Newton assigned divers portions of land, and several tenements in Beverley and many other places, to the convent of Watton, near Beverley.⁸ John Bradmere de Wolfreton gave to the convent of Haltemprize, near Beverley, three acres of land, and thirteen acres of meadow.⁹ These institutions, though they were unable to alienate, could effect exchanges of property. The monks of Selby abbey had lands in Beverley, which they exchanged for lands in Erdeslaw, with John de Melsa, by consent of Amicia, his wife.¹⁰

About this time, the nave of Beverley minster was erected,¹¹ in its present style of decorated architecture; the distinctive peculiarities of which, as first introduced during the late reign, "are large pointed windows, divided into many lights, by mullions, which branch out into flowing tracery, dividing the upper part of the window into circles, lunettes, &c.; a profusion of rich and delicate ornaments, particularly in the capitals of the pillars, and the introduction of corbel heads, and figures of various kinds. We have no building in existence constructed entirely in this style, but there are very few of our cathedral or conventual edifices without large portions which must be referred to this class. There are many beautiful specimens of it to

² Hume. Engl. vol. ii. p. 322. ³ Inquis. Post. Mort. 20 Edward III.

⁴ Taxat. Eccles. P. Nich. IV. ⁵ Rot Orig. 26 Edw. III. ⁶ Rot. Pat. 26 Edw. III.

⁷ Inquis. Post. Mort. 51 Edw. III. ⁸ Ibid. 21 Edw. III. ⁹ Ibid. 20 Edw. III.

¹⁰ Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 389.

¹¹ Pugin's Specimens of Gothic Architecture, vol. i. p. 16.

be seen in almost every part of the kingdom, and particularly in the nave and west front of York minster, and the nave of Beverley minster."¹²

There must have existed in this reign, a greater partiality for the clergy than some authors are willing to admit,¹³ although several statutes were passed to curtail the papal power in England,¹⁴ which were not calculated to increase the popularity of that order of men, because we find such numerous transfers of private property in their favour, which may be considered as an undoubted proof that the ministers of religion were generally respected. The rights of the archbishop of York in Beverley and Ripon, were confirmed during this reign;¹⁵ Reginald de Brunne, and another, gave to the master of the fabric of Saint John, certain messuages and rents, to be applied to the repairs of the church;¹⁶ and a royal patent was granted in 1354, to the master of Saint Nicholas's hospital, in Beverley.¹⁷ Walter de Spaigne, clerk, and another, procured a licence from the king, to assign two oxgangs of land in Beverley and Walkington, to the sisters of the house of the blessed Mary, at Kinwald-graves;¹⁸ and the chapter of Saint John of Beverley, assigned to Richard de Ravenser, a certain piece of land near his house;¹⁹ which shews that such donations to religious houses were not solely confined to the laity, and that the clergy were as willing to give as to receive. Another instance of the same kind occurred at Beverley in the succeeding year. William de la Set, chaplain, and William Rys, by royal licence, for which a fee of twelve shillings was paid, assigned to Robert de Ashton, vicar of Saint Mary's church, one messuage or tenement, to be enjoyed by him and his successors, vicars of the same church, for ever.²⁰ In 1360, the provost of Beverley had an exemplification, enumerating and confirming his liberties within his manors of Seton, Singlesham, and Great Monwyk, all in Holderness, consisting of cognizance of plea, return of writs, unclaimed goods, stray cattle, wrecks of the sea, and all other things which were due to him, either by charter or prescription;²¹ and in the succeeding year, a patent was granted, appropriating to him the church of Welwick;²² and another for his appendages, with liberty to enclose or till his waste lands at pleasure.²³

¹² Coltman's Short Hist. p. 42.

¹³ Vid. Cotton's Abridg. of the Records. Hume. Eng. &c. ¹⁴ 25, 27, and 38 Edw. III.

¹⁵ Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. III. ¹⁶ Inquis. ad quod dam. 27 Edw. III.

¹⁷ Rot. Pat. 28 Edw. III. ¹⁸ Inquis Post. Mort. 29 Edw. III.

¹⁹ Inquis. ad quod dam. 49 Edw. III. ²⁰ Rot. Orig. 30 Edw. III.

²¹ Rot. Pat. 34 Edw. III. ²² Ibid. 35 Edw. III. ²³ Ibid. 35 Edw. III. MS. penes me.

A royal charter, dated 3 July, 1365, was granted to the burgesses, containing a confirmation of the hanshus, tolls, and several other liberties.²⁴ In the next year, Robert de Beverley, canon of Saint John's church, made a fine of fifteen pounds with the king for a licence, enabling him to convey in mortmain, a tenement, with the appurtenances, in North-Burton and Raventhorpe, to a certain chaplain and his successors for ever.²⁵ And John de Beverley, canon, and another, gave this chaplain forty acres of land in the same parishes, which were confirmed to him and his successors by patent.²⁶ A patent was granted in 1371, to enquire into the state of the provostship,²⁷ when the statutes and ordinances were examined and corrected; and in the succeeding year another patent was issued, to enable John of Ravenshere, to convey to his brother, Richard of Ravenshere, canon and provost of Beverley, two parts of the manor of Bentley.²⁸ About this time a commission of array was issued to Henry de Barton, Adam de Coppendale, John Tyrwhyt, and Thomas Beverley, ordering them to raise speedily, in the town of Beverley, all the defensible men therein, and hoblors and archers, for the safety of the town; and to provide against an invasion of the enemy.²⁹ A certain chaplain of the chantry in Ecton church, gave one mark for confirmation of an assignment which he had received from William de Doncaster, lately the rector of Rothing Plumbia, of certain tenements in Beverley.³⁰ Richard de Ravenshere, prebendary of the prebend of Saint Martin's, gave half a mark for a licence that the canons and chapter of Saint John might convey to him in mortmain, a certain piece of land, near his house, in Beckside,³¹ containing 180 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth, for a garden;³² in consideration of which, he agreed to assign to the canons other property of an equal value. The exchange was confirmed by patent;³³ and after the land had been conveyed to him according to law, the said Richard de Ravenshere made a fine with the king of half a mark, for a confirmation of the letters-patent.³⁴

The disputes which afterwards brought on a protracted litigation between the towns of Beverley and Kingston-upon-Hull, appear to have commenced about this period. The port of Beverley had carried on such a considerable trade, as to leave an indelible mark of its foreign connexion in the name of one of its

²⁴ Corp. Rec. 3 July, 39 Edw. III. 10 C. ²⁵ Rot. Orig. 40 Edw. III.

²⁶ Rot. Pat. 40 Edw. III. ²⁷ Ibid. 45 Edw. III. ²⁸ Ibid. 46 Edw. III.

²⁹ Corp. Rec. 12 March, 45 Edw. III. 10 D. ³⁰ Rot. Orig. 47 Edw. III.

³¹ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 29. ³² Rot. Orig. 49 Edw. III. ³³ Rot. Pat. 50 Edw. III.

³⁴ Rot. Orig. 50 Edw. III.

principal streets; and its chartered privileges had been conceded and confirmed, again and again, while the site of Kingston was but a marsh or swamp, and before that prosperous town had a being. The river Hull was freely navigated by all vessels belonging to the merchants of Beverley, and its productions of every kind were theirs by delegation from the lord of the town, who held it by successive grants of our Anglo-Saxon monarchs, ratified by charters of the Norman dynasty, which swayed the sceptre of this island. Their rights in the river were never disputed; it was, as it were, their private property before the assumption of the rival port; which, as its strength and riches increased, monopolized privileges which were sanctioned rather by silent acquiescence than by acknowledged right. The archbishop of York, by virtue of his prescriptive privileges, claimed, in the new port of Kingston, the right of tolls and other imposts there, as a part of his jurisdiction on the river Hull; and his claims were deemed so just and equitable by the commissioners, on several successive inquisitions, that they were uniformly allowed.³⁵ And these rights will appear to have been clearly established, from an act of violence which we shall soon have to record, for truth needs not the aid of violence to give it stability. At this time, it appears that the port of Hull made an unsuccessful attempt to impose a rate or tax on the burgesses of Beverley, towards building ships, probably for the public service of the nation; thus indirectly endeavouring to establish their superiority, and convert Beverley into a member port. They stated in their petition, that the great expenses which they had recently incurred had reduced them to poverty, and prayed to have the assistance of the more opulent towns of York and Beverley, (*les aut's bones villes du pays come Ev'wyk et Bev'ley.*) The burgesses of Beverley appealed against the petition, and letters-patent were granted, exonerating them from any such payments; and providing that neither themselves nor their successors, should be compelled, or compellable, to contribute any impost towards the building or maintaining any

³⁵ In the pleas of Quo Warranto, we find that the archbishop, amongst other things, claimed "ab antiquo hère pimu tastu & p'imas empedes de vinis & om'ibz aliis m'candis venalibz venientibz infra portu de Hull post p'isas d'ni R & c. And this claim was subsequently confirmed by parliament, in two writs, the one addressed to Benedict de Fulsham, the king's butler, at Kingstone-upon-Hull, dated 10th March, 1327; and the other addressed to Richard de la Pole, and dated 17th July, in the same year. Rex, &c. Vobis adhuc mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quòd manum nostram de hujusmodi *Prisis*, in dicto portu de Hull, amoveatis, & præfatum W. nunc archiepiscopum, prisas suas, in eodem portu, absque impedimento, habere permittatis, juxta tenorem mandatorum nostrorum prædictorum, (*proût supra de Dat. 10 Mart.*) Jure nostro in omnibus semper salvo, volumus enim vos indè erga Nos exonerari. Ex. Claus. 1 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 18. Rym. Fæd. tom iv. p. 299.

ships, barges, or boats, with the men of Kingston-upon-Hull, at Hull; as they were situated in a dry place, and at a distance from the sea.³⁶

At the latter end of the long and eventful reign of Edward III. an inquisition was taken at Beverley, by which it appears that Thomas de Beverley, John Gisbourne, and others, held property in the town for the prior of Eridlington, and that Richard de Ravenshere, and other clergymen, held in Beverley and North-Burton, six messuages, two tofts, and six shillings rent, for the collegiate church.³⁷ And the last act of this puissant monarch's life, as far as it relates to Beverley, was an inspeximus and confirmation of divers grants and immunities, by which the burgesses were exempted from toll throughout all England, the city of London alone excepted.³⁸

At the commencement of king Richard's reign, the provost of Beverley procured an acknowledgment of all his rights and privileges, by a full confirmation of the charter of Edward the Confessor, and all his other ancient charters;³⁹ and a patent was obtained by the chapter of Saint John, for imposing a toll for paving their premises.⁴⁰ At the same time the burgesses received a charter, establishing their exemption from contributing to build ships, barges, or bateles, granted by his grandfather, king Edward III. and discharging them particularly from the share which they had been required to take with the town of Hull, towards building a barge called Balyngenes, (a balynger) of between forty and fifty oars;⁴¹ but a commission of array was issued to the towns of Beverley and Ripon, commanding them to send soldiers to the army,⁴²

The town of Beverley had now assumed a considerable degree of importance, and occupied the third or fourth rank amongst the principal towns in England. While the feudal system was in its vigour, populous towns were not numerous, and vassals were dispersed over the territories of the lord, for purposes which might be congenial with his ambition or convenience, except in the immediate vicinity of his castle, which was always the residence of numerous fierce and licentious retainers. England, at this period, contained few towns whose population exceeded 3,000 souls, and amongst these, Beverley occupied a respectable situation. The city of London is rated at 35,000 souls; York, at 11,000; Bristol, 9,000;

³⁶ Rot. Pat. 51 Edw. III. Corp. Rec. 14 Feb. 51 Edw. III. 10 E.

³⁷ Inquis. Post. Mort. 51 Edw. III. ³⁸ Corp. Rec. 14 Feb. 51 Edw. III. 10 F.

³⁹ Rot. Pat. 1 Rich. II. ⁴⁰ Ibid. 1 Rich. II. ⁴¹ Corp. Rec. 11 Jan. 1 Rich. II. 11 A.

⁴² Rymer. 1 Rich. II. 1378.

Plymouth, 7,000; Coventry, the same; Norwich, 6,000; Lincoln, 5,000; Lynn, the same number; Colchester, 4,500; Oxford, Beverley, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, each 4,000; Ely, Canterbury, and Bury, in Suffolk, each 3,500; and Gloucester, Leicester, and Shrewsbury, each 3,000.⁴³ Thus England had but two towns containing a population of more than 10,000 souls; six only with a population exceeding 5,000; and but eighteen above 3,000. The town of Beverley was still increasing, and although its trade subsequently became crippled by the superior local advantages enjoyed by the port of Hull, yet it never lost its distinctive rank as the chief town in the East-riding of Yorkshire, but always preserved its respectability of character, and kept its splendid ecclesiastical institutions from sinking into oblivion. A charter was now granted to the burgesses, confirming all the privileges conveyed by the numerous charters of former kings and archbishops, dated 20 January, 1379.⁴⁴

The town of Hull now began to contest the rights of Beverley on the river, which its vessels had so long navigated in triumphant independence; and the first object was to nullify the archbishop's claim to prisage, within the town and port. Some suits at law were ineffectually prosecuted; and the archbishop still maintained his ancient privileges, confirmed to him, as they were, by charter and prescription. The merchants had already resorted to some fraudulent practices, for the purpose of evading the payment of these prises. The archbishop's demand from every vessel of more than twenty tons burden, was two casks of wine, one *before*, and the other *behind* the mast, and each cask was redeemed by a money payment of twenty shillings.⁴⁵ To elude this claim, the merchants had adopted the nefarious custom of delivering their cargoes in the Humber, and sending the contents into the harbour in vessels of smaller dimensions; by which the archbishop was unjustly deprived of his prisage.⁴⁶ This practice had been occasionally carried on for more than half a

⁴³ MS. penes me, calculated from the Subsidy Roll of 51 Edw. III.

⁴⁴ Rot. Pat. 2 Rich. II. Corp. Rec. 30 Jan. 2 Rich. II. 11 B.

⁴⁵ ——— percipiendo de qualibet navi, deferente ultra viginti dolia vinorum, ad vendendum in aquâ prædictâ, (Hull) duo dolia vini, (unum, videlicet, dolium ante mastum, et aliud retro mastum) solvendo pro quolibet dolio, sic priso viginti solidos, Tenuerunt et habuerunt, &c. Ex. Claus. 1 Edw. III. p. l. m. 11. Rym. Fœd. tom. iv. p. 272.

⁴⁶ It'm a n're Seign'r le Roi & a son Conseil monstre le dit Ercevesq d' Evrewik, q' apres ce q' p' jugement du P'lement feust mande a Botiller n're Seigneur le Roi d'oster le meyne le Roi des *prises de vins* en le dit Haven, & de suffer l'Ercevesq & ses Atournes p'ndre illoeqes le prises de vins, & aucunes p' maliciouse compasement & mauvoise conspiracye fesaunt desharger trois niefs charges de vins en Humbre *pres de Haven* de Hull, lesqueles niefs feurent

century, and he now determined to enforce in person the restitution of his ancient rights. The people of Hull, having lost all patience, determined to obtain by violence what could not be accomplished by due course of law. A favourable opportunity soon occurred. The prelate being at Hull, with his usual small company of attendants, to superintend the due execution of his claims, he was rudely attacked by the mayor, sir Thomas Waltham, attended by his bailiffs, John Arnold and Thomas Green, and a large train of followers, in violation of the rites of hospitality, and what is still more reprehensible, in defiance of the respect due to the chief representative of our holy religion. The mayor commenced the attack by suddenly snatching the archbishop's crosier, and striking one of his attendants with it. This was the signal for a general assault, and some blood was shed in the scuffle; the enraged magistrate laying about him manfully with the crosier, and breaking equally the peace and the heads of his opponents. The mayor and his party were summoned to appear before the king at Westminster, to answer for these disorderly proceedings; and would, doubtless, receive a severe reprimand at the least, if they escaped the payment of a heavy fine.⁴⁷

The archbishop was disposed, at this time, to be very bountiful to the inhabitants of Beverley; and bestowed on the burgesses a considerable donation, which proved highly beneficial to the town. He procured from Richard, to whom he was fondly attached, a licence to convey some property in mortmain, to the burgesses;⁴⁸ and having obtained this indulgence, he granted, with the consent of the chapter at York, all the soil and wood called Westwood, containing four hundred acres of land, with the appurtenances, to Richard de Walkington, John Kelk, and others, burgesses of Beverley, and all other burgesses and commonality of the town, and

frettes a Hull, & les vins qe feurent discharges des meisme neifs feurent cariez p' div'sez vesseaux deinz le Haven de Hull, & illoeqes mis a terre, & ce feust compasse a faire malicieusement pur forbarrer l'Ercevesq de ses prises, p' colour des paroles q' feurent en l'Enquete q' feust prise sur la manere q' les p'decessours le dit Ercevesq soloient p'ndre le prises en le dit haven; C'est assavoir, de chescun Nief portant vintz tonels, ou aucuns deux tonels, paient pur chescun tonel vintz souz, & pur ce fesoient il descharg' mesmes les niefs hors le haven de Hull, & mener les vins en mesme le haven p' petites vesseux come desus est dit; Issint q' nule de eux porta vintz toneals, & ce pur faire le dit Ercevesq perdre ses prises. Dont & semble au dit Ercevesq, q' puis q' le niefs feurent frettes tan q' a Hull, & les vins menes deinz le haven de Hull, q' pur tieu fraude a descharg' les niefs hors de haven ne doit il pas p'dre ses prises mais ad accion a demander touz les vins come forfaitz p' defaute des prises nient paieiz. Et prie, &c. Pet. in Parl. 4 Edw. III. n. 24.

⁴⁷ Tickell's Hull, p. 73, 74.

⁴⁸ Rot. Pat. 3 Rich. II. Corp. Rec. 4 Feb. 3 Rich. II. 11 C.

to their successors for ever; paying to the archbishop and his successors, the annual sum of one hundred shillings; at the feast of Saint Martin and Pentecost, by equal half-yearly payments.⁴⁹ This grant was confirmed by the dean and chapter of York, by deed, dated 4 April, 1380.⁵⁰

Under circumstances so favourable to the town, the provost and canons of Beverley contemplated the further enlargement and decoration of their beautiful church; and for this purpose collected the best architects and workmen that England could produce. The accession of such a number of strangers into the town, rendered some precautions necessary for preventing disputes and quarrels between them and the inhabitants; which, in these rude times, seldom terminated without bloodshed; and an application was made to the court at Westminster, for enlarged powers to preserve order and subordination amongst the work-people, by the adoption of a summary method of inflicting punishment on delinquents. This application was answered by two patents; one directed to the provost, and another to the canons, investing them with full powers for keeping the peace within the boundaries of the church during the period which should be occupied in its decoration.⁵¹ The work proceeded without interruption, and soon the edifice assumed its present grand and magnificent appearance, equalled by few collegiate churches, and exceeded by none. At this time was built the north porch, and the west front, with its majestic towers and battlements, and, perhaps, some of the windows in the choir and east end.⁵²

When the building was completed, a charter of confirmation was procured, in which all its former liberties and privileges were fully recognized; and particularly its sacred right of sanctuary; which, within a very few years, afforded its protection to sir John Holland, knight, half-brother to the king. This gentleman, in the year 1385, had been concerned in the murder of Ralf, the son and heir of Hugh, earl of Stafford. The injured father laid his complaint before the king;

⁴⁹ Corp. Rec. 2 Ap. 3 Rich. II. 11 D. Dated at Beverley, and attested by Thomas Jolyf, Peter de Cathewyk, sir Ralph de Hastings, sir Gerard de Ufflete, sir John de Hotham, knights, &c. Amand de Routhe, Edmund de Killingwyk, sir Peter de Malo Lacu the 6th, John de Burton, Peter de Santon, Jno. de Cave, Rich. Ward, of Middleton, and others. A clause is inserted in the grant for distress. A power of attorney, of the same date, was given by the archbishop to sir John Bygod, knight, his principal steward, and William Halden, his steward at Beverley, to deliver seizin of the premises to Richard Walkington and the rest.

⁵⁰ Corp. Rec. 4 Ap. 3 Rich. II. 11 E. ⁵¹ Rot. Pat. 4 Rich. II.

⁵² Rickman's Eng. Archit. p. 105, 106. and vid. Par. III. c. 2. infra.

and the crime appears to have been perpetrated under circumstances of such deliberate atrocity, that the king refused to pardon the delinquent, although he was so nearly related to him by blood; and issued orders for his apprehension. The knight, however, had taken sanctuary, and his person for the present was safe. Great interest was made to conciliate the incensed monarch; and even his own mother condescended to supplicate his forgiveness, with bended knees and showers of tears. But Richard was inexorable, and this high spirited woman was so affected by his refusal, that she died broken-hearted in a few days. Meanwhile the criminal having placed himself, with the accustomed formalities, under Saint John's protection, remained in security at Beverley, until the king's anger was, in some degree, appeased; and at the intercession of his uncle Clarence, Richard ultimately yielded a reluctant consent to his pardon.⁵³

In the insurrection fomented by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, some inhabitants of Beverley were peculiarly active. Conspicuous in every tumult, and gratified with the general disorganization which now prevailed throughout the land, they endeavoured to make the disaffection universal, and denounced summary vengeance against all those peaceable inhabitants of Beverley and the neighbourhood, who refused to sanction and assist the accomplishment of their rash and treasonable designs. In a transport of ungovernable rage, the demagogues threatened to burn, or otherwise demolish the tranquil dwellings of their quiet neighbours. Their restless activity to aid and abet the designs of rebellion, at length brought the town into disrepute with the existing government; and in the charters of grace which were subsequently granted, the inhabitants of Beverley were not only exempted from the general pardon,⁵⁴ but a document was issued to Thomas de Manby, alderman, Simon Cartwright and William Ithoun, chamberlains of the borough, calling on them to deliver up the disturbers of the peace, under the penalty of a heavy fine.⁵⁵ And it was not till the succeeding year that the town was finally relieved from the general opprobrium of guilt; when a patent of pardon to the inhabitants was graciously conceded by the king in council, on payment of eleven hundred marks, with the exception of ten of the most notorious offenders, whose names were, Thomas de Beverley and Richard his son, Richard de Boston, John Treylle, John Materasmaker de Beverley, Thomas de Ireland, Roger Coupere, Thomas Tynell, John de Holyme, and Thomas Gue, otherwise called Thomas Greue.⁵⁶

⁵³ Ex. MS. penes me.

⁵⁴ Rot. Parl. 5 Rich. II. c. 32.

⁵⁵ Claus. 5 Rich. II. m. 19.

⁵⁶ Rot. Pat. 6 Rich. II. Corp. Rec. 11 F.

Alexander Nevile, archbishop of York, taking advantage of the confusion in which the late occurrences had involved the country; and conceiving that the civil interdict which had been pronounced against the town of Beverley would lend a sanction to his avaricious designs, seized, without ceremony, on the revenues of the collegiate church, plundered the vicars and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, and violently expelled them from their benefices without due process, in contempt of the royal authority, by which they were protected, and placed other clerks, of his own appointment, in the vacant situations. The canons, thus illegally deprived of the means of subsistence, fled out of the diocese, and dwelt for five years in the diocese of Lincoln, under the benevolent protection of sir Richard de Ravenser. At his death, they wandered from place to place as vagrants, being unprovided with any ecclesiastical employment, and were reduced to the necessity of soliciting alms to supply the wants of nature.⁵⁷ Their desolate condition at length prompted them to lay their very singular case before the two houses of parliament, and a petition was presented by John de Weton, John de Sprotlay, William Wakefield, Richard de Eleghton, and Henry de Beswyk, vicars of the collegiate church at Beverley; William de Garton, late a rector in the same church, and John de Bedale, chaplain of the chantry founded there by the lady Isabella, formerly queen of England, which stated the following facts. In the fourth year of the present reign, a dispute had arisen between the archbishop and the chapter, respecting certain privileges of the church, which was mutually agreed to be left to the decision of a superior tribunal; and it was at length determined by the king in council, that all the rights of the church should remain in precisely the same state as they were before the commencement of this dispute; and that the canons, vicars, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, should occupy and enjoy their benefices in peace and quietness, in the hope that a good understanding might in future subsist between them and their metropolitan. This decision was confirmed by the court at Rome; and the king directed his letters-patent to Robert Rous, gentleman of the king's chamber, and Richard Hembrigg, serjeant at arms, commanding them to proceed to the town of Beverley, and proclaim the determination of the council in the Market-place there. To prevent the execution of this command, the archbishop assembled a great multitude of people who were in his interest, some being inhabitants of

⁵⁷ Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 183. — Ap's qi moriance puis en cea ils ount este come vagantz ou mendinantz, sanz B'nfices ou s'vices a lour t's g'unt meschief, et en defaut de eux pur touz jours.

Beverley, and others brought in from the neighbouring villages by his own servants and retainers. With this force marshalled in the town, the prelate proceeded to the place where the commissioners were preparing to publish the royal proclamation. Here a most disgraceful scene was exhibited. The commissioners were commanded to desist, in language made up of insulting menaces, and threats of violence; and they were too much intimidated by the strength and numbers of the party arrayed against them, to proceed in the execution of their design. The archbishop then deprived the petitioners, and seized on their revenues. They therefore prayed to be restored to the enjoyment of their rights, pursuant to the sentence decreed by the king's council, and confirmed by the court at Rome. In answer to this petition, it was resolved, that a commissi^on should be appointed of sufficient power in the county to reinstate the petitioners in their benefices, that divine service might be regularly performed, according to the intention of the pious founders.⁵⁸

In the 12th year of this reign, the king granted a patent for a chantry at the altar of Saint Catherine, in the chapel of Saint Mary, for the soul of Thomas Gervus, who died A. D. 1388;⁵⁹ and confirmed to the church at Beverley, the thraves of corn and other revenues in the East-riding of Yorkshire,⁶⁰ which had been originally conveyed to it by king Athelstan, and secured by the charters of several successive monarchs; but was part of the property which had so recently been alienated by archbishop Alexander.⁶¹ About this time the building of a bridge was projected by the merchants of Beverley, and provision was made for defraying the expenses of its erection, by obtaining a patent for *pontage*, or a toll payable for all horses passing over it, and for all boats and other vessels passing under it.⁶²

In the year 1391, Thomas Arundel, the new archbishop of York, who proved a generous benefactor to all the churches and manors belonging to the see,⁶³ resolved to digest a regular code of ordinances for the good government of the church of Saint John at Beverley.⁶⁴ He ordained that there should always be nine canons, a precentor, a chancellor, a sacristan, and nine vicars belonging to the church, in which number of canons the archbishop for the time being is always to be included as one, and to possess the chief and first stall in the choir; that if the provostship, which is but a temporary office, when vacant, be not supplied by the canons

⁵⁸ Pet. in Parl. 7 Rich. II. A. D. 1383 and 1384. n. 25.

⁵⁹ Ex. Reg. Archiep. Ebor. p. 185. ⁶⁰ Dugd. Mon. Epit. p. 304.

⁶¹ Drake's Ebor. p. 436. ⁶² Rot. Pat. 14 Rich. II. ⁶³ Drake's Ebor. p. 436.

⁶⁴ Rot. Pat. 15 Rich. II.

within forty days, the appointment for that turn shall lapse to the archbishop and his successors; that all the members of the college, except the canons, be obliged to continual residence; that the provost for the time being pay regularly to each of the canons, out of the funds of the church, the annual sum of ten pounds, by equal quarterly payments; to the precentor, ten pounds; to the chancellor and sacristan, as formerly; to the clerks and vergers, six shillings and eight-pence each; and to the parsons, six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence each. And further, to each of the nine canons and three officers before mentioned, forty-two quarters of oats yearly, and to each vicar, eight pounds per annum; that the provost shall make due and punctual payment of all the sums thus assigned to the ministers, at the appointed times, or within fifteen days, under pain of five marks to the churches of York and Beverley.⁶⁵ And to make these statutes binding, the archbishop obtained letters-patent in the succeeding year, for the college of Saint John; and also for the vicars and the precentor.⁶⁶ And in the year when this indefatigable prelate was translated to Canterbury, he procured a patent for the canons of Beverley, by which they were confirmed in possession of free-warren in Bentley and Gildesdale, in the county of York, which had been granted to Richard de Bentley, by charter of Edward I.⁶⁷ In the following year, another patent was issued, containing a full confirmation of all and singular the statutes and ordinances lately made by archbishop Arundel, with the consent of the chapter, for the better government of the collegiate church of Beverley.⁶⁸

At this period, the town began to assume decided marks of civil government as vested in the burgesses themselves. Much inconvenience had been sustained from the want of some ostensible powers, which might legally authorise a few leading individuals to take upon themselves the direction of the town, to adjust differences without a formal appeal to the provost, to restrain vice, to prevent or punish disorder and crime, and to administer justice within the limits of their jurisdiction. An appeal was therefore made to the existing government for charters, enabling a limited number of the more discreet and opulent burgesses to form themselves into a society or council for the good government of the town, with the power of making private ordinances for the regulation of their commerce, and for other local purposes in which they were peculiarly interested. Arrangements were soon

⁶⁵ Dugd. Monast. Epit. p. 305.

⁶⁶ Rot. Pat. 16 Rich. II.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 20 Rich. II.

⁶⁸ Rot. Pat. 21 Rich. II.

made to effect this salutary change in the internal economy of the borough, and a commission of the peace was addressed to John Markham, William Crosseby, Robert Tyrwhit, Hugh Orden, Richard Tyrwhit, Thomas Lambard, John Redness, and Richard Beverley, empowering them to act as justices of the peace within the liberties of the borough;⁶⁹ and soon afterwards letters-patent were issued by the king in council, constituting twelve governors within the town, who should be invested with the requisite powers to restrain the prevalence of crime, and to regulate, in future, the course of justice within their proper jurisdiction.⁷⁰

In 1398, John de Ake, of Beverley, merchant, died, and by his will left the following bequests to the religious establishments of the town. He gave to the fabric of Saint Mary, 8s. 4d.; to the fabric of Saint John, 6s. 8d.; to the Friars Minors, 8d. on condition that they pray for the good state of his soul, and the souls of all faithful people. He gave to the preaching Friars 6s. 8d. on the same condition; to the Friars Minors, 5s. on condition that they celebrate one yearly mass for his soul, and the souls of all the faithful deceased; and to the preaching Friars the same sum, with the like condition attached. He gave to friar Robert Grovell, 3s. 4d.; to friar William Grovell, 3s. 4d.; to the rector of tithes forgotten, 10s.; to sir William de Scardeburgh, perpetual vicar of the chapel of Saint Mary, 6s. 8d. He gave all his lands and other property, in Beverley, to Eleanor, his wife, to be enjoyed by her during the term of her natural life; and after her decease to be applied to the purpose of erecting and endowing a chapel or chantry on the Cross-Bridge, in Beverley; and for building and endowing a hospital for twenty poor⁷¹; and as often as any vacancy shall occur in the number, by death or otherwise, the twelve governors of Beverley for the time being, after the death of his said wife, shall have the power of appointing a successor; and also of nominating a chaplain to perform divine service in the chantry.⁷²

It does not appear that the inhabitants of Beverley took any decided part in the revolution which placed Henry IV. upon the throne of England, on the deposition of his unfortunate predecessor, whose unnatural murder must have excited universal horror and commiseration. In 1399, Henry landed at Ravenspurne under

⁶⁹ Corp. Rec. 16 June, 20 Rich. II. 11 G. ⁷⁰ Rot. Pat. 21 Rich. II.

⁷¹ Hiatus in MSS.

⁷² Warb. MSS. Lansd. Coll. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 140. The chapel or chantry thus established was soon amply furnished with the necessary apparatus for every celebration; and I subjoin "an abstract of an indenture made between Micho Ryse, Thomas Welton, Will.

colour of recovering possession of his hereditary dukedom, which had been alienated during the period of his banishment; but when he beheld his popularity, and found himself surrounded by innumerable partisans who were willing to hazard life and property in his cause; when many of the principal nobility had arrayed themselves under his standard, headed by the powerful earl of Northumberland; he threw off the mask, and, almost without bloodshed, was placed upon the throne.

Cokerell, and the rest of the governors of Beverley; and Thomas Brown, chaplain of the chantry chapel on the Cross Bridge in Beverley, called Saint Trinities, for the safe keeping and restoring the books, chalices, and other ornaments of the said chapel, of which the following is an inventory:—

	£.	s.	d.
A missall de usu Ebor	4	0	0
One portiform Manuali de usu Ebor	4	0	0
The Indenture of composition and ordination of the Cantrie with St. John's Ch. } in Beverley, under the seal of the chapter and the common seal of the } town, and of y ^e seals of Henry Malpas and Elene Coke	5	0	0
One calice of silver weighing 13½oz.	1	16	8
One campanā of the upper chapell.	0	10	0
Two pannos of linen to hang before the high altar, stained with red.	0	3	4
Four autre cloths de panno lineo to be hung above or near the altar.	0	5	4
Two towels laced at the ends	0	0	10
Two phiolas de stanno app.	0	0	6
One auroular coopt cū panno virid. to be near the missale at time of mass	0	2	0
One aurioular panni cerei virid. vssitat. app. ad.	0	1	0
One auriclar panni cerei red and coupt.	0	0	4
One stole, one fanon de panno y ^e lining painted	0	1	4
One vestment sacerdotale de virid tarteryn pondr c' stellis aureis vz unū Amyt. } l auba l casulam l stolam l fanon in blodio curde liniat et l frontelln de } sad setta pro alter liniat cū panno linio appls. ad	0	6	8
One alme vestimenta sacerdotale de albo samet cū orferays de rubro cerico et } stragulis deauro vz l amicam l aubram l cafulam l stolam l fanona lineat } cū panno linis appls ad	1	0	0
One vestamenti sacerdotale nom' de albo bustian de napilis c' orferays de rubio } cerico et auro pondr viz l amita, l alban, l cafulam, l fanona, l stolam, } et l frontella pro altero de serva ejusdem vestment apps ad.	0	15	8
One sacerdotal vestment, the gift of Margaret de Sheffield, of linen cloth w th } chekey de una anulam l albam, l cassulam, l stole, l fane et l frontelln } for the alter of St. ejusdem vestment app. ad	0	6	8
One frontelln of silk wrought with a needle after the best maner	0	3	0
One frontelln of linen cloth with the head of Christ and the Twelve Apostles	0	1	4
One corpora Cass. of cloth of gold and uno nono corpora in ead. valued at	0	2	0
One corpora Cass. of white velvet with molets of a bloody colour, and l good } corpax	0	1	8
One corporax Cass. of red satyn et virid. et l corporax used valued at	0	1	6
One cubberd of three stages for vestments, books, and other ornaments in his } custody	0	6	0
One image of St. Trinity of alabaster w th a tabernacle of wood painted.	0	6	8
The image of the blessed Mary w th the child Jesus in her right arm, in wood, } well engraved and gilded	2	0	6

As soon as his title was acknowledged by the parliament⁷³ he endeavoured to conciliate the people by grants and charters, which secured former privileges and conveyed new ones. He granted a patent to the town of Beverley, which confirmed all their preceding charters, and renewed all the privileges which had been hitherto conferred on the burgesses;⁷⁴ from whence it may be inferred that they had either lent a sanction to his usurpation, or observed a strict neutrality. Yet were we to argue from the nature of the civil institutions of that period, it would on the other hand rather appear that they had actively opposed the designs of Henry on the crown, or at the least, been decidedly averse to his succession; because they were the tenants and retainers of the archbishop of York, who, though he reluctantly submitted to the king during the first few years of his reign, always considered him in the light of an usurper. This prelate sustained the high reputation of a virtuous and most exemplary man,⁷⁵ yet, on this one point, his views were uniformly hostile to the ambition of Henry; the embers of disaffection smouldered in his breast, and only waited some favourable circumstance to fan them into a flame.

The king was not ignorant of these hostile feelings, and endeavoured by the distribution of favours to soften the prelate's obduracy. He granted, in succession, many royal immunities to his favourite towns of Beverley and Ripon. First he presented the archbishop with an exemplification and allowance of all his liberties in Beverley, Ripon, and elsewhere, on all his lands and possessions.⁷⁶ This was followed by a patent to his church at Beverley, allowing the provost there to retain

	£.	s.	d.
Another figure of the Virgin Mary and her infant Jesus, well ornamented in alabaster	0	3	4
One crucifix of wood, with the image of Mary and St. John the Evangelist fixt to the wall above the alter, well painted and ornamented	0	3	4
One image portable, with the image of the dead Christ, very mean	0	1	8
One image of St. Anne, and the image of the blessed Virgin well sculped and painted	0	6	8
Two little tabernacles painted and gilt with gold above the alter	0	1	8
One P. of cloth worked with a needle, to hang before the alter on festivals	0	1	8
One Campedem, w th 1 Caspell Latin hanging in the chapel	0	1	4
One Scabella inferiore pte chapelle et 3 Scabella in the other pts of the chapell..	0	3	0
Two candlesticks of iron and 1 holy water pot of lead	0	2	8

Warb. MSS. Lansd. Coll. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 42.

⁷³ Knyghton. p. 2757.

⁷⁴ Rot. Pat. 1 Henry IV. Corp. Rec. 28 Nov. 1399. 12 A.

⁷⁵ Walsing. Drake. Ebor. p. 438. ⁷⁶ Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV.

all his privileges and immunities;⁷⁷ and also another for the fraternity of the blessed Mary.⁷⁸ In the same year, an inquisition was held to determine whether it would be to the damage of the king, if John de Bridlington gave to a chantry priest, at Beverley, certain lands there for his better maintenance.⁷⁹ Roger Flex, clerk, gave to the chapter of Saint John, seven messuages with the appurtenances, in Beverley, to provide a chaplain to celebrate divine service every day⁸⁰ for his soul, and those of his ancestors; which was confirmed by royal patent.⁸¹ And about the same time letters-patent were issued to the masters of the fabric,⁸² enabling them to receive a donation from Richard de Chesterfield, consisting of messuages and lands in Beverley, the annual profits of which were to be applied to the reparation and ornament of the church.⁸³ The king then granted charters to the archbishop⁸⁴ and to the burgesses of Beverley,⁸⁵ confirming those of king Athelstan and others; and further ordaining that in future for ever, no king's officer, whether marshal, steward or clerk, should enter their joint or several liberties in that town, to interfere in their markets, or to interrupt by any proceedings whatever, their course of policy for the management of their own affairs.

But all this was ineffectual to mollify the indignation of archbishop Scrope, and in the year 1405, appearing in the field at the head of an army, he was taken and beheaded along with the earl marshal, sir John Lamplugh, and others;⁸⁶ and the king placed the custody of the city of York in the hands of commissioners, appointed by himself, until he had taken ample vengeance on all the adherents of the unfortunate prelate there.⁸⁷ Still the town of Beverley escaped punishment, which renders the conjecture exceedingly probable that the inhabitants had remained neutral during the struggle.

In the ninth year of his reign, this monarch granted a patent for a chantry in the collegiate church of Beverley, dedicated to Saint Anne;⁸⁸ and another in the

⁷⁷ Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. IV.

⁷⁸ Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. IV. ⁷⁹ Inquis. ad quod dam. 2. Hen. IV.

⁸⁰ Inquis. ad quod dam. 3. Hen. IV.

⁸¹ Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. IV. ⁸² Ibid. 3 Hen. IV. ⁸³ Inquis. ad quod dam. 3 Hen. IV.

⁸⁴ Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. IV.

⁸⁵ Corp. Rec. 23 Aug. 1404. 12 B. Witness the king himself. Dated at Lichfield. Pat. 5. Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 9. Rymer. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 369.

⁸⁶ Drake's Ebor. p. 107. ⁸⁷ Hollins. Chron. vol. iii. p. 38. Quarto Edit.

⁸⁸ Rot. Pat. 9 Hen. IV.

twelfth, for the dean (pro decano) of the same church.⁸⁹ Robert Beverley, of Beverley, gave to John, the rector of Saint Nicholas's church, an annual rent of 8s. arising out of property in that town; and Richard Creyk assigned to the chapter of Saint John, six messuages and certain lands with the appurtenances there.⁹⁰

And so ends the reign of king Henry IV. which is barren of incident, as far as relates to the town of Beverley, and produced few events that deserve to be transmitted to posterity.⁹¹ The people of England generally were, as yet, only half civilized, and could bear unmoved the recurrence of sights, as well as commit actions which ought to be esteemed most shocking to humanity. Who could bear, in our more refined times, to behold the mangled limbs of a dismembered human being publicly exposed to the gaze and insult of the multitude. Yet in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such scenes were of common occurrence. Archbishop Scrope was beheaded at the beginning of this reign, and his head was fixed on a pole, and placed on the walls of the city of York, where it long remained a spectacle for vulgar eyes, and a standing jest for the enemies of religion.⁹² In February 1407—8, the unfortunate earl of Northumberland suffered death, and his head, white with age, being severed from his body, was sent to London, and placed on the bridge, at the summit of a pole; his body was quartered, and one part was placed on a gate in London, another at Lincoln, a third at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the fourth at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where they remained until the following May.⁹³ A still more horrible display took place during the same reign. The earl of Huntingdon, sir Thomas Blount, and sir Benedict Seley were executed for treason, and their quarters were carried to London to be publicly exhibited. The people received them with exultation; and the procession was headed by the earl of Rutland, carrying on a pole the head of lord Spencer, *his brother in law*, which he presented in triumph to Henry, as a testimony of his loyalty.⁹⁴ The people that were capable of enduring such scenes as these with satisfaction and delight, could have made but small progress towards civilization. About this time too, the indulgence of private hatred and revenge was carried to an extremity which even barbarians might be ashamed of. To seize an enemy by

⁸⁹ Rot. Pat. 12 Hen. IV. ⁹⁰ Inquis. ad quod dam. 11 Hen. IV.

⁹¹ Hume. Eng. vol. iii. p. 82. ⁹² Walsing. Drake. Ebor. p. 107.

⁹³ Claus. 9 Hen. IV. Collin's Peerage, by Brydges, vol. ii. p. 265.

⁹⁴ Hume. Eng. vol. iii. p. 64.

surprize in the dark and to cut out his tongue, or deprive him of sight, was of such common occurrence, that an act of parliament was passed for its suppression.⁹⁵

King Henry V. in the first year of his reign, gave to the borough of Beverley a charter, confirming its former liberties, and empowering the twelve governors to appoint annually a president or chief governor, who should be invested with the supreme authority in the borough for the current year;⁹⁶ which was followed in the succeeding year by letters-patent, confirming the jurisdiction of the twelve governors appointed by charter of Richard II. authorizing any four, three, or two of the most discreet persons amongst them to act as justice of the peace within the said town and its precincts; and prohibiting the justices of the East-riding from interfering with the due execution of justice as administered by these functionaries.⁹⁷ About the same time Richard Sutton, of Beverley, clerk, and John Bilton, after an inquisition, gave to the governors and commonality of the town, a certain piece of land there called Gillicroft, for ever, in aid of the funds of the borough.⁹⁸

In the next year a curious circumstance occurred at Beverley, which illustrates, in a striking manner, the unbridled licence of these turbulent times. John Brompton, of Beverley, merchant, and collector of the quinzieme, had a free tenement in Beverley, which was claimed by John de Hayton, and Eleanor his wife, and a litigated cause ensued, which Brompton attended at York to defend; and it should appear from subsequent circumstances, that a decision was pronounced in his favour. On his return from York, accompanied by a small number of attendants, he was waylaid by Hayton and a posse of his companions, to the number of twenty-four persons, several of them being armed with bows and arrows, and all masked or otherwise disguised. Their intention was, doubtless, to murder the object of their resentment, as many arrows were discharged from behind the ambuscade, and one of his attendants was maimed, and himself and all the rest dangerously wounded. They escaped however with life; and a petition was presented by Brompton to the house of commons, stating these facts, and adding, that "the said John Hayton and his accomplices, still threatened to murder the petitioner, and vowed that they would take no rest until they had accomplished their design; so

⁹⁵ Rot. Parl. 5 Hen. IV. ⁹⁶ Rot. Pat. 1 Henry V. Corp. Rec. 30 June, 1414. 13 A.

⁹⁷ Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. 5. Corp. Rec. 8 Feb. 2 Hen. V. 13 B.

⁹⁸ Inquis' ad quod dam. 1 Hen. V.

that he dare not appear in public, nor proceed in the collection of the *quinzieme*. The petition further states, that the said petitioner had with him a considerable sum of public money at the time of this horrible attack; and that, by being in constant jeopardy of his life, his mercantile and other business must be altogether suspended without the royal protection. The petitioner therefore prays, that the chancellor of England, by the authority of parliament, may issue his writ to the sheriff of Yorkshire, that the said John Hayton and his accomplices, be summoned to appear before the chancellor on a certain specified day, to answer the above charges, and to give sufficient security to keep the peace towards the said petitioner; and if they do not appear at the appointed time, that each of them be subject to a penalty to the king of one hundred marks."

To this petition the following answer was returned. "We grant a writ of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in this matter to John Brompton, for the justices of assize in the county of York, to proceed on record against Richard Hayton and John his son; to see that they give a reasonable and sufficient security to the said John Brompton, for keeping the peace; and that they appear in chancery, by the authority of parliament, to give such other security as shall be required."⁹⁹

About this time, letters-patent were issued for the chantry of the blessed Mary in Beverley,¹ enabling the chaplain thereof to receive the benefit of a donation from Nicholas Ryse, consisting of divers lands and appurtenances in that town.² And Henry Bowet, then archbishop of York, granted a licence to Nicholas Chamberlayne, of Beverley, draper, to assign six messuages, fourteen cottages, three acres of land, and the same quantity of meadow, to the twelve governors of the town and the community thereof, on the condition that they provide two chaplains to celebrate divine service every day for ever, in the chapel of Saint Mary, for the souls of Thomas Kelke, late a burgess of this town, and Alicia his wife; and also for the souls of John de Kelke his son, and Margaret his wife.³ And the same archbishop made a petition to the king, who with the consent of his parliament, confirmed to him all the liberties of his church, with this clause; "and further grants and confirms to him, that he and his officers may hold the sheriffs tourn within the towns of Beverley and Ripon; and there hear, and determine and

⁹⁹ Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. V.—A. D. 1415. No. 22. ¹ Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. V

² Inquis. ad quod dam. 2 Hen. V.

³ Ex. Reg. Hen. Bowet. Archiep. Ebor. part ii. an. 1408 to 1423. p. 184. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 47. Inquis. ad quod dam. 2 Hen. V.

punish all manner of felonies, as justices of the peace, notwithstanding any liberties granted to the town of Beverley to the contrary," all which are therein abrogated, nullified, and absolutely repealed.⁴ And in a solemn convocation held at London in the same year, it was decreed, that the seventh day of May, the day of the death of Saint John of Beverley, should be annually kept holy throughout England, as a perpetual memorial of that prelate's peculiar sanctity;⁵ and also the feast of his translation, (25th October) on account of a popular belief that the victory of Agincourt, gained on that day, was owing to the merits and intercession of the saint;⁶ for Walsingham writes, that in the year 1421, after the coronation of Catherine of France, at Westminster, the king and queen made a progress through England to York; and from thence they went to visit the church of Saint John, at Beverley. There had been a current report, widely and confidently circulated throughout the kingdom, that the tomb of the saint had sweat blood all the day on which that battle was fought; and Henry, a zealous Roman Catholic prince, thought it his duty to make a pilgrimage to the church, and offer up his grateful devotions at the holy sanctuary.⁷

King Henry VI. at the beginning of his eventful and most unpropitious reign, gave, in imitation of his predecessors, two charters of *inspeximus* to the burgesses of Beverley, confirming the liberties contained in archbishop Thurstan's charter, and also in those of the 21 and 56 Henry III. of the latter of which, it appears that no mention is made in the rolls of that period.⁸ About this time, Robert Nevile, the twenty-seventh provost of Beverley, built a tower to the bedern, where now stood the provost's house;⁹ and procured letters-patent of the king, containing a full confirmation of all the manors, lands, and liberties assigned to him in virtue of his office, by Edward the Confessor, William I. and by a charter of the 26 Henry III. whether they be written in Saxon or Latin.¹⁰ In the 19th year of his

⁴ Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. V. A. D. 1415. No. 25, Vid. App. D. Rot. Chart. 3 & 4 Hen. V.

⁵ Lynwoode. Provinc. p. 104. Godwin. de presul. p. 564. Wilk. Conc. t. iii. p. 397. Dugd. Monast. vol. ii. p. 127.

⁶ Ex. Reg. Clyfford. Episc. Lond. fol. 72. Rym. Fæd. tom. ix. p. 420.

⁷ Drake's Ebor. p. 109. ⁸ Rot Pat. 1 Hen. VI. Corp. Rec. 10 May, 1423. 14. A. 14 B.

⁹ Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 103.

¹⁰ Rot. Pat. 6 Hen. VI. At this time, as appears by an ancient *compotus* amongst the records of the corporation, made in the year 1437, the names of the twelve governors of Beverley were, Thomas Constable, William Bylton, William Spenser, Thomas Caldebeck, S. Yarbro, Thomas Swanland, William Weneslay, William Trentham, John Copendale, William Bene, Stephen Tilson, and Adam Oughtibrig.

reign, the same monarch granted a patent for the chapter of the church;¹¹ confirming a donation of three messuages which had been assigned by Thomas Sproatley, in aid of the fund for keeping the church in good and substantial repair.¹² In the next year the king confirmed to the archbishop all his liberties contained in the charters of Edward the Confessor, William I. Henry I. and Stephen, whether in Beverley, Ripon, or elsewhere.¹³

A dispute between Beverley and South-Cave now engaged the public attention. It arose from a claim made by the burgesses of Beverley of exemption from toll in the latter town. Legal proceedings had been resorted to during the reign of Richard II. by one of the burgesses, against the collector of tolls in South-Cave, for having unjustly enforced payment; and the cause had been decided in favour of the plaintiff. A similar claim having been renewed at this time, the governors of Beverley procured an exemplification of the former plea of trespass, and verdict thereupon, between Thomas Chandler, a burgess of Beverley, and Thomas Davill and John Spicer, the collectors of toll for South-Cave; in which it is recorded that the jury found for Thomas Chandler, the plaintiff. This exemplification was exhibited as a decisive proof that the burgesses of Beverley were legally exonerated from toll within the parish of South-Cave, and their right was reluctantly admitted.¹⁴

Another dispute, of a still more important nature, took place about this time, between the burgesses of Beverley and the men of Kingstone-upon-Hull, respecting a passage for their vessels through the river Hull into the Humber, free of toll. All the ancient charters of Beverley contain a clause which conveys to the burgesses an exemption from wharfage, passage, keyage, &c. throughout all the towns and places in England, and coasts of the sea, the city of London only excepted. And in the reign of Edward I. the archbishop of York claimed, and was allowed, a jurisdiction in the river Hull, from ancient usage, to have wreck and waif in that river, and coroners of his own appointment to collect the same; and he further claimed a right to the first tasting of wine, and of purchasing that and all other merchandize, which should be exposed for sale within the port of Hull, immediately after the king's prisage.¹⁵ And the archbishop had delegated to the town of Beverley a free passage of the breadth of twenty-four feet and one grain of barley, along the

¹¹ Rot. Pat. 19 Hen. VI. ¹² Inquis. ad quod dam. 14 or 15 Hen. VI.

¹³ Rot. Pat. 20 Hen. VI. ¹⁴ Corp. Rec. 23 Hen. VI. 14 C.

¹⁵ Vide ut supra. p. 164, 209.

mid-stream of the river. In defiance of such a series of evidence, the men of Kingstone-upon-Hull, which was now become a populous and wealthy town, detained the vessels belonging to the burgesses of Beverley, and would not allow them to pass without the payment of a toll, imposed without any legal warrant, and consequently not capable of being recovered by a process at law. A suit however was prosecuted in the star chamber, for the purpose of determining this important point. The merchants of Beverley produced their charters, so well established by repeated confirmations, and contended that the toll which was now attempted to be imposed upon them was a direct and illegal infringement of their ancient privileges, so abundantly secured by ancient usage and royal favour. The opposite party answered, that the present outlet to the Humber was not the river Hull; that the mouth of Hull had long been warped up by the diversion of its current into Sayer Creek,¹⁶ which had been cut for the convenience of the port of Hull; and that therefore, though they admitted the rights of their opponents in the waters of Hull, they denied that any such rights extended to Sayer Creek, which had been confirmed to the town of Hull by royal charter. They further urged, that the words of the Beverley charters referred to a *passage*, &c. by land, and not by water; and that therefore they were inapplicable in the present case. To this the burgesses of Beverley replied, that the people of Kingstone-upon-Hull had committed a manifest encroachment on their property by presuming to divert the current of their ancient river from its accustomed course, thereby attempting to deprive them of their most valuable privileges in it;—that this aggression would not have been permitted, but on the equitable consideration that in promoting their own peculiar interests, the men of Hull would not attempt to injure their neighbours, but would allow them the privilege of free ingress and egress as formerly;—that it was absurd to argue that the words “*passage*, *keyage*, *wharfage*,” &c. applied alone to land, because the two latter must evidently refer to the water, and to that alone. The contest was protracted through a long period; and it must be concluded that the town of Beverley had the advantage, for a decision was not given against them, and they continued to trade as formerly, without being subject to the imposition of toll.¹⁷

In the year 1448, king Henry VI. spent some days at the hospitable mansion of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, son of that celebrated warrior who was

¹⁶ Mr. Frost thinks that the drain called Sayer Creek, was cut by Saer de Sutton, so early as the reign of John. Notices relative to the Early History of Hull, p. 32.

¹⁷ Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII.

surnamed Hotspur, at Leckonfield. It is needless to add that the earl was a steady friend to this monarch amidst all his vicissitudes, for the page of history affords the most honourable testimony to the persevering loyalty, and faithful attachment of this illustrious nobleman. From thence the king visited Beverley, on which town he had already conferred some substantial marks of his esteem; and he was received by the inhabitants with enthusiastic cheers, and respectful greetings and salutations; for Beverley was a loyal town, and its inhabitants possessed much of that innate love for the royal authority, connected with the civil and social institutions of the state, which constitutes the great characteristic trait of true and obedient subjects. The king inspected the minster with all the minuteness of eager curiosity; suggested improvements; rectified what he considered to be erroneous, and endeavoured to supply that, which in his opinion was deficient; and amongst other things, he granted a patent for the chantry of Saint Catharine, enabling the chaplains to hold property in mortmain to a specified amount.¹⁸ In the town he found the footways imperfect, and gave the burgesses a patent, enabling them to impose a toll for ten years for the purpose of making them compleat.¹⁹ His majesty was attended on this occasion by the earl of Northumberland, whom he now constituted high constable of England, with permission either to execute the duties of that exalted office by himself, or his sufficient deputy, in such manner as John Viscount Beaumont held it.²⁰ And soon after he gave the burgesses of Beverley letters-patent, specifying the tolls which they might lawfully take by water;²¹ and in 1454, he granted letters-patent to the chantry of Corpus Christi in Beverley, enabling the chaplains to hold land in mortmain.²²

The hostility between the houses of York and Lancaster now raged with great fierceness throughout England, and the country suffered all the horrors incident to civil and unnatural warfare. The nobility were divided, each party ranging itself under the banners of Henry or of Edward; and the termination of the contest appeared to be distant and uncertain, from the fluctuating success of each adverse party. Happily the town under our consideration, being chiefly occupied by merchants and ecclesiastics, did not enter deeply into the great question which

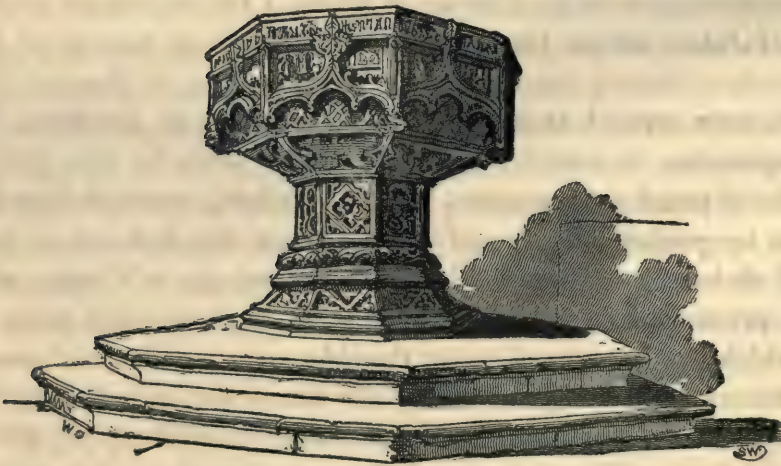
¹⁸ Rot. Pat. 28 Hen. VI.

¹⁹ Rot. Pat. 28 Hen. VI. Corp. Rec. dated at Leicester, 5 May, 28 Hen. VI. 14 D.

²⁰ Rot. Pat. 28 Hen. VI. Collins. Peerage, by Brydges, vol. ii. p. 276.

²¹ Corp. Rec. 18 Feb. 1450. ²² Rot. Pat. 33 Hen. VI.

agitated the country, nor did the inhabitants imbrue their hands in blood by active operations in either hostile army. They were adherents of the house of Lancaster by principle, but being of peaceable professions, with a single exception, they did not draw their sword in the fray. The historian, thus relieved from the disagreeable necessity of enlarging on circumstances repugnant to the best feelings of humanity, enters cheerfully on a review of transactions which are more congenial to the mind, and consigns to oblivion the hateful record of events, in which man thirsts for his brother's blood; where the arm of the parricide is raised against a parent's life, and the nearest and dearest ties of kindred are incapable of restraining the bitter expressions of deadly hate and inextinguishable animosity. Suffice it to say, that two heroic earls of Northumberland perished in the contest, which at length hurled the unfortunate Henry from the throne, and placed the kingdom at the disposal of his opponent, who was acknowledged king under the title of Edward IV.



Font in Saint Mary's Church, Beverley.

Chap. VI.

General view of the town—Dwelling-houses—Pavements—Fortifications—Parish churches—Religious houses—Minster—Influence of the church—Fraternity of minstrels—Richard Cockerell, of Beverley, attainted of high treason—Charter of Edward IV.—Trinities founded—Disputes between the governors and burgesses—Ordinance of the archbishop—Seven rectors incorporated—Sanctuary claimed—Earl of Northumberland murdered by the populace—His splendid funeral at Beverley—Sanctuary once more claimed—Ordinances of the four yeomen—Style of living in this age—Northumberland household book—Tower of Saint Mary's church falls—Rebuilt—Tabernacle work over the stalls in the minster built—Charter of Henry VIII.—Two fellowships founded in Saint John's college, Cambridge, for the benefit of natives of Beverley.

WE have now arrived at an epoch in the history of Beverley, which it is of some importance to consider minutely. The town, at this period, had attained a point of proud pre-eminence, which it probably never afterwards exceeded. It had risen by gradual but perceptible steps from the darkness of paganism, to the light of christianity; from the imperfect knowledge of Christ, which distinguished the primitive converts in the wood of Deira, to the full blaze of religious splendour which it now enjoyed, under the able superintendence of an enlightened priesthood, sanctioned by the immediate protection of the primate himself. Having therefore attained the summit of the mountain, we will pause and enjoy the enlivening prospect, and recreate ourselves by viewing the objects which surround us on every side.

The town of Beverley was now completed after the best fashion of the times, and contained a great proportion of good houses for the residence of the merchants and principal people. During the past century, no less than twenty-one patents

had been granted to it for paving the streets and footways,¹ nine others having been previously conceded for the same purpose; and as few were subsequently called for, we may reasonably infer that the town was now brought to that state of perfection, in this respect, as not to need any further improvement. The question whether the town was surrounded by walls and fortifications has afforded matter for conjecture, and has produced two opinions decidedly hostile to each other. The number of streets in Beverley which still retain the cognomen of "gate," has given rise to the idea that the town was regularly walled, and this appears to be confirmed by the fact, that an entrance gate still remains called the North-Bar, which has been undoubtedly fortified; and two others in Keld-gate and Newbegin, can be remembered. And further, we are told by Verstegan that the word "Bury or Borough signifieth a town having a walle or some kynd of closure about it. All places that in old tyme had among our anceters the name of bourough, were places one way or other fensed or fortified."² This word is derived, says our authority, from the Saxon *Birighe*, to hide or bury, because soldiers were hid behind the walls from the enemy's view as securely as a corpse when it is buried in the earth. And an authentic document remains, which *appears* to afford an indubitable proof of the early existence of walls and fortifications. This document is in the form of a petition to the king in council; in which "the burgesses of Beverley pray that it would please his majesty to confirm the charters which his ancestors granted to them, *to surround the town with a wall and a ditch*; and that they may be lawfully enabled to levy on each person (residing in the town) in proportion to the value of his property, a sum of money sufficient for the expenses which they may incur, at present or in future, about the said inclosure, with a wall and a ditch, for the improvement and security of the borough of Beverley."³ The answer to this petition was, "The king wishes to consult the archbishop of York, and to see their charters; and it shall afterwards be done as he shall think proper."⁴ In opposition to this reasoning, it is urged by others, that we possess

¹ These patents were respectively dated, 33 Hen. III. 39 Hen. III. 13 Edw. I. 30 Edw. I. 2 Edw. II. 14 Edw. III. 39 Edw. III. 44 Edw. III. 49 Edw. III. 1 Rich. II. 4 Rich. II. 8 Rich. II. 10 Rich. II. 12 Rich. II. 1 Hen. IV. 4 Hen. IV. 8 Hen. IV. 12 Hen. IV. 1 Hen. V. 2 Hen. V. 4 Hen. V. 1 Hen. VI. 2 Hen. VI. 6 Hen. VI. 12 Hen. VI. 19 Hen. VI. 28 Hen. VI. 1 Edw. IV.

² Verst. Rest. Dec. Int. p. 211. ³ Pet. in Parl. 15 and 16 Edw. II. No. 39.

⁴ I subjoin the petition and response in their original language. A nostre Seign'r le Roy et a son Conseil prient les Burgeys de Beverle, q'il pleyse au dit nostre Seign'r le Roy confermer les Chartres q'il oun de ses Auncestres, jady's Roys d'Engleter', de la dite Vile de Beverle

tolerably accurate evidence that the town of Beverley was not surrounded by any defensive fortifications, and that its only security was a wide and deep ditch. As an ecclesiastical town, possessing the privilege of sanctuary, it does not appear to have needed any human means of defence, when, in those ages of superstition and credulity, it was believed to have experienced, on so many occasions, the visible interposition of heaven. William the Conqueror, by a divine impulse, afforded his protection to this town, even when employed in ravaging and desolating the county.⁶ Stephen had resolved to fortify the town, but was deterred by a supposed voice from heaven.⁶ These may be considered as negative proofs that it was not surrounded with walls. It is clear from the petition already cited, that there existed no walls anterior to the reign of Edward II. and we possess no subsequent documents to prove that any active operations towards carrying the wishes of the burgesses into effect, resulted from the petition; for we find no mention of walls in the public records of the town. In the chartulary of Beverley,⁷ frequent reference is made to the "gates and dytches;" the "*Barr dyke*," "*West Bar dyke*," "*Fossatum villæ*," &c. so early as the fourteenth century; a presumptive proof that ditches and gates constituted its chief defence. When Edward IV. made his second successful attempt upon the crown in 1471, he landed with 2,000 followers at Ravenspurne, and sent out parties in different directions to sound the inhabitants. When he found that they had received orders not to lend any sanction to his pretensions, and that the gates of Hull were actually closed against him, he marched *through Beverley* to York, which also refused to receive him. Now if the town of Beverley had possessed bulwarks of defence capable of resisting the approaches of Edward's army, they must, in that case, be supposed to have received him favourably; and if so, he would certainly have entrenched himself here, and not have hazarded, in person, an expedition to York, without possessing any evidence of their favourable opinion. Leland, in his Itinerary, tells us, that in his time, "he could not perceyve that ever hit was waulled, though they be certen gates of stone portcolesed for

encloer de mure et de fosse. Et qe eaus puyssent lever de touz ceaus de la dite Vile de Beverle, solom la quantite de chescun benes and chateaus, les despenses qe eaus ount mys ore de novel, and en temps a venir mettrount, entour la dite enclostour de mure and de fosse, en amendement and en assurauns de la Vile de Beverle avaunt dit.

Responsio. Le Roi vent parler a l'Ercevesq; d'Ev'wyk, and ver lour Chartres, and fere ceo q' ly plerra. Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 394.

⁶ Vide ut supra. p. 67. ⁶ Vid. ut supra. p. 90.

⁷ Lansd. MS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 189.

defense." In the time of the civil war, Beverley had no walls,⁸ and is termed "an open place, by no means tenable;"⁹ and when the marquis of Newcastle was under the necessity of raising the siege of Hull, he was advised by sir William Widdrington to fortify the church and some parts of the town of Beverley, that a garrison might be left there as a check upon the garrison at Hull. And during the same unhappy contest, an order was issued by the corporation for the better security of the town, that *the ditches be cut*, and the bars be kept locked and guarded, from nine at night till six in the morning.¹⁰ Besides, there remain no vestiges of the existence of walls, either by the voice of tradition, or the discovery of old foundations in any part of the town which has hitherto undergone the process of excavation. Nor can we find in the patent rolls a single grant, at any period, of a toll for building or repairing the walls of Beverley; which, if such walls had existed would appear rather extraordinary, favoured as the town has always been by royal munificence in every other particular; and finding the recurrence of such patents frequent to all places which actually possessed the advantage of such a means of defence against the attacks of external foes.

Be this as it may, the town possessed other advantages which appear of greater and more vital importance to its true interests. It had a most magnificent minster, and two parish churches, together with several hospitals and religious houses, which conferred many essential advantages, both temporal and spiritual, on the town and its inhabitants; for these institutions were of great utility, and the monks and canons employed their revenues to purposes equally honourable and praiseworthy. The religious houses were indeed places of the most unbounded hospitality, and thus became the conservators of benefits, for the loss of which, at the dissolution, no subsequent establishment has been able fully to compensate. Authors speak in terms of decided approbation of the public advantages resulting from the profuse hospitality generally observed in the monastic foundations. Even Hume, who was no friend to this order of men, could say, "in order to dissipate their revenues and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted

⁸ Vid. Rushworth. Collect. June, 1643.

⁹ Tick. Hull, p. 481. Memoirs of Gen. Fairfax. Edit. 1810. p. 98.

¹⁰ Corp. Rec. 13 Oct. 1642.

at the tables of the friars.”¹¹ The monasteries were in effect so many great hospitals; most of them being compelled by their statutes to afford subsistence to a certain number of poor people every day. They were likewise houses of entertainment to all travellers. Even the nobility and gentry, when they passed from place to place in distant parts of the kingdom, lodged at one religious house, and dined at another, and seldom went to inns. In a word, their hospitality was such, that in the priory of Norwich alone, 1500 quarters of malt, and above 800 quarters of wheat, with all other things in proportion, were generally consumed every year.¹² The testimonies which concur to prove the general utility of monastic institutions in these times, are numerous. “They were the conservators of all the learning and science in the land; they taught each rising generation the value and uses of literature; they multiplied copies of scarce and inestimable books, which, without their industrious perseverance, would have been lost to the world. And in spite of all the vices of the monkish orders, in spite of all the errors of their religion, there is still an obligation due to them which no time can cancel. They preserved the valuable remains of Grecian and Roman literature, without which, who can say that Europe, at this day, would not have been involved in the shades of barbarity.”¹³

In a cursory view of Beverley, as it existed in the fifteenth century, its beautiful minster must not be overlooked. This noble edifice had been erected on a distinguishable, though not particularly elevated site, although the hill would overtop the general level of the district much more prominently than is perceptible now, after the adjacent ground has been advanced by the accumulations of so many centuries. Conspicuous and massive, it met the eye from numerous remote points, with impressive grandeur and unspeakable effect. Towering in native majesty above the surrounding buildings, it struck the beholder with equal awe and veneration. On a nearer approach, the elegant and unrivalled western towers; the judicious proportions observed throughout the edifice; the excellence of its materials, now shining out in all their pristine beauty, and the general symmetry and fine taste exhibited in its construction, must have afforded to every beholder, a series of gratifying objects, seldom so happily combined. And when the admirer of this pleasing display of scientific knowledge reflected on the high and glorious purpose to which it had been dedicated, his thoughts would ascend spontaneously to heaven, and with a heart imbued with gratitude and love, he would devoutly

¹¹ Hume. Eng. vol. iv. p. 184. ¹² Tan. Notit. Pref. xx.

¹³ Berington. Hen. II. p. 632.

adore that holy Being who condescends to hear the petitions of his creatures, and confers on them an *understanding* sufficient to estimate his boundless mercies ; and *wealth* and *genius* to erect such splendid edifices to his honour, and the glory of his name.

In stating this as the period of supreme prosperity, it is not meant to be insinuated that the town never attained a subsequent celebrity. But in Roman Catholic countries the influence of the church supersedes every other influence ; and in towns where it shines with supreme lustre, by the existence of an extensive and opulent ecclesiastical establishment, invested with jurisdiction and the exercise of civil power, as was the case at Beverley, a kind of predominance is conveyed, with which mere temporal distinctions cannot compete. Like the eagle soaring in the blaze of sunshine, while inferior birds shrink from the dazzling brightness of its beams, the church looked down from her lofty station on the secular estates, and kept them at an unapproachable distance. But soon this splendid appearance was compressed within a more limited sphere of action. The rapid increase of the port of Hull, by depriving Beverley of some of its merchants, circumscribed also its influence, and its means of resisting the persevering encroachments of its more fortunate rival ; and the haven of the more recent port, communicating immediately with the Humber, offered such superior facilities for general commerce, that the foreign trade of Beverley was gradually transferred to Hull. These causes, added to the shock which the dissolution of monasteries gave to the town by the alienation of its church property, prevented any remarkable accession, from about this period, of either wealth or influence.

A fraternity of minstrels or gleemen had been established in Beverley during the reign of Athelstan, and were supported by their profession in great pomp for many ages after the Norman Conquest ; and even now they appear to have existed in honour and credit.¹⁴ The church of Saint Mary underwent a thorough repair about this time, and several new decorations were added to the edifice. Here the minstrels determined to leave behind them an evidence of their importance and public spirit which could never be obliterated. They therefore erected one of the columns on the north side of the church, and sculptured on its capital an emblematical device which was characteristic of their profession. On this column are represented four men in the minstrel's uniform, with an inscription in church

¹⁴ Vid, *infra*, p. 3. c. 7. and Append. M.

text, *Thys Wyllor made the Meynsyrls*. They have in their hands the various instruments of music used in these ages; a crowth, a guitar, a treble and a bass flute, a side drum and a tabor, which, being played together, would produce a complete and harmonious concert, and were unquestionably the instruments employed for that purpose by the fraternity at Beverley. The figures are coloured, and their short coats painted blue, with red stockings, yellow girdles and stocks. Between the spring of all the other arches, are figures of angels holding scrolls, and having inscriptions on their breasts.

In the first year of Edward's reign, Richard Cockerell, of Beverley, gentleman, was attainted of high treason, for the part he had taken in the unhappy contest which had deformed the conclusion of the late reign, and his possessions were confiscated, and conveyed by letters-patent to John Fereby, a yeoman of the crown; and in the act of Resumption, passed in the seventh year of his reign, it was provided, that "nothing in this act nor any other made, or to be made in the present parliament, shall extend or be prejudicial in any wise to the said John Fereby, of a graunte beryng date the XVIII day of Feverer, in the II^{de} yere of oure reigne, of all londes, tenementes, rentes, reversiones, servicez, and all other possessions, with all their appurtenauncez in Beverley, Mylcroft, or ellswwhere within our county of York; the which late perteyned to Richard Cokerell, gentilman, and the which by vertue of an acte of atteynder made in oure parlement, holden at Westm' the IIIIth day of Novembr', in the first yere of oure reigne, came to oure handez, and the which atteyneth to the value of Xli. yerely, over the charges and reprises; to be had and holden to the same John for terme of his lif, by service thereof due and of right accustomed in certeyn maner and fourm in the same letterz patentez specified."¹⁵

In 1461, king Edward IV. granted to the burgesses, by charter, a full confirmation of the immunities contained in the charters of 21 and 56 of Henry III;¹⁶ and about the same time the Trinities were founded in Beverley.¹⁷ The appointment of a limited number of governors, invested with certain exclusive powers above their fellow burgesses, how necessary soever for the general welfare of the town, appears to have excited some sensations of envy and dissatisfaction. Whether these new authorities were stretched beyond the prescribed limit, and produced oppression and tyranny, we are not informed, but the voice of slander had imputed

¹⁵ Rot. Parl. 7 and 8 Edw. IV. ¹⁶ Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. IV. Corp. Rec. 17 Dec. 1461. 15 A.

¹⁷ Burton, Mon. Ebor. p. 57.

to them crimes of which they were not guilty. Dispute and recrimination ran at length so high as to disturb the peace of the town; and the impediments to the due exercise of legal authority became so numerous, that the twelve governors were under the necessity of preferring an appeal to the archbishop, who took the trouble of examining into the circumstances of the case; and the following ordinance which he made on the subject, will shew the anxiety of this worthy prelate to promote the peace and welfare of the town.

George by the grace of God, Archebisshop of Yorke, Primate of Englande and of the Apostolique See Legate and Chanceler &c.

To our Tennants and all the other inhabitants within the Towne of Beverley to whome these our Presentes shall come to gretynge. Know ye that for the unite peas and concorde betwene our righte well beloved the xij Governors of our said towne and Thomas Dickson, William Dowthorpe, Adam Newmarke, William Richer, Robert Alured, Robert Payn and William Taillor of the same; we have decreed and will and charge that the said Thomas and all his fellows upon paine that to the contrarie hereoff may ensew, conform them to say, doo and accomplish this our charge and commandment in maner and forme as foloweth that is to Witt.

That the sayd Thomas Dickson and every of his felowes for there governance and judging that they in tyme passed have used and done contrarie to our franchies liberties and customes of the same schall in the Guilde hawles of oure said Town aske the said Governors of this same forgivenessse and prey yem to be their gude Maisters and frends.

And also the said Thomas Dickson and every of his Fellewes Schalle bonde in several obligacons unto the said Governors that thei and everye of them schall frem hensforth be of gude beryng and of gude conversacion and all within our said towne according to the liberties and old privileges of the same.

Also we will and charge forsomeche as Adam Newmarke heretofore did slanderously¹⁸ and disclaimed the said Governors by which great inconvenience myghte have fallen, that he in the said Guilde halle ask them forgiveness and knowledge his offence and trespase in that behave; and if the said Thomas Dickson and every of his felowes do according to the premises we will and charge that yen the Governors of our said towne be unto them and every one

¹⁸ Hiatus in MS.

of them welwilling and frendly in all that belongeth unto them and right will no maters hereafter to be attempted ne spoken of for thynges done by them in tyme passed. Yeben under our signite and sign manuell in our mannor of Cawood, the vj. day of October, in the V. year of y^e reigne of our leige lord king Edward the fourth sith the conquest.¹⁹

In 1467, the king confirmed to this prelate, who was brother to the king-making earl of Warwick that placed him on the throne, the privilege of holding prisons within the boroughs of Beverley and Ripon;²⁰ and in the succeeding year he assigned to him a messuage and a garden in Beverley, as a return for services performed. This property was situated by the Beck-side, and formerly belonged to sir Thomas Everingham.²¹ Three years afterwards the seven rectors of the collegiate church were incorporated, and by charter empowered to use a common seal, and to receive donations in money and land to a prescribed amount;²² and soon after, being applied to by William Rilston, the executor of sir Henry Brownflet, knight, late lord of Vessey, for the performance of a daily service or mass, in the choir of their church, for the soul of the deceased knight, and others; they agreed to make the required services binding on themselves and their successors for ever, in consideration of receiving from the said William Rilston, the sum of £84. 13s. 4d. of lawful English money, for the benefit of the institution. Indentures were given and received, to bind the parties to the just performance of the conditions. That given by the rectors is dated 21 March, 1474. It is regularly executed, and has their common seal affixed, containing the impression of a bear.²³

On the 16th of the same month, Edward marched through Beverley without opposition, although it is well known that the inhabitants in general were by no means favourable to the house of York, and they had received direct and positive orders not to advocate his cause. But he was at the head of a formidable army of 10,000 men, and accompanied by Richard, duke of Gloucester, earl Rivers, sir Martin de la Mere, a gentleman of Holderness, and others. He now proceeded to York, with the unquestionable design of recovering possession of the throne, although he openly professed the mere intention of sitting down quietly as an obedient subject, in his dukedom. The citizens however refused to receive him, until he had solemnly sworn true fealty to king Henry, and submission to the

¹⁹ Warburton's MSS. Lansd. Col. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fol. 159.

²⁰ Rymer. 7 Edw. IV. n. 134. ²¹ Rot. Pat. 8 Edw. IV. ²² Ibid. 11 Edw. IV.

²³ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Dodsw. 74. fo. 144.

present government.²⁴ In defiance of this pledge, Edward had no sooner taken possession of the city, than he caused himself to be proclaimed king, and shortly afterwards succeeded in making himself master of Henry's person. He now took care to rid himself of all further opposition from that quarter, by the cruel murder of the dethroned monarch, which is said to have been accomplished by the agency of the duke of Gloucester.

During the continuance of this struggle, Richard Cockerell, of Beverley, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to Edward, by his inflexible attachment to the house of Lancaster, and his active exertions in favour of the unfortunate Henry, and had suffered the confiscation of all his goods and possessions. But when Edward, by the death of his rival, found himself securely seated on the throne, he made a voluntary restitution to Cockerell of all his fees and hereditaments in Beverley and elsewhere.²⁵

On the 13th April, 1478, the privilege of sanctuary was claimed by William Salvan, esq. John Heggfield, gentleman, John Salvan, esq. George Walker, and John Hunt, who had been guilty of the wilful murder of Henry Hardwycke. By the institution of the sanctuary, the church was bound to take them under its protection, after the oath of fealty had been administered, and the fees paid.²⁶ Another claim, of a similar nature, was made on the 23rd of May, in the same year, by John Boys, of Dorham, who had committed a murder of a most atrocious nature, on the body of one Baxter, a Cistercian monk, belonging to the abbey of Jorevaux, in Yorkshire; but having complied with the necessary preliminary forms, he was suffered to remain in safety within the consecrated liberties.²⁷

At the conclusion of his reign, king Edward IV. made an absolute grant to the town of all tolls both by land and by water; specifying the articles on which they were payable, and the amount of each, towards maintaining the pavement of the town.²⁸ During the disastrous reign of Richard III. no records remain which mention the town of Beverley, except a patent of confirmation to the burgesses;²⁹ but his conqueror and successor, Henry VII. in the second year of his reign, gave

²⁴ Hall, Holinshead, Speed, &c. ²⁵ Rot. Pat. 16 Edw. IV.

²⁶ These were 2s. 4d. each to the bailiffs, and 4d. to the clerk, for entering the name, style, residence, crime, and circumstances of the case in the Sanctuary Register. This register is now in the British Museum. Harl. Coll. 4292. 1. XVI.

²⁷ Harl. MSS. B. Mus. 4292. XVI. ²⁸ Corp. Rec. 10 Feb. 1483. 15 C.

²⁹ Rymer. 2 Rich. III. n. 121.

to the inhabitants an *inspeximus* and confirmation of all the charters granted before his time, of what kind or nature soever they might be.³⁰

In drawing up the annals of a provincial town, little connection can be maintained betwixt the consecutive periods of its history. We necessarily pass, with the swiftness of thought, to subjects of opposite tendency; for the genius of the historian being fettered by his materials, if he can attain the merit of accuracy, he must be content. We have now to record an event, melancholy indeed in its nature, but conferring a high degree of lustre on the church of Saint John at Beverley. The brave earl of Northumberland, in the year 1489, fell a victim to the avarice of king Henry VII. A subsidy had been granted for carrying on the war in Bretagne, which was so intolerably burdensome in the north of England, that the whole district was in a flame. The earl of Northumberland, then lord lieutenant, wrote to inform the king of the general discontent, and praying for some remission of the tax. But nothing is so unrelenting as avarice. The king answered that he would not abate a single penny. This message being delivered by the earl with too little caution to the inflammable populace, who had assembled in a tumultuous manner around his house, at Cockledge, near Thirske, to complain of the grievance, it was whispered by an individual that *he* was the moving cause of their calamity. The suggestion was transferred from one to another, until it had assumed the form of absolute certainty. It spread through the crowd like an electric shock; the passions of the incensed rabble were speedily roused to fury, and summary vengeance was proposed to be inflicted on one of the kindest and most benevolent men of the age in which he lived. They immediately broke into his house, and without either pity or remorse, cruelly murdered him and several of his attendants, on the day of Saint Vitalis the martyr, April 28, 1489.³¹

The melancholy end of this exemplary nobleman affords a striking example of the insecurity of popular favour. He was humane, generous, and just; and his attention to the wants and comforts of the people was incessant and uniform. Possessed of unbounded hospitality, he was the protector and father of his tenantry and dependants. Yet the very individuals whom he had fed and cherished, raised their ungrateful arms against his life, at the instigation of prejudice and mistaken resentment; and he perished from a rigid principle of honour. He disdained to

³⁰ Corp. Rec. 17 Jan. 1487. 16 H.

³¹ Collins. Peerage. Brydges. vol. ii. p. 301, with authorities.

betray the confidence of his sovereign, and would neither acquaint the populace with his own repugnance to collect the odious tax, nor rectify the erroneous notion which had gone abroad, that he was the chief adviser and abettor of it.

His remains were conveyed to Beverley for interment in the minster. The procession was solemn and imposing, and its course was marked by the spontaneous exhibition of unaffected grief. The villages were deserted; and the people every where left their occupations to accompany the pageant, and to see the corpse of their beloved lord deposited in its final resting place. All the neighbouring communities of religious, issued from their respective monasteries habited in sorrowing weeds; each individual bearing a torch, a crucifix, or some emblem of mortality in his hand, to meet and precede the illustrious dead; for he had been to *all* of them most kind and hospitable, and to *some*, an essential benefactor. The body was at length deposited, with solemn ceremony, in a chapel built for the purpose in Beverley minster; and according to the custom of those times, the nobility and gentry, of every rank and station, who had been anxious to express their affection and esteem, were feasted at the expense of the family; and 13,340 poor persons who attended, received each a funeral dole in money. A *part* only of the expenses of this magnificent funeral are enumerated in the reference below,³² and these amounted to £1037. 6s. 8d. equal at the least to £10,000. of our money. Seldom have princes been conveyed to their graves with greater solemnity, or more evident testimonies

³² A short draught of the charge of the Buriall of our Lord and Maister (Henry Percy) Earl of Northumberland: whose soule Jesu pardon.

	£.	s.	d.
April 28. Furst for the balmyng, fencyng and scowering of the			
4. H. 7. corse, with the Webbe of Lead and Chest	13	06	08
1489. Item. For the wax of the Herse, by estimation	26	13	04
Item. For the Tymber and paynting of the Herse	5	00	00
Item. For 400 Torchcs, after 2s. 8d. the pece	53	06	08
Item. For a Standart	4	00	00
Item. For a Baner	3	06	08
Item. For his Cote armer of Seynet, betyn with his arms	5	00	00
Item. For 12 Baners of Sarcenet, betyn with my Lords armys at 10s. the			
pece	6	00	00
Item. For 100 pensells of Sarcenet, at 12d. the pece	5	00	00
Item. For 60 Scutchions of Buckeram betyn with my Lords armys (whole			
armys) at 12d. the pece, for the chaire, herse, and church	3	00	00
Item. For 40 poor men for the bering of Torchcs on horseback one day			
(from <i>Wresil</i> to <i>Lekinfield</i>) 18 miles, at 2s. a man	4	00	00
Item. For 100 men on foote, at 6d. a man a day, viz. from <i>Lekinfield</i> to			
<i>Beverley</i> 1 day; and at <i>Beverley</i> the day of the burial 1 day	5	00	00
Item. For the suffrages of 6 churches that will met the corse by the way,			
after 13s. 4d. the Church (besides the Torchcs)	4	00	00

of universal regret, for the Percys, from the extent of their territorial possessions, the splendour of their virtues, and the unostentatious hospitality and benevolence by which they were distinguished, were the pride and glory of the northern counties.

The mausoleum of this exemplary character was adorned with blazonry and decorated with sculpture, canopied by an exquisite gothic roof, rich in statuary and friezing; and in every respect worthy to contain the ashes of a warrior noble, who died in the act of yielding obedience to the mandate of his sovereign. Permanent memorials of respect, of affection, or of gratitude, industriously raised to the

	£	s.	d.
Item. For the reward to two officers of armys, for their helpe and payne in orduring the said Buriall, at £10. the pece for coming from <i>London</i> their costs and reward	20	00	00
Item. For all maner of dues belonging to the church where the corse shall rest.....	20	00	00
Item. For 12 gownes, for Lords (after 3 yerds and dimid in a gown, at 10s. the yerde)	21	00	00
Item. For 20 gownes for Gentlewomen (after 3 yerds in a gowne, at 5s. the yerde)	15	00	00
Item. For 24 gownes withe hods, for Lords and Knyghts (at 10s. the yerde, and after 5 yerds in every gowne and hode) with the Executors	60	00	00
Item. For 60 gownes with tipets for Squyers and Gentlemen (at 6s. 8d. the yerde, and after 4 yerds in every gowne and typett).....	80	00	00
Item. For 200 gownes for yeomen and Headfor (after 3s. 4d. the yerde, and after 3 yerds in every gowne).....	120	00	00
Item. For 160 gownes of course black, for pore folke for Torche Bearers and outhur (after 3 yerds in a gowne, and after 2s. the yerde)	42	00	00
Item. For 400 yerds of course black, for hangying the Church and the Chapells (at 2s. the yerde)	40	00	00
Item. For 500 priests that will come to the said buriall, and if they do not, the outhur must be fulfilled the next day; after 12d. the pece, according to the will	25	00	00
Item. For 1000 clerks that comyth to the said Buriall, after 4d. the pece....	16	13	04
Item. For 100 gownes for Gromes and Gentlemens servants (after 3s. 4d. the yerde, and after 3 yerds in every gowne)	50	00	00
Item. For the dole at the said buriall, after 2d. to every pore body that comyth the day of the buriall; (allowing the number of the said pore folks to be, as I presume they were on the said day of Buriall) 13340 after 2d. the pece according to the will	123	06	08
Item. For the costs and expences of meat and drinke and horse-meate, going and comyng (viz. one day from <i>Wresil</i> to <i>Lekinfeld</i> by the space of 18 myles; and one day from <i>Lekinfeld</i> to <i>Beverley</i> and one day tarrying at <i>Beverley</i> for the Buriall; and one day returning from <i>Beverley</i> to <i>Wresil</i> 18 myles)	266	13	04
Item. For the mortuaries, his armys, his Huishemen, his Maister of the Horse, and all such outhur things to be had of my Lords owen store in the house			

Sum of all the said Charges....1037 06 08

memory of the great and good, are a just and honourable tribute to departed worth; for thus our earthly attachments to the friends we love are embalmed in our hearts, when their valued remains are deposited, with pious decorum, in the silent tomb; and thus a humble and unpresuming hope is indulged, that our affections will be reunited in a more perfect state of existence, where nothing shall prevail but universal charity; and the pure enjoyments of uninterrupted bliss shall be equally permanent and without alloy.

The sanctuary at Beverley was again claimed in the seventh year of the present reign; which shews the prevalence of crime, and the laxity of discipline which still distinguished the government of this country. John Sprot, of Barton-upon-Humber, gentleman, came to Beverley in haste, "and asked the Lybertes of sant Jhon of Beverley for the dethe of Jhon Welton husbandman of the same town, and knowleg hym selff to be at the kylling of the saym Jhon w^t a Dager the 15th of August."³³

It should appear that the arts were not only encouraged, but cultivated at Beverley, with no common assiduity and care. The art of printing had now been introduced into England about forty years, and many obstacles impeded the general establishment of printing presses; amongst which, the enormous expense attending it was not the least. In 1506, however, a printing press was erected at Beverley by Hugo Goes, who lived in Hye Gate. He used for a device the letter *H.* and a *Goose*, in allusion to his name.³⁴

The ceremonies of religion, which were customary at the high festivals, obtained, as might be expected, much consideration in this town. The following ordinance relative to the four yeomen attached to the churches of Saint Mary and the minster, will convey a lively idea of the high attention which the inhabitants bestowed on these commemorations. The church of Saint Mary set an example which was soon followed by that of Saint John. "Forasmuch as in tymes past in honour and worship of our blessed lady Saynt Mary and Corporis Christi of old custome A Light of vij. Sergies made of wax hath been & now is founde afore our

³³ Harl. MSS. B. Mus. 4292. XVI. Numerous claims of this nature were made at Beverley, which are recorded in the Sanctuary Register in the British Museum; but as this document contains merely the name of the party, and the crime, I have not considered the insertion of a dry list of names sufficiently interesting to supersede matters of greater moment; pressed as I am for space to comprise a perspicuous account of every transaction of real importance connected with Beverley, from the voluminous mass of materials which lies before me.

³⁴ Ex. MS. penes me.

Lady in Saynt Mary's Church in Beverley and Two Torches to go with the worshipful Procession upon Corpus Christi day, or else upon the morning after, by Four Young men, there to be chosen called Four Yeomen, the which lite of late hath like to have been wasted & layde apart for default of good order amonge the young men of this parish. Therefore we, Thomas Pierson, Henry Robynson, William Curtas, Richard Molett, John Lytefoote, John Norman, Chrystopher Atkynson, William Dendron, William Estiby, Tamys Taylor, Richard Lupton, and Robert Booth, xij. Governors of the town of Beverley, in the year of our Lord God 1503, at the reasonable desire and petition of John Carritt Shoemaker, Antony Aldburgh Wever, John Rypley Brasier, and John Ranfitts Baxter, called the Four Yeomen of the said parish, hath ordeyned and statuted that the said Four Yeomen the second sunday next after Cross daies next for to come, and all the young men of the said parish, having warning the day before, shall come to a place convenient at a certain hour aforenoon by the said four yeomen to be limited and assigned; at the which place and hour the aforesaid four yeomen shall set eight younge men upon the election, of which the other younge men shall peacefully choose four to be and occupy the office of Four Yeomen for a hole year then next following; which four so chosen shall with all oder younge men of the same parish at the afternoon of the same day take and heare the account of the aforesaid four yeomen that occupied the year afore. Also it is ordeyned and statuted for ever that the four yeomen so chosen shall yearly set sufficient sureties for the stock of money they shall receive the day of Accounte truly to delyver the said stock of money and all the encrease there office that shall remaine over the cost of the foresaid Lyghtes. Also it is ordeyned and statuted that if any young man shall be chosen to the office of the Four Yeomen refuse it he shall forfeit to the commonalty of Beverley, and to the said Lyghte ijs. equally to be divided without any pardon."²⁵

The style of living in this age, even in the most noble families, would appear to the refined ideas of the present generation barbarous in the extreme. What high born lady of the nineteenth century but would turn with disgust and loathing from a breakfast at seven o'clock in the morning, consisting of bread in trenchers, salt mutton and beef, with copious potations of ale and wine to assist the digestion? We are apt to smile at the simple fare and early hours used by our ancestors; but

²⁵ Warburton's MSS. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 184.

it may be a question difficult to solve, whether the superior polish which we have unquestionably acquired in modern times, can compensate for the fashionable vices which have been gradually introduced with it. A valuable record is extant, that displays in striking colours the well regulated hospitality of an old English nobleman. It describes with great minuteness the manner and style of living which prevailed in the household of Henry Algernon Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, at Leckonfield, near Beverley. This nobleman was possessed of equal munificence and taste, and patronized with great liberality, learned and ingenious men. His household was arranged on the principles of a royal establishment, and he lived with a state and splendour little inferior to a sovereign prince. As the king had his privy council, so the earl formed a council board from the principal officers of his household, who were all gentlemen by birth and blood. His domestic chaplains were eleven, over whom presided a doctor or bachelor of divinity; and he had a complete establishment of singing men, choristers, &c. for his chapel service;³⁶ and altogether it was one of the most splendid establishments in the kingdom. The family at Leckonfield consisted, in the whole, of 166 persons; and such was the earl's unbounded hospitality, that, on an average, 57 strangers were entertained every day, making a total of 223. The annual consumption of food, which was calculated with the greatest exactness, was 250 quarters of malt, 12 quarters of wheat; 647 sheep; 131 beeves; 25 hogs; 28 calves, and 40 lambs. The meat was generally salted before it was used; and to season it to the palate after cooking required 160 gallons of mustard, which was the yearly allowance. Ten tuns and two hogsheads of Gascony wine were provided for the service of the year. The family rose at six in the morning; at which hour the whole household assembled in the chapel for divine service; and at seven, the earl and his lady breakfasted out of a chine of boiled beef or mutton, with a quart of ale and some wine. Dinner was served up at ten, and supper at four; and at nine in the evening all the gates were closed, and the family retired to rest.³⁷

The reign of Henry VIII. commenced with the most favourable symptoms. The former monarch had become so extremely unpopular from his united avarice and severity, that the news of his death was received with as open and sensible a joy amongst the people as decency would permit; and the accession and coronation of his son, spread universally a declared and unfeigned satisfaction.³⁸ In the

³⁶ Collins. Peer. Bryd. vol. ii. p. 306. ³⁷ North. Housh. Book. Vid App. F.

³⁸ Hume. Engl. vol. iii. p. 408.

second year of his reign the king gave an inspeximus and confirmatory charter, and a general pardon to the burgesses of Beverley.³⁹ Two years afterwards, the inhabitants suffered a calamity as unprecedented as it was fatal to the lives of many unhappy sufferers. During the performance of divine service in Saint Mary's church, the upper part of the tower gave way, and fell through the roof of the building with a tremendous crash. The alarm necessarily attending an occurrence of this kind would excite a universal confusion, and each would provide for his own safety with all possible expedition. The ruin, however, was too sudden and unexpected for every one to escape, and several individuals lost their lives on the occasion. The structure did not long remain in ruins, for sir Richard Rokeby and others entered into a private subscription for its restoration. John Crossland and Joan his wife built two pillars and a half at their own private expense, and repaired two others that were injured;⁴⁰ which is recorded by the following inscription.

XLAND and his Wife made these To Pillors and a Walfe.

The edifice was completely repaired and fitted for the performance of divine service before the year 1530. An inscription relating to this event was placed on one of the pews. It is now defaced, but the following is an exact copy.

“God have marce of the Soulyps of the Men and Women and Cheldreyn whos Bodys was slayne at the faulynge of thys Cherche the XXIX day of Aperel in the yere of our Lord a M. VC. and XIII⁴¹ and for the soulyps of them which haws byn good Benefactors and helpers of the sayd Cherche up agayne and for all Christian Soules that God wold have prayed for, and for the Soules of Ser Recharde Rokby Knyght and Waym Jone his wife which gabe two Hundreth Poundes to the building of this Churche, and for the soules of Wylm. Hall Cooper and his wife.”⁴² The roof over the north aisle of the nave was made by William Penter,⁴³ who inscribed upon it the following admonition;

“Mayn in thy Lyffeng lowte God about all Thing

And ever thynk of the Begynning what shall cowme of the ending.”

On the font this inscription still remains.⁴⁴ “Pray for the soules of Wylm. Feryffaxe Draper and his Wyvis whiche made thys Font of his pper Costes the day of Marce V, Yere of our Lord MDXXX.”

³⁹ Corp. Rec. 17 Jan. and 10 Feb. 1511. 17 A. ⁴⁰ Gent. Ripon. p. 81.

⁴¹ Gent says it fell in 1604. Ripon. p. 79. but he is evidently in error.

⁴² Ex. MS. penes me. ⁴³ Gent. Ripon, p. 81. ⁴⁴ Vid. p. 161.

While the architects and workmen were employed in re-edifying this structure, the canons of Saint John contemplated a new decoration for the interior of the minster; and about the year 1520, they completed the beautiful tabernacle work over the stalls. A back ran behind the whole length of this ornament; and a canopy, extending in one continued line from east to west, overhung the pinnacles.⁴⁵ This decoration gave a new and splendid appearance to the choir; and though many subsequent alterations have defaced the original plan, enough remains to shew the good taste and exquisite genius of the artist who thus employed his talents to beautify our noble church.

In the 17th year of his reign, king Henry gave another charter to the town, in which he confirmed to the burgesses their former exemptions from tolls, pontage, passage, ewage, lenage, &c.⁴⁶

About the same time two donations were made to the town, which had for their object the encouragement of learning. The indentures are still amongst the records of the corporation, by which these charities were conveyed. By the first, a fellowship is founded in Saint John's college, Cambridge, by "master Robert Hallitreeholm, of Beverley, clerk; the founder to nominate to it during his life, and after his decease, every succeeding vacancy to be filled up by the master and fellows of the said college. The fellow to be a native of Beverley or its neighbourhood, to be in priest's orders when elected, or within twelve months after; and to sing and say masse for the soul of the said founder, and of his father, mother, brethren, sisters, ancestors, benefactors, and all christian souls. The original endowment was £120. sterling."⁴⁷ The other indenture is also respecting a fellowship in the same college, which was "founded by dame Johan Rokeby, and Robert Creyke her son, to be called for ever their fellowship. The fellow to sing masses for their souls, and the soul of sir Richard Rokeby, kn^t. and of Thomas Creyke, late father of the said Johan, and for all their posterity. The amount of the original endowment was £170. sterling, and the fellow was to receive quarterly, forty shillings."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Coltman's Short Hist. p. 51. ⁴⁶ Corp. Rec. 7 Feb. 1526. 17 B.

⁴⁷ Corp. Rec. 18 June, 17 Hen. VIII. No. 24. ⁴⁸ Ibid. 11 July, 17 Hen. VIII. No. 25.

Chap. VIII.

Commencement of the Reformation—Visitation of the monasteries—Income of the collegiate church—Dispute renewed between Beverley and Hull—Referred to the abbot of Meaux—Decision—Dissolution of the smaller monasteries—"The Pilgrimage of Grace"—Alleged vices of the monks—General dissolution of the religious houses—Grant towards the repairs of the minster—Dispute respecting tolls between Beverley and Hull—Burgesses of Beverley petition the queen—Dispute finally settled by arbitration—Charters of Elizabeth—Chantry property granted to the churches at Beverley—Timber in Westwood felled—The town much impoverished—Exempted from payment of certain taxes during the queen's pleasure—Hurricane—The inhabitants visited by the plague—Its horrid progress—Charter of Charles I.—Misapplication of church funds—Inquisition and decree.

THE period had now arrived when the town of Beverley was to lose its ecclesiastical distinction. The excesses which were doubtless committed by several of the religious orders, were subjects of regret and scandal to the moral and virtuous population of the kingdom. Whitgift, the exemplary abbot of Grimsby, had prophesied, from the existence of crime and error which long-continued licence had introduced into the very vitals of the Romish system of religion, that it could not continue,¹ and it was the general opinion that some remedy must be speedily applied to check the growing evil, lest religion itself should be obliterated from the mind, by the contagious example of its ostensible defenders. The alleged vices of the monks were at length converted into a pretext for that line of policy which the king had resolved to adopt, for the purpose of enriching himself with the spoils of their endowments. The first blow was given to the monastic establishments by Woolsey, with the consent of the pope, in 1525, when forty religious

¹ Strype. Life of Archb. Whitgift. p. 3.

houses were dissolved, and their revenues transferred to the foundation of Christ Church College, Oxford, and a college or school at Ipswich, both established by the cardinal himself. This was followed up by a requisition, addressed to the abbots, priors, and others, to acknowledge the king's supremacy, as the lawful head of the church within his own dominions; by which stroke of policy he hoped to ascertain the quantum of resistance which might be offered by that body of men, when he should proceed to the ultimate measure of actually dissolving their establishments.

Soon a general visitation of the monasteries was commanded by royal authority; and eighty-six articles of enquiry were drawn up by Richard Layton,² and placed in the hands of the commissioners, which embraced every essential point, relating either to doctrine, discipline, morals, or revenue, with a general clause, empowering them to demand the production of all writings, records, instruments, inventories, and schedules, which might be necessary for a full investigation of the state and circumstances of every religious society, of whatever description, throughout the whole kingdom.³ At this visitation, the collegiate society at Beverley was found to consist of a provost, eight prebendaries, a chancellor, a precentor, seven rectors choral,⁴ nine vicars choral, with many chantry priests, clerks, choristers, officers, and servants.⁵ A most splendid establishment; worthy of the magnificent building which contained it; and both devoted to the best of all purposes, the service of the true and only God.

The income of these priests and officers was proportionate with the rank and dignity which they had to support. In addition to the common table of the establishment, the following annual sums were paid by way of stipend, which, compared with the value of money at the present day, would stand as in the subjoined statement, being on an average of five to one.⁶ It may be further remarked that the price of provisions was still more disproportionate, for an act of parliament recently passed,⁷ had fixed the price of beef and pork at a halfpenny a pound; veal and mutton, at a halfpenny and half a farthing; hens, a penny each, geese, twopence each; butter, sixpence a stone; and cheese, eighteen-pence a stone; with all other

² Cott. MSS. B. Mus. E. IV. 6. p. 11. ³ Ibid. E. IV. 6. p. 13.

⁴ Or parsons. These were the *berefellarii* referred to in the ordinances and accounts of this church. They gave a *Bear* for their common seal. Bibl. Bodl. Dodsw. MSS. vol. lxxiv. f. 144.

⁵ Tan. Notit. York. XII. ⁶ Vid. Folkes. Engl. Coins. p. 21. ⁷ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

articles in proportion. The general income of the church must have exceeded the sums here specified; for the canons possessed upwards of twenty thousand acres of land, which if let only at a shilling an acre, the average price in that age,⁸ would produce a thousand pounds a year, equal to five thousand of our money. And added to this we may calculate on the emoluments arising from the provost's court, wreck and waif, estrays and deodand, churches and fees, manorial rights and fisheries, with other advantages necessarily resulting from the possession of all these lands and rights, profits and privileges.⁹

The dignitaries of York beheld the storm which was ready to burst on the collegiate establishment at Beverley in common with other monastic institutions,

⁸ Anders. Com. vol. i. p. 374.

⁹ The following may be considered as a fair estimate of the comparative value of the income which each ecclesiastical officer of this establishment enjoyed, without any reference to the inferior clergy, or to the lay officers and servants.

	Value 26 Hen. VIII.			Comparative Value at present.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The Provost	109	8	8½	547	3	6½
The Prebend. of Saint Michael	31	13	4	158	6	8
of Saint Peter	46	6	11½	231	14	9½
of Saint Martin	39	11	1	197	15	5
of Saint Catherine	10	18	4	54	11	8
of Saint Mary	35	17	0	179	5	0
of Saint Stephen	44	0	0	220	0	0
of Saint Andrew	48	16	1	244	0	5
of Saint James	47	1	4	235	6	8
The Chancellor	13	16	0	69	0	0
The Precentor	13	9	4	67	6	8
The Fabric Lands	18	3	8	90	18	4
Seven Rectors Lands in common	8	13	7	43	7	11
Do. Pension, £6. 13s. 4d. each	46	13	4	233	6	8
Nine Vicars Lands in common	12	0	0½	60	0	2½
Do. Salary, £8. each	72	0	0	360	0	0
£.	598	8	9½	2992	3	11½

The minor hospitals and religious houses at Beverley, were valued as follows.

Hospital of Saint Giles	8	0	0	40	0	0
Commandery of Saint John	211	10	7	1057	12	11
Hospital of Saint Nicholas	5	14	6	28	12	6
House of Gray Friars						
House of Black Friars						

Tan. Notit. York. XII.

For an account of the numerous chantries, &c. see Part. 3. ch. 2.

and resolved to provide against an event that appeared to threaten the extinction of religion amongst the inhabitants, by securing to the church of Saint Mary the regular performance of all the offices of public worship. On the 17th March, 1531, therefore, the dean and chapter issued a commission to John, bishop of Sodor, to reconcile and perpetually establish the church prebendal or parochial of Saint Mary, in all the profits and privileges granted to its vicar by archbishop Melton.¹⁰ Two years afterwards, the claims of the town of Kingstone-upon-Hull to the payment of tolls on all vessels from Beverley, were once more renewed. The burgesses of the latter place persisted in their right to a freedom of passage with their "shypps and botts," and peremptorily refused submission to the impost. A suit at law to enforce payment was carried on with great perseverance, but the merchants of Beverley were too tenacious of their chartered privileges to relinquish them without a struggle. At length, after much expense had been incurred by both the contending parties, without a prospect of any speedy decision, a compromise was proposed and accepted; and it was mutually agreed to refer the decision of all matters in dispute to the abbot of Meaux, who ultimately published the following award or agreement. "Furste, yt ys agreyd, that the inhabytaunts of Beverley shall pay to the burgesses of Hull for ev'ry quater of wheat a penny, and ev'ry quater of other grayne a halfepeny, that they schall carry thorowe Hull haven, yf they or theyr ankers or fesh w't'in the saym, or lade w'thin the haven; and in lyke case the inhabytants of Hull to pay to the burgesses of Bev'ley lyke somes from Hull-Bridge to Snorome-House, if they either anker or fesh, or take away corne w'thin the same."¹¹

In the year 1536, the experiment of actual dissolution was made, and the formidable act was passed for the suppression of the lesser monasteries;¹² certain injunctions having been previously laid on all the religious houses without exception, to prevent any waste or embezzlement of property.¹³ This measure must have created an alarming sensation in Beverley, which contained several of these minor establishments; because one source of its prosperity arose from the profuse

¹⁰ Ex. Reg. Archiep. Ebor. AR. p. 613. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 47.

¹¹ Corporation Records.

¹² Hume. Engl. vol. iv. p. 150. Bishop Tanner, Notit. p. xxiii. says, this act was passed about March, 1535. Dugdale, in his Worcestershire, p. 1111. edit. 1730, represents the houses of parliament as packed for the purpose; but in Spelman's History of Sacrilege, p. 183, it is said that the bill stuck long in the house of commons, and would not pass, till the king sent for the commons, and told them he would have the bill pass or have some of their heads.

¹³ Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. IV. 7. p. 21.

expenditure of the revenues of its religious houses; and it was universally believed that this statute was but a preliminary step towards a general alienation of all the monastic property. The town of Beverley, however, did not suffer from the operation of the late act; for its houses were not dissolved, until, by a subsequent statute, the entire destruction of these foundations was finally decreed. This short respite might be owing to the powerful interest of many opulent families who now resided in the town.

Notwithstanding the errors of this religion, we cannot but regret the violent and unworthy means which were used to suppress the monasteries. They produced discontent throughout the country, which the ejected monks, during their wanderings from place to place, took pains to encourage and kindle into a flame. The dissatisfaction rose to such a height in the county of York, that a dangerous rebellion broke out which required a great force, and the exercise of a wise and judicious policy, to subdue. One Richard Aske, esquire, possessed sufficient talent and address to raise a large army of monks, friars, and people to the number of 40,000 men, which was plausibly denominated "The Pilgrimage of Grace;" and every man took an oath not to lay down his arms until the poor, persecuted church should be restored to its former situation, both with respect to doctrine, discipline, and possessions. Animated with a furious zeal, which their leader knew how to keep alive, they proceeded with avidity towards their purpose. Preceded by a band of priests bearing crosses, and banners displaying the crucifix and the five wounds of Christ, they made themselves master of Hull, York, and Pomfret castle, and were joined by the archbishop of York and lord Darcy. The bailiffs of Beverley also espoused their cause, and took with them a supply of men. At length, the confederacy became so formidable that it made Henry tremble on his throne. The duke of Norfolk was despatched against the rebels, but not being strong enough to meet them in the field, he had recourse to treaty; in which, after some difficulty and delay, he succeeded in dispersing the rebels and obtaining possession of their principal leaders. Aske was hung in chains at York; sir Robert Constable, another of the insurgent commanders, was also hung in chains over Beverley Gate, Hull; the bailiffs of Beverley escaped, although they were exempted by name in the proclamation of pardon,¹⁴ but lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill.

¹⁴ Corp. Rec. 24 July, 29 Hen. VIII. 17 C. The names of these two persons were Richard Wilson, and William Woodmansie.

Other insurrections followed, which seem to have had no other effect upon Henry than to make him pursue his course of policy with greater caution; and, though determined to alienate the monastic property into his own coffers, he found it necessary to colour his exactions with the appearance of justice. Commissioners were again sent out, with full powers to ascertain the extent of crime with which the religious orders stood charged; and it must be confessed, that if only a small portion of the vices contained in the reports of these inquisitors be true, a general reformation was absolutely necessary for the benefit of public morals, as well as the holy cause of religion. A system of concubinage was universal, said they; and "all kinds of knaveries,"¹⁵ whoredoms, adulteries, sodomies, and incest were every where prevalent.¹⁶ Inveterate hatred and quarrels were said to have existed within the walls of these consecrated houses, amongst brethren of the same order; and the most glaring frauds and legerdemain tricks practised to secure the attachment or excite the reverence of the people. A detail of these unnatural crimes and impudent impostures created sensations of horror and disgust amongst all descriptions of people, although it was suspected by many, that the visitors, under the royal influence, had exaggerated every failing into a crime, merely to excite in the nation a sentiment of abhorrence against the religious orders, that Henry might execute his projected schemes with the greater impunity, and plunder the monks of their property and possessions, without incurring the resentment of that portion of the nobility in particular, whose ancestors had founded, and who were personally interested in, the greater portion of these religious institutions.¹⁷

The Roman Catholic religion was debased with errors which called loudly for reform; but the manner in which the reformation was effected was liable to considerable objections. The nobility and gentry began to tremble for the tenure of their own possessions, on perceiving the delirious avidity with which private rights were invaded, and the total absence of principle which accompanied an insatiable

¹⁵ Cotton. MSS. B. Mus. Cleopatra. E. IV. fo. 114, 151. ¹⁶ Speed. Brit. p. 791.

¹⁷ It must be confessed, indeed, that many vices and disorders did really exist within the walls of these secluded establishments. Thus the abbot of Fountains, "wasted his woods, dilapidated his house, and kept six concubines." "Elizabeth Copley, a nun at Swine, was found with child by a priest." Thompson's Swine. p. 67, 68. The prior of Maiden Bradley had six illegitimate children. Cott. MSS. B. Mus. Cleop. E. IV. fo. 249. a. The abbot of Furness confessed, in his writ of resignation, the "mysorder and evyll liffs, both unto God and the prynce, of the bredren of his monasterie." Cott. MSS. B. Mus. Cleop. E. IV. p. 246. And the abbot of Welbeck is described in MS. Ashmol. Mus. 1519. fo. 28. b. as living in a state of fornication, "by keeping divers women."

thirst of riches in the person of a powerful monarch. To dissipate these unfavourable impressions, the king granted, sold or exchanged, the abbey lands, on terms the most disadvantageous to himself; gratified the borough towns by a renewal of their civil liberties, and conciliated the people by promising to appropriate the produce of these lands to supply the exigences of the state, and thus to relieve them in future from all grievous and oppressive taxes.¹⁸ He proceeded to give his promised charter to the burgesses of Beverley, in 1539. It contained a confirmation and exposition of the words said to be in the first charter of Athelstan;—

*Als Free make I The
As hert may thynke or Ege may se,*

which was extended to all tenants and residents in Beverley.¹⁹

The Franciscan monastery at York was one of the seven custodies or wardenships into which the order had been divided in England; and under its jurisdiction were the monasteries of Beverley, Doncaster, Scarborough, Boston, and Grimsby. This monastery, for divers good causes, &c. with unanimous consent, &c. according to the prescribed formulary, was resigned into the king's hands on the 27th of November, 30 Henry VIII.²⁰ and of course its dependencies fell at the same time with it. The house of this order at Beverley was granted to Thomas Cullpepper, 32 Henry VIII.²¹ About the same time the site of Saint Giles's hospital, with the free chapel annexed to it, was granted to Thomas, earl of Rutland.²² In 1542, Edward Lee, archbishop of York, by indenture, dated November 12th, exchanged the manors of Beverley, Southwell, and Bishop-Burton with the crown, for the dissolved priory of Marton-cum-Membris, in the county of York, and other manors formerly belonging to religious houses;²³ and in the following year, the site of the commandery of Saint John of Jerusalem, at Beverley, was granted to William Barkeley,²⁴ and the house of the Black Friars was given to John Pope and Anthony Foster.²⁵ Soon afterwards the king, of his especial grace, not having yet determined on the destruction of the collegiate church, appointed William Giles, clerk, to the prebend of Saint Michael, vacant by the death of

¹⁸ Coke. Instit. IV. f. 44.

¹⁹ Corp. Rec. 1 May. 31 Hen. VIII. 17 F. ²⁰ Drake. Ebor. p. 283.

²¹ Tan. Notit. York. XII. 8. ²² Ibid. York. XII. 3. Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 12. a.

²³ Drake, Ebor. p. 451. ²⁴ Tan. Notit. York. XII. 2.

²⁵ Ibid. York. XII. 7.

William Darian, for the term of life, and invested him with its rights, profits, fruits, and appurtenances.²⁶

The common people were not easily reconciled to the dissolution of the monasteries, by which the monks and friars, who were certainly very excellent friends to the poor, lost their revenues, and with them the power of assisting their indigent neighbours. Every calamity that happened to the nation for many years after this period, was attributed to the outrageous insult offered to religion.²⁷

In the second year of king Edward VI. the final dissolution of the collegiate establishment at Beverley took place;²⁸ when, the provost, having resigned his office into the king's hands,²⁹ the images were removed out of the rood loft by a royal injunction; the paintings were defaced, and their places supplied by verses from scripture,³⁰ and most of the prebendal houses were given to John Bellowe, of Grimsby, and Michael Stanhope;³¹ the prebendaries and other officers having

²⁶ Rot. Pat. 38 Hen. VIII. Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 106.

²⁷ The following lines were constantly in the mouths of the common people.

“Chill tell thee what good vellowe,
Before the vriers went hence,
A bushell of best wheate
Was zold vor vourteen pence.
And vorty egges a penny,
That were both good and newe;
And this che zay myself have zeene,
And yet ich am no Jewe.”

Strutt. Man. and Cust. vol. iii. p. 58.

²⁸ It must be ever lamented, that the destroyers of these venerable edifices were not contented with the annihilation of every vestige which bore a reference to the superstitious observances of popery; but all the learning of the English nation, collected through many centuries, and deposited in the libraries of these institutions, was sacrificed during the exterminating impulse which consigned to oblivion the systematic errors of the Romish church, and put a period to its existence as a national establishment. Manuscripts, which can never be renewed, were consigned to profane uses; whole ship loads were transported to the continent; history, topography, biography, records, were alike bartered for a base equivalent, and petty tradesmen were furnished with paper for common purposes, which was worth its weight in gold. Coll. Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 166. Bale asserts, that he knew a merchant who received as many manuscripts from monastic libraries for forty shillings, as would serve him for all the purposes of his business for twenty years. The loss may excite our regret, but it can never be retrieved.

²⁹ Ex libello adjuncto de Præpos. Beverlac.

³⁰ Weever. Fun. Mon. p. 123. Burn. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 268.

³¹ Tan. Notit. York. XII. 1.

retired on small pensions;³² but as a sort of compensation to the inhabitants for the loss of their ecclesiastical institutions, the king granted two charters to the town, both dated on the same day; the one being an inspeximus and confirmation of all former charters; and the other a confirmation of Athelstan's grant, *Als fre, &c.*³³

The borough of Beverley soon began to feel the loss it had sustained in the dissolution of its ecclesiastical establishments, for it declined rapidly from the standard of its former rank. Some provision, how inadequate soever, appears to have been made about this time for the purpose of preventing the beautiful church of Saint John from falling to decay. It was still the ornament and pride of the town, and as the burgesses beheld the wreck of its institutions, they feared that time would also deprive them of the fabric itself, if some means were not attempted towards obtaining a permanent fund to preserve it from dilapidation. Applications were made in the proper quarter, and, about the year 1552, a decree was issued out of the exchequer, empowering the twelve governors of the town to receive such

³² In 1553, the following pensions remained in charge, viz.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Reginald Lee, the Provost	49	15	0	Thomas Butterwood	2	0	0
Robt. Sherwood, Chancellor ..	6	13	4	John Hall	2	0	0
John Rude, Preb. of St. Stephen	19	10	0	Charles Wright.	2	0	0
Robert Fleye	6	0	0	James Cootes.....	2	0	0
John Thorgate	6	0	0	Thomas Crawnsmore	2	0	0
John Clayton.....	6	0	0	George Goodsoppe, Minister ..	1	0	0
William Griggs.....	6	0	0	William Sysson, Incense Bearer	2	0	0
Robert Collingson.....	6	0	0	William Johnson } Vergers {	1	6	8
Robert Watson..	5	0	0	John Stamper....	1	6	8
Richard Johnson } Vicars .. {	5	0	0	Anthony Bulneye } Ministers {	6	13	4
Robert Thwynges }	5	0	0	Richard Bury....	1	6	8
John Levett	5	0	0	Robert Babthorpe, Prebendary	21	3	0
John Morryce ..	5	0	0	Henry Brown, Prebendary	14	0	0
Robert Warde ..	5	0	0	Richard Goodsoppe, Minister ..	1	0	0
Thomas Cooke	2	0	0	Richard Bury, Minister.....	1	6	8
Peter Yole	2	0	0	George Haslewood } Chantry {	5	0	0
Thomas Rusheby } Choristers {	1	10	0	Edm. Hogheson..	6	0	0
John Bomfaye ..	1	10	0	Geoffery Jefferson } Priests in {	5	0	0
Robert Ingleton	1	10	0	Henry Bylton....	4	0	11
John Pardonne..	1	10	0	Chris. Walton ..	2	18	8
George Griggess } Choristers {	1	10	0	William Cowarde } Coll. Ch. {	4	4	0
John Pickerynge }	1	10	0	Robert Mote ..	4	11	8
Leonard Tuby ..	1	10	0	John Thompson } Priests out {	6	0	0
William Forest..	1	10	0	Richard Burton } of the {	6	0	0
John Stable	1	10	0	John Talbote ..	6	0	0
Marm. Dunkyn..	1	0	0				

³³ Corp. Rec. 1 Feb. 1548. 18 A.

a portion of the rents and fermes of the office of the works at Beverley as should amount to £33. 8s. 10d. towards the repairs of the minster, and also to receive the profits belonging to the two late chantries of Saint John of Beverley, and Saint William, founded in the church of Saint John, with an arrear of £62. 14s. 8d. to be applied to the same purpose.³⁴

Respecting the bloody reign of the savage Mary the annals of our town, happily, are wholly silent, with the exception of two charters, the first an inspeximus, enumerating and establishing most of the preceding charters; and the other, a charter confirming the tolls by land and water for ever, on payment of an annual reserved rent to the crown of £5. 6s. 8d.³⁵

The glorious reign of Elizabeth we contemplate with feelings of satisfaction and delight, for she confirmed to us all our religious privileges, without being subject to the charge of tyranny and oppression, which stained the memory of her father. At the commencement of her reign, the men of Hull had proceeded to extremities against the merchants of Beverley, and actually denied to them the privilege of egress from the river Hull into the Humber, by blocking up the passage at their bridge, and hence their commerce was wholly suspended. In this state of affairs they determined to petition her majesty's privy council for redress; in which they were seconded by other towns, which had suffered by the unprecedented step which the inhabitants of Kingstone-upon-Hull had taken in obstructing the passage of the river. The petition set forth, that the mayor and burgesses of Hull had closed the leaf or trap of the North Bridge, erected by king Henry VIII. and that thereby "no ship, crayer or keel, with mast erect, could pass through the same, to the great detriment not only of the town of Beverley, but also to the hindrance of any quantity of timber to be brought so near the queen's highness's pier of Hornsea, by ten miles for the maintenance thereof; and also to her tenements on the Wolds, barren of wood."³⁶ The petition was signed by many of the burgesses of Beverley; by the township of Fishlake and Hatfield, the queen's tenants; by the townships of Hornsea, Selby, and others.

This petition appears to have awakened the corporation of Hull to a sense of the responsibility which they had incurred, by assuming the prerogative of inflicting

³⁴ Corp. Rec. 6 Nov. 6 Edw. VI. 18 C. Attested at Westminster, by sir Richard Sakervyle, knight.

³⁵ Corp. Rec. 18 Oct. 1553. and 22 Jan. 1554. 19 A. and 19 B.

³⁶ Corp. Rec. 20 March, 1559. 20 A.

punishment on those whom the law had not condemned. They proposed to submit the matter to arbitration, and a bond, with a penalty of £200. attached, was given by Alexander Stockdale, mayor of Hull, and Robert Dalton and James Clarkson, aldermen of that town, to the governors and keepers of the town of Beverley, covenanting that they will abide by the award of the arbitrators, touching the inclosing of the leaf in the middle of the North-Bridge.³⁷

The arbitrators were, Robert Constable, esq. of Hotham; Robert Wright, esq. of Welwick; Thomas Grimston, esq. of Goodmanham; Anthony Smetheley, esq. of Brantingham; and Thomas Doweman, gentleman, of Pocklington. These gentlemen examined all the documents, heard all the arguments on both sides of the question, and bestowed considerable pains to ascertain all the points and bearings of the subject, and after due deliberation published their final award; which directed, "that the mayor and burgesses of the town of Kingstone-upon-Hull shall, before the 24 June next, disclose the above said bridge over the river, so that the inhabitants of Beverley and their successors, and all other the inhabitants adjoining the said river, may for ever pass and repass in their vessels, with their masts standing, to and from Beverley; and further ordered, that in consideration of the expense of opening the said bridge, that the governors and keepers of the town of Beverley, shall pay to the mayor and burgesses of Hull, the sum of £30.; viz. £15. on the 23 June, 1559, and £15. more on the 23 June, 1560."³⁸ And thus the question of toll was finally disposed of.

After this decision the queen granted two charters to the town of Beverley, by which all the liberties and privileges conveyed by any of her predecessors were graciously confirmed;³⁹ and in the 15th year of her reign, she gave the burgesses another charter, which recites that, "Beverley is an ancient town, and from time immemorial has enjoyed many privileges and liberties, as well by prescription as by grants from divers princes;" and proceeds in due form to "incorporate the town by the name of *mayor, governors, and burgesses of the town of Beverley*; and appoints Edward Ellerker to be the first mayor."⁴⁰

In the year 1579, the queen granted letters-patent under the great seal of England, by which her majesty assigned to the mayor, governors, and burgesses, certain

³⁷ Corp. Rec. 24 April, 1559. 20 B. ³⁸ Ibid. 12 June, 1559. 20 C.

³⁹ Ibid. 9 Nov. 1559. 20 D. and 20 E.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 4 July, 1573. 20 G. This charter, which is most beautifully illuminated, is dated at Goshambury.

chantries, lands and tenements, to be applied to the sole purpose of repairing and maintaining the fabric of the minster,⁴¹ with a yearly rent of £4. 13s. 4d. lately paid by the churchwardens of Saint Mary's parish, to William Cawood, chantry priest at the altar of Saint Catharine, in Saint Mary's church. And in 1581, an exemplification of a decree was issued from the exchequer, for "the stipends of £21. 6s. 8d. payable to the minister of the collegiate church, and £16. per annum to an assistant in the said church, to be paid by her majesty's receiver at Michaelmas and Lady-day, by equal portions."⁴² By this decree, the mayor, governors, and burgesses are empowered to nominate the minister and assistant on any vacancy. Four years afterwards she gave to the corporation, by her letters-patent, in consequence of a petition from sir James Crofts, knight, comptroller of her majesty's household, a further donation of lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments, in trust to them and their successors, for the support of the minster church,⁴³ and other possessions for the use of Saint Mary's.⁴⁴

Notwithstanding the munificence of this princess to the town of Beverley, the affairs of the corporation were at this time in a very disordered state, and some public meetings were convened to devise a plan for liquidating their debts. Several proposals were made for accomplishing this desirable purpose, but none appeared to promise such complete success as the removal of the timber from Westwood, the sale of which would furnish them with a sum of money amply sufficient for their present purposes, and leave the ground in a state eligible for improvement, and better calculated for the general benefit of the town, than while covered with wood. It was therefore determined, on the 31st March, 1587, by Ralph Freeman, the mayor, with the consent of the governors and burgesses, "to make sale of so much of the trees and wood, now growing and being in the said wood called Westwood, as by them shall be thought good and sufficient for performance of the affairs and business so required; that is, to disburse and defray divers several sums of money, which otherwise cannot be accomplished."⁴⁵

⁴¹ Corp. Rec. 2 July, 1579. 20 I. *Regna s'e'do Julij conc' Maiori gubernatorib'. et burgensib' vill' Beverlaci inter alia Cant' S'ci Willi' & Jo. in Beverlaci ac o'ia mess' ib'm Cantar' S'ce Katherine Eccl'ie S'ce Marie ib'm iiij^{li}. xiiij^s. iiij^d redd' ac div'ss al' redd' et terr' ib'm. Tenend' de Eastgrenew^{ch}. soccag' p' fidelitat' Anno xxj^o Eliz. p'te nona. Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 18 b.*

⁴² Corp. Rec. 4 June, 1581. 20 L. ⁴³ Ibid. 3 Feb. 1585. 20 O.

⁴⁴ Chancery Decree. 23. Charles I. Vid. *infra*. par. 3. cap. 3.

⁴⁵ Warburton's MSS. Lansd. Col. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 178. This document is signed by Ralphe Freeman, mayor; John Truslove, Mich. Warton, Will. Farlery, Peter Harpham, and

The town was now gradually sinking to decay, and in 1599, the inhabitants were incapable of paying their just proportion of the taxes necessary for carrying on the business of the state. Their incapability was laid before the queen, who, with her usual grace and kindness, remitted a portion of her demand, and gave the mayor and governors a discharge, by which the town was relieved from the payment of the sum of £321. 6s. 0d. due to the crown for third, fourth, fifth and sixth, fifteenths and tenths, granted to her majesty, by an act of parliament passed in the 39th year of her reign, (c. xxvii.) and further exonerating the town from the payment of fifteenths and tenths during the royal pleasure. This document recites, that Beverley, once very rich and populous, was now become so impoverished by the translation of the staple, lately there kept, to Hull; that four hundred tenements were at this time utterly decayed and uninhabited, and that the town expended the annual sum of £105. in support of the poor, besides the charge of maintaining and educating eighty orphans, in knitting, spinning, and other works of industry, according to the provisions of an act of parliament passed 39 Elizabeth.⁴⁶

A long train of misfortunes appear now to have commenced, which cast a baleful shade over this once flourishing town, and served to perpetuate its degradation; yet how melancholy soever may be the task of tracing the steps of its gradual decline, we are still relieved and invigorated by a distant prospect of progressive improvement and renewed importance. A tremendous hurricane came over the town in 1608, which did incalculable mischief. The minster being a prominent object, and much exposed to its fury, received considerable damage. Its superb windows were demolished, its roof stripped of the lead, and fears were entertained for the safety of the fabric.⁴⁷ This calamity was succeeded by a dread of the plague, which now raged in the north of England, and every precaution was used to prevent the infection from being introduced into the town. An order was made to exclude strangers; and no person from the infected districts was allowed to attend the fairs.⁴⁸ All these preventive measures were without effect,

others. A prior ordinance had been agreed on "that all blown down wood which shall be found in Westwood, shall be placed with the masters of Westwood for the time being, and to be sold by them to the most comodity for the use of the comonalty, provided always that the fynder and p'uter of the same blown down wood shall have for his paynes for every tree fourpence." Ibid. Sep. 3. 1570.

⁴⁶ Discharge, dated 7 April, 1599. 20 Q. ⁴⁷ Corp. Rec. March, 1608.

⁴⁸ This order appears among the corporation records, and is to the following effect, Edw. Nelthorp, mayor. "It is ordered and agreed upon by Mr. Mayor and most part of the governors

and in the early part of the year 1610, the town was visited by this scourge of heaven, which raged with such violence as to thin its population. The activity of the mayor was unbounded, and this officer was allowed to adopt any measures which might tend to alleviate the general distress at the expense of the corporation.⁴⁹ Notwithstanding the unceasing exertions of all ranks of people, in the month of June twenty-three interments took place in the parish of Saint Mary alone, when the average number of deaths was usually but four per month. From this period to November, the disease increased so rapidly as to supersede all business. The shops were shut up; the public offices, and even the churches were closed, and numbers left the town. Notwithstanding these precautions, thirty-two persons died in July, and were buried in Saint Mary's church-yard; besides forty others whose remains were thrown into large holes without the performance of any religious ceremony.⁵⁰ In August, the disease became so fatal that in the parish of Saint Mary no entries are made in the registers.⁵¹ A lazaretto or pest-house was erected on the ruins of the commandery of Saint John of Jerusalem, to which those who were infected fled for refuge. But the dead were so numerous, that they were buried in tumuli of considerable extent on the western side of the moat.⁵²

and burgesses then present that from henceforth during the continuance of this instant Cross Fair (considering the great damage of the sickness in divers places of this countrey) that all and every the inhabitants within this town, being householders, shall in their own persons, if they be able men, keep the day ward from six of the clock in the morning till nine at night; and if he be unable in person himself, or that he cannot by reason of his occasions ward himself, that then he shall set a sufficient man, to be allowed by the governors of that ward or one of them; and that the constables of every ward shall every morning present the watchmen that day to be appointed to ward by six of the clock before the governors or one of them for that ward, to be allowed or disallowed as aforesaid; and that every one offending herein to forfeit and pay 3s. 4d. to be levied by distress to the town's use; or otherwise imprisoned at the discretion of Mr. Mayor and the governors, or any of the justices within this town. And it is further agreed that no person or persons inhabiting in the city of York or any other places infected with the plague shall be suffered to come within this town to Midsummer Fair with any wares or without, except he or they be to travel through the town without wares, having a certificate."

⁴⁹ Corp. Rec. 15 June, 1610.

⁵⁰ Saint Mary's Reg.

⁵¹ The street called Londoner's Street was closed by a barrier placed at each end during the continuance of the plague, and the dead bodies were now conveyed in great numbers through the yard, of the George and Dragon inn, and buried in tumuli in a field adjoining the outer Trinities. Ex. MS. penes me. The register of Saint John exhibits the following proportion of dead within that parish during the prevalence of the disease.

March, 1610, 2 burials.	
April 7	
May 6	
June 15	

July, 1610, 18 burials.
August .. 13
September 12
October .. 6

⁵² Ex. MS. penes me. In the year 1825, a considerable mass of human bones was discovered by Messrs. Tindalls, while excavating the west and north-west sides of the moat which surrounds

During the whole continuance of this month the members of the corporation assembled regularly in the council chamber, to devise the means of reducing the calamity within more moderate limits. An order was made to prevent the total desertion of the town; and a fine of ten shillings was imposed on every individual who should go, even to fairs and markets, without the mayor's especial permission; and lest this measure should be insufficient to detain the fugitives, imprisonment or other punishment, at the discretion of the justices, was denounced, and in some cases inflicted.⁵³ In the same month it was ordained, that every head of a family should periodically report, to the constable of his ward, the state of health in his house; and if any member of his family should be attacked by the disease, it should be reported within a specified number of hours, under pain of forfeiting forty shillings to the town's chest.⁵⁴ And another resolution was adopted at the same time, empowering the mayor to expend any sums of money for the relief of the sufferers, to be repaid out of the corporation purse.⁵⁵

The situation of the town at this moment must have been exceedingly appalling to those who still retained their health; but to the wretched sufferers who had been attacked by the deadly malady, it was replete with horror and dismay. Loathsome to themselves, and avoided by their friends, they almost hailed death as a deliverer from the anguish of pain, and the mortification of disappointed hope. Happily the disease was not of long continuance. It gradually diminished from August till November, when it entirely ceased.⁵⁶

In 1613, the minster was become much dilapidated; but the town was now poor, and having been recently weakened by heavy calamities, it was unable, in the absence of appropriate funds, to furnish the means for its reparation. But it was a noble fabric, and the people of Beverley possessed sufficient spirit to make some sacrifice rather than suffer the ornament and pride of their town to sink into utter ruin. At this time, the cloisters and other parts of the abbey of Watton lay in ruins, and the corporation had some interest with the proprietor, which enabled them to obtain a grant of the dilapidated materials for the purpose of restoring the decayed parts of their own magnificent structure. Thus provided, an order was passed for borrowing £100. at ten per cent, on the credit of the corporation;⁵⁷ and

the Trinities. These were the remains of the wretched inhabitants who fell a victim to this unrelenting scourge.

⁵³ Corp. Rec. 8 Aug. 1610. ⁵⁴ Ibid. 22 Aug. 1610. ⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ex. eodem MS. Ex. Reg. Saint Mary. ⁵⁷ Corp. Rec. 1 July, 1613.

they proceeded once more to put the minster in a state of repair convenient for the exalted purposes to which it was originally designed.

King Charles I. ascended the throne in 1625, and a few years afterwards gave to the corporation of Beverley, a charter of liberties which established the charter of incorporation granted by queen Elizabeth, and empowered the mayor, recorder, and governors to act as justices of the peace within the liberties of the town,⁵⁸ for previously two of the governors only had been annually elected under the charter of 2 Henry V. to officiate in that capacity. The first bench consisted of Francis Thorpe, esquire, *recorder*; Richard Waide, *mayor*; William Barrett, Peter Lickbarrow, John Chappelow, William Legard, Arthur Fish, Nicholas Waller, William Johnson, Robert Manby, Thwaites Fox, William Clarke, Thomas Clarke, and John Fotherby.⁵⁹

The town had been recently divided into wards, and an order was made by the corporation assigning to each governor his division of the town, and placing it distinctly under his peculiar jurisdiction, "according to the king's direction."⁶⁰ In the same year, a writ of quo warranto was exhibited against the town, and the recorder was directed to take the proper measures for neutralizing its effects.⁶¹

In 1632, a dread of the plague appears again to have pervaded the inhabitants of Beverley, and every precaution was renewed to avoid a recurrence of evils which recent experience had taught them to regard with horror. The strictest watch and ward was kept, and the town escaped the visitation with which many places in the north of England were at this time attacked.⁶²

It should appear that a very gross misapplication of the funds arising from certain property which had been graciously bestowed on Saint Mary's church by the late queen Elizabeth, had excited a considerable sensation in the town. A formal complaint was instituted, and a royal commission was issued out of the court of chancery, addressed to the archbishop of York; Francis, earl of Cumberland; sir Matthew Boynton, sir John Hotham, knights and baronets; sir Henry Griffith, baronet; sir Thomas Metham, sir William Alford, sir Christopher Hildyard, sir Michael Warton, sir Marmaduke Langdale, sir Philip Stapylton, knights; William St. Quintin, Nicholas Girlington, Francis Thorp, Richard Remington, Michael Warton, Robert Cromton, Richard Pearson, Christopher Constable, esquires; Ezekiel Rogers, William Chantrell, Thomas Micklethwaite, John Norton, Henry

⁵⁸ Corp. Rec. 4 Dec. 1628. No. 21.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 14 April, 1632.

⁶¹ Corp. Rec. 4 March, 1630.

⁶² Ibid. 20 Jan. 1630-1.

Hoyle, Rowland Aire, and William Ellis, clerks; giving to them, or any four of them, full power and authority to enquire, either by empanneling a jury or by any more direct method, what lands or other property had been at any time assigned to Saint Mary's church, and whether any of its possessions had been actually depreciated from the existence of abuses, misdemeanors, breaches of trust, defrauds, or misapplication of the funds; and to exhibit their decree in chancery with all convenient speed.

In pursuance of this commission, an inquisition was taken at Beverley, on the 7th January, 1633, before sir Michael Warton, knight; Michael Warton, and Francis Thorp, esquires; William Chantrell, Thomas Micklethwaite, and William Ellis, clerks. The jury consisted of Richard Johnson, Launcelot Keld, and John Anderson, of Bishop-Burton; William Johnson, of Cherry-Burton; Anthony Farrer, and Francis Smith, of Walkington; Robert Johnson, of North-Cave; Nathaniel Sumner and Thomas Sutton, of Riplingham; John Hammond, Henry Tindal, and Robert Johnson, of South-Cave; and Thomas Carr, of Sancton. This inquest sat many times at the Hall-garth, in Beverley, which at this time was used as the Sessions-house, to examine evidence, and enquire into all the matters named in the commission. On a full investigation it appeared that considerable property, as well in houses as in lands and rents, had been appropriated to the use of Saint Mary's parish, by queen Elizabeth, and other charitable persons, and the benefits of such appropriation had, in many instances, been wrongfully detained and misapplied, by alderman Barret and others. The inquisition states, that the jury "finde that a parcell of the garth in Wood-lane, belonging to the tenement in the tenure of Jefferey Ashton, viz. 27 yards thereof in length, and the whole breadth 410, hath been by the space of ten years last past, wrongfully detained and withheld from the said tenement and use of the said church, by William Barret, one of the aldermen of Beverley. And further, that the house within the North-Bar, late the lands of Robert Farrer, chargeable to pay the free rent of 10s. per annum, is now in the occupation of Elizabeth Winch, and that the same is behind and unpaid for the space of five years last past; and that the house in Burdet-midding-lane, late the lands of one — Grey, merchant, chargeable to pay a free rent of 2s. per annum, is now in the occupation of Richard Webster; and that the house called Stout house, in Vicar-lane, chargeable to pay a free rent of 2s. per annum, is now in the occupation of Charles Billips, one of the aldermen of Beverley; and that the house over again Saint Marie's church, lately the lands of one Wilmote, chargeable to pay a free rent of 1s. 8d. per annum, is now in the

tenure of Alice Leake, widow; and that the tenement without North-Barr, called the Butt, chargeable to pay a free rent of sixpence per annum, is now in the occupation of Isabell Swales; and that the house in High-gate, late in the tenure of James Adwick, chargeable to pay a free rent of 3s. 8d. per annum, is now in the occupation of William Johnson, or his assigns; and that the tenement in Burdetmidding-lane, late the land of — Padley, chargeable to pay a free rent of 1s. 6d. per annum, is now in the occupation of William Coulson, baker, or his assigns. And that all the forementioned free rents have been behind and unpaid by the space of five years last past.”⁶³

These illegal detentions, and other instances of speculation having been fully investigated by the commissioners, a decree was drawn up and agreed to, which, by distinctly marking the specific purposes to which the funds should be in future applied, and by placing them under a responsible control, should prevent the recurrence of similar encroachments. The decree provided that the churchwardens should enter upon, and take possession of all the church property, whether in rents, houses or lands, and grant leases for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, in their own names, and those of the mayor, governors, and burgesses; that the proceeds should remain in the joint custody of the senior governor, the vicar of Saint Mary’s church, and the churchwardens, and be disposed of as follows, after paying the out-rents and reprises incidental to the property. For the repairs of the church; for ornaments, utensils, and habiliments of the same; for the salaries of the sexton and other inferior officers, and for providing bread and wine for the communion; and the surplus, if any, to be paid annually to the corporation. The *casual* receipts were directed to be reserved for ten years, as a fund to answer any unexpected demand; and afterwards to be employed yearly in the repairs of the fabric. And it was provided that if the revenues should be insufficient to defray the current expenses, then the rent of the lofts in the church, which constituted one of the *casual* receipts, were appropriated to furnishing the above elements for the service of the altar. These purposes being effected, the churchwardens were charged to deliver a true and explicit account of all the receipts and disbursements of the preceding year, to the vicar and parishioners, at evening service on Tuesday in Easter week; which account, after being examined and allowed, was to be fairly transcribed on parchment, and placed amongst the other papers and evidences of the parish.⁶⁴

⁶³ Inquisition, dated 7 Jan. 1633–4.

⁶⁴ Decree, confirmed 23. Feb. 1635–6.

Chap. VIII.

Disputes between the king and parliament—Scottish war—King Charles at Beverley—Sir John Hotham appointed governor of Hull—The king appears before Hull, and demands admission—Is refused—Declares Hotham a traitor—The parliament sanction Hotham's conduct by a vote of thanks—Violence of the parliament—Preparations for war—Charles attempts to get possession of Hull by stratagem, and is assisted by a gentleman of Beverley—The plan detailed—Is unsuccessful—Active operations commenced by both parties—Charles places a garrison at Hull-Bridge, and stations himself at Beverley with his whole court—Lays siege to Hull—Returns to Beverley—and York.

IN the fluctuating page of history the reader is often impelled by transitions equally sudden and unexpected—

“From grave to gay, from lively to severe.”

In the record of past events, the historian is pledged to the strictest veracity; the golden balance of truth is suspended before him, and, faithful to his trust, he cannot add to, or diminish from, the materials by which its equipoise is sustained. Turn we now from private to public disputes; from the minor altercations of a single parish, to the discontents and differences of a mighty nation, which shook the constitution to its basis; deluged the country with blood, and ended in the temporary abolition of monarchy in England. This period demands a particular consideration, because the town of Beverley stands prominently forward as the theatre of many interesting transactions; and its representatives in parliament took an active and decided part in those scenes of blood and civil warfare which have excited the astonishment and execration of mankind; which produced the violent and unnatural death of the king, and the elevation of an ambitious demagogue to sovereign power, upon the ruins of every principle that is virtuous and praiseworthy in civil and social life.

The illegal imposition of ship money, as it was termed, constituted a great subject of national complaint, and formed a primary source of disagreement between the king and his people.¹ The disputed right of levying this tax, however, was only a pretext made use of by the parliament to engage the affections of the nation. The original question at issue between Charles and his parliament was, whether England should be governed by a despotic monarch without any control from the people by their representatives; or whether the nation should continue to enjoy the ancient form of government, transmitted through a long race of kings, confirmed by Magna Charta, and administered by three distinct branches of the legislature, king, lords, and commons. It was an error in Charles's education that he had, unhappily, imbibed false ideas of the royal prerogative, which he endeavoured to stretch to its utmost limit; even, as it was asserted by the reformers in the house of commons, to the annihilation of all the established privileges of his subjects, and the absolute acquisition of despotic power. To this source may be traced all the calamities which deformed the reign of this ill-fated monarch; and it was purely the fault of his education and not of his principles; for Charles was by nature a man of peace, and his bitterest enemies could not pronounce him a tyrant from a disposition systematically vicious, or from habits of a depraved or evil cast. Had he succeeded in the accomplishment of this design, if such were really his intention, the beautiful fabric of our constitution would have been laid in ruins, and the people enslaved under the domination of an absolute monarch. To prevent the degradation necessarily resulting from the consequences of such a step, the liberal party made a bold stand to resist the meditated attack upon the liberties of the people. The designs of parliament, at this stage of the dispute, extended no further than to confine the king's prerogative within its just and legal bounds, and to preserve the ancient and approved form of government, which was consecrated by long experience, and conveyed by the sanction of all former kings. The celebrated patriot Denzell Holles, at a subsequent period, while lamenting the sanguinary encroachments of the independent party, publicly declared, that "he and his, desired nothing but the settlement of the kingdom, in the honour and greatness of the king, and in the happiness and safety of the people. And whenever that could be obtained," he continues, "they were resolved to lay down

¹ The mayor, governors, and burgesses of Beverley, and divers other places in the county of York, were charged with providing two ships of 600 tons, each manned with 240 men with double equipage, and furnished with munition, wages, and provisions. Rot. Pat. 11 Ch. i. p. 11.

the sword, and submit to the king's sceptre of peace more willingly than they ever resisted his force and power. This, I am sure, was the ultimate end of many, I may say of the chiefest of those, who, at that time appeared."²

Charles, in an evil hour, determined to compel the Scottish nation, by force of arms, to embrace the rites and discipline of the reformed church; forgetting that no species of zeal is more obstinate and unconquerable than religious enthusiasm. An army was raised in the north for this express purpose, which the king headed in person, and the town of Beverley furnished its quota of men.³ In October, his majesty passed through Beverley,⁴ and at the same time, sir John Hotham and Michael Wharton, esquire, were elected burgesses to serve in parliament, to the exclusion of sir Thomas Metham, who was the unsuccessful candidate;⁵ and seven days afterwards, Mr. Robert Manbie and Mr. Edward Gray were directed to ride to York to pay the sums assessed upon the town and its members, towards maintaining the companies of sir W. Pennyman and sir T. Danbie.⁶ The Scots, with their usual policy, had adopted the principle of retaliation; and making an irruption into the north of England, they soon penetrated to the very borders of Yorkshire. Personal security, instead of hostile attack, was now the general consideration; the garrisons of York and Hull were put in a strong posture of defence, and an efficient guard was placed on duty night and day at Beverley.⁷ The expenses of this unpopular war soon excited a spirit of insubordination that roused the tiger from his lair, whose ferocious activity gained possession of the monarch's person, and bathed his talons in his sacred blood.

The debates in parliament now began to bear a character, which for boldness and invective had seldom before been witnessed; and the demands increased in proportion as the unfortunate monarch shewed a disinclination to compliance. The inhabitants of Beverley foresaw a struggle, ending in civil commotion, and

² Holles. Memorial. ³ Corp. Rec. 7 September, 1640.

⁴ The town was not prepared for the expenses attending this honour. "Paid at the coming of his majesty into this town for officers' fees and gratuities, £47. 0s. 0d. *Trees within and without the Trinities sold to defray the same.*" Ibid. Oct. 20. 1640.

⁵ Ibid. 20 Oct. 1640. It should seem from the coincidence of these dates, that the king was in Beverley on the day of election.

⁶ Ibid. 27 Oct. 1640.

⁷ "It is ordered that whereas there is a guard kept by the troops for the safeguard of every inhabitant of this town; and whereas the nights are both long and cold, and they desiring fire, that they shall be allowed every night a fire to refresh them with, at the charge of every inhabitant of this town that are thought able to be chargeable to the same." Ibid. 19 Nov. 1640.

resolved to guard their own town against its effects as far as their facilities would permit; for being situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Hull, a garrison town, and on the main road from thence to York, another strongly fortified place, both of which would be objects of consequence to each contending party, they ordered, that a regular and sufficient watch should be kept during six days of the week; and watch and ward "on the Lord's day during these dangerous times."⁸ And to ensure the due execution of this order, to every governor was assigned the care of his own ward on his personal responsibility, with power to enforce obedience to his orders.⁹

The boldness of parliament increasing with its strength and success, its remonstrances became more plain and decided, and the dislike of the king to the leading members was proportionably increased. In 1642, the attorney-general was instructed to prefer articles of accusation against Holles and four other principal persons of his party, for "bringing and encouraging the Scottish army to invade his majesty's kingdom of England." A sergeant-at-arms was despatched to the house to take them into custody, but without success. This attempt was voted a breach of privilege; and a declaration was made, that it would be lawful to resist any king's officer by force, who should try to attack any member of that house without their own order. At length the king himself, inflamed by disappointment, appeared personally in the house and demanded the accused members, who had just time, from private intelligence, to escape before his majesty entered. No assistance could therefore be rendered to the impatient monarch in the absence of the accused, and thus overwhelmed with vexation, Charles returned to his palace amidst loud and reiterated cries of "Privilege!"

This summary proceeding was immediately voted a high breach of the privilege of parliament; a great scandal to the king and his government; a seditious act, manifestly tending to the subversion of the peace; and an injury and dishonour done to the five persecuted members, there being no legal charge or accusation against them. And the house further declared, that there could be no vindication of their privileges, unless his majesty would discover the names of those who advised him to such unlawful courses. The king refused to comply with this request;

⁸ Corp. Rec. 17 Jan. 1641-2.

⁹ Corp. Rec. 16 June, 1642. One of the governors having been for some time absent from the town, and his ward being thus neglected, an order was made, that if "Mr. Fotherby does not attend in his place as a governor, he shall be dismissed, and another appointed in his room." Ibid.

and the parliament immediately committed sir Edward Herbert, his attorney, on a charge of violating the privileges of parliament. This was a strong and somewhat decisive measure, but the members of the house of commons had now gone too far to recede with impunity; and were therefore resolved to widen the breach, even at the risk of involving the country in a civil war. The king appeared the next day in the streets of the city, when the people, rendered bold by the atrocious example of their superiors, surrounded his carriage, and loaded him with gross insult and aggravated indignity; so that his majesty, under the dread of creating a popular tumult, was reduced to the necessity of secluding himself entirely from his parliament and his people.

Decisive measures were now resolved on; but it was reserved for one of the representatives of the town of Beverley, to perform the first act of indignity against his legitimate sovereign, as the harbinger of a fierce and bloody intestine war. Sir John Hotham was deputed to take possession of the town and garrison of Hull, to secure the arms and warlike stores which had been deposited there to be in readiness to repel any sudden irruption of the Scots. Various means were now used to prejudice the inhabitants of this place against the king, and prevent them from embracing his cause if he should make any attempt upon the town; and sir John Hotham, the governor, had received peremptory orders from the parliament, that "no English or any other forces shall be suffered to enter the town but those already appointed to be the garrison there; and such others as by the wisdom and authority of both houses of parliament shall be advised and directed to be received and kept for the better guard and defence of the town and magazines therein remaining, *for his majesty's service* and the security of the kingdom."¹⁰ This order, like all the other transactions of the parliament at this unhappy period, was a serpent concealed amongst roses. The magazines were directed to be secured *for his majesty's service*; when the real meaning was, that the governor, "at his peril," should take heed that his majesty did not, by any means, get them into his possession; for they were intended to be used against him, in the civil conflict which a certain party in the parliament had already resolved to bring upon the country.

The crisis now approached, which was to refer the disputes between the king and parliament to the arbitrament of the sword. His majesty had established his court in the city of York, as a place of personal security; for here he was surrounded

¹⁰ Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 3741.

by a loyal and affectionate population, who were prepared to devote their lives to his safety, should any attempt be made upon his liberty or life; and their fidelity was openly displayed, although the parliament had stationed a secret committee there, who acted as spies upon his person and conduct, and used every opportunity of undermining his popularity, by falsehood, calumny, and detraction. Many attempts had been made by the parliament to remove the magazines from Hull to London, but the upper house had hitherto possessed sufficient authority to prevent it. At length however, being afraid that the king would become possessed of this important fortress, the house of commons issued an order, on their own responsibility, for such removal; and so secretly and expeditiously was this order carried into effect, that the king was unacquainted with the design, until ships were actually appointed to carry the stores away. No time was now to be lost, and his friends urged him to take possession of the town of Hull in person, trusting that the governor would not dare to refuse admittance to his lawful monarch. Sir John Hotham however, at this period of his political career, was strictly in the interest of the parliament; and, as one of the representatives of Beverley, he had already induced the inhabitants to take the solemn vow and protestation.¹¹ It appears that the king thought differently, for on the 23rd of April, 1642, attended by a small number of servants, and several loyal gentlemen of the county of York, the king appeared before the gates of Hull, and found them closed, the bridges drawn up, the soldiers under arms, and the governor on the walls, prepared to receive him as an enemy.¹² To the demand made by his majesty for admittance, sir John objected to the magnitude of his train. The king proposed to reduce it; but other difficulties were started as an apology for the refusal, which the governor thought it his duty to persist in. In a word, sir John appeared unable to determine what course to pursue on this sudden emergency; and Charles, after a long and patient parley, proceeded to apprise the governor of the unhappy consequences which might result from his extraordinary conduct on the present occasion; and entreated him to consider well what he was about, as all the blood which might be shed in the quarrel would rest upon his head, should he persist in the fatal determination of excluding him from the town. Sir John was paralyzed. Divided between his sworn allegiance to the king, and the ideas of duty, which, as he imagined, bound him to obey the orders of those who had entrusted him with the command; and

¹¹ Corp. Rec. 19 May, 1641.

¹² Clar. Hist. Rebel. vol. i. p. 507.

beholding, in his mind's eye, the distant spectacle of civil dissension, darkened by seas of English blood, and embittered by the lamentations of widowed mothers, and the cries of destitute orphans, he trembled for the calamities which as yet were only in anticipation; and, in the phrenzy of indecision, he threw himself on his knees, avowed his loyalty, and imprecated the vengeance of heaven on himself and his posterity, if he intended any disrespect to his majesty by refusing him admission into a town which had solemnly been entrusted to his charge by the parliament of England. The king graciously afforded him time to recover from his panic; but, after considerable delay, still receiving a direct prohibition to enter the walls, he caused a herald to proclaim sir John Hotham and all his adherents guilty of high-treason, under the statutes of 25 Edw. III. and 11 Hen. VII. and returned to Beverley for the night.¹³

The king's feelings, on that evening of mental torture, smarting under bitter reflections on the open indignity which he had received from a subject, cannot easily be conceived.¹⁴ Still he was willing, if possible, to avert the fatal consequences of such an act of disloyalty and disobedience. A messenger was despatched from Beverley the next day, to afford sir John Hotham another opportunity of profiting by the exercise of his deliberate judgment, with a gracious offer of pardon and indemnity for the past, if he was willing to preserve the peace of the kingdom by admitting the king into the possession of his own garrison of Hull. Sir John

¹³ Clar. Hist. Rebel. vol. i. p. 508.

¹⁴ His majesty's own words may be here cited to shew his feelings on this indignity. "My repulse at Hull seemed at the first view, an act of so rude disloyalty, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet or own it. It was the first overt essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the losse of my kingdoms. God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for my self: nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse. I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience. But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darknesse. For 'tis among the wicked maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, that bad actions must always be seconded with worse, and rather not begun then not carried on: for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more than perseverance in a fault. This gave me to see clearly thro' all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men, whose words were sometimes smoother then oyl, but now I saw they would prove very swords. Against which, I having (as yet) no defence but that of a good conscience, thought it my best policy, with patience to bear what I could not remedy. And in this (I thank God) I had the better of Hotham, that no disdain or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing unbecoming my self, or unsuitable to that temper which, in greatest injuries, I think best becomes a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ." *Eikon Basilike*. Edit. 1650. p. 31. Published at the Hague.

rejected the proposals, and thus an opportunity was for ever lost of preventing the unnatural scenes which result from civil warfare. The king returned to York, whence he transmitted a message to the two houses of parliament, demanding justice on the governor of Hull, and all his adherents; but the parliament had resolved on war, and this occurrence was a sufficient pretext for promulgating their intentions. The members of the lower house concurred in justifying the conduct of sir John Hotham, as he had acted under the influence of obedience to their commands; and turning the king's complaint against himself, they voted, "That the declaring of sir John Hotham traitor, being a member of the house of commons, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament; as well as against the liberty of the subject and the law of the land."¹⁵

The parliament now began to make active preparations for war; and a small band of loyal Yorkshiresmen voluntarily enrolled themselves into a corps for the protection of his majesty's person. These were the seeds of civil dissention, which soon produced a luxurious harvest of slaughter and blood. The house of commons voted an answer to the king's message respecting the treason of sir John Hotham, couched in violent and indecent language, and transmitted it to Beverley, where Charles then was; by the hands of a committee, consisting of lord Howard, lord Fairfax, sir Hugh Cholmeley, sir Philip Stapylton, and sir Henry Cholmeley,¹⁶ with instructions to secure the town of Hull for the parliament; to prevent any armament being formed in Yorkshire for the king's use; and to require of the lord lieutenant and the sheriff to raise the whole county, if circumstances required it, and place the force so embodied at the disposal of any person whom the parliament might think proper to appoint.¹⁷

The king's situation at this time was peculiarly delicate and distressing. He had already made a concession to the people renouncing his right to levy tonnage and poundage without the consent of parliament,¹⁸ and still hoped to preserve inviolate the peace of the nation. For this purpose he now employed remonstrance and argument to convince a party of their error, who were resolved not to be convinced; and who, instead of searching for the means of adjusting all existing differences, sought only for plausible pretexts to justify their own aggressions, and lend a sanction to measures which were about to drench the country with blood. Daring individuals were now planted about his majesty's person as spies upon all his

¹⁵ Rushw. Collect. vol. v. ¹⁶ Clarend. Hist. Rebel. vol. i. p. 684.

¹⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 483. ¹⁸ Stat. 16. Ch. I. c. 8.

actions, and though he was acquainted with the designs of the intruders, he was averse to their apprehension, lest such an act should be construed into a commencement of hostilities; a consummation which he contemplated with sentiments of apprehension and horror; for the parliament had passed a resolution, that whoever should molest or imprison a member of either house, who was employed in its service, should be deemed a disturber of the peace, and brought to summary punishment.¹⁹

Many members of both houses, who still retained their loyalty, and foresaw the approaching storm, abandoned their seats, and flocked to the king at York, determined to avenge the insults he had received, and restore to him the unsullied possession of his crown and dignity. This defection of many of the wisest and best senators left a dreary vacuum in the house, which alarmed and terrified the reformers to such a degree, that a vote was immediately passed by the miserable relicks, declaring that "as it appears that the king intends to make war against the parliament, whoever shall assist him in such war, shall be accounted traitors by the fundamental laws of this realm; and that such persons ought to suffer as traitors."²⁰ The plausible subtlety of this resolution must appear evident. It accuses the king of an *intention* of making war, when the parliament had actually been in arms against him, at least from the period of his repulse before the gates of Hull, which was an instance of direct hostility, avowed by the parliament, and sanctioned as their own act and deed. From that period too, sallies had been made from the garrison with armed men,²¹ who burned and plundered houses, and took the lives of their fellow subjects under circumstances of deliberate cruelty which usually mark the progress of long and bloody wars.²² This point of time may be accounted the commencement of the rebellion; and though Charles, from an impulse of tenderness towards his subjects, hesitated to comply with the proposal of the Yorkshire nobility and gentry, who strenuously urged him to raise the county and take the garrison of Hull by force,²³ yet all this while the parliament, like the savage boar in the dark recesses of his native forest, were secretly employed in sharpening their tusks, and preparing for the work of destruction. Thus, while the king at York amused himself with issuing proclamations, to

¹⁹ Parl. Hist. vol. x. ²⁰ Ibid. vol. xi. p. 116.

²¹ Clarend. Hist. Rebel. vol. i. p. 718.

²² Remonstrance of the nobility and gentry of Yorkshire. Drake. Ebor. p. 156.

²³ Drake. Ebor. p. 145.

induce his subjects to return to their allegiance, and prevent an effusion of blood; the parliament, with other sentiments than those of peace, were assiduously engaged in active operations. They seized upon the navy, and appointed the earl of Warwick, lord high admiral of England; and when war was formally declared, each party professed to contend for the same object; and the respective orders for levying forces were expressed in the same words. The royal declaration specified, that his majesty took up arms "to maintain the Protestant religion, the king's just power and authority, the laws of the land, the peace of the kingdom, and the privilege of parliament." The declaration of the parliament was the same, without any variation of words or phrases. How truly the rebels adhered to their professions the sequel fully shews.

The next step taken by the parliament, was to provide the town of Hull with a sufficient force to resist the attack which the king was expected to make upon it. They appointed a committee to assist sir John Hotham in his defence of that citadel, consisting of Mr. Peregrine Pelham, one of the members for Hull; sir William Strickland and Mr. Allured, the members for Hedon; Mr. John Hotham, the son of the governor, and representative of Scarborough; Mr. Henry Darley, member for Malton; sir William Airmyn, member for Grantham; and Mr. Warton, the other representative of Beverley.²⁴ These commissioners were invested with full powers to keep the town of Hull, and to repel any attempt that should be made to force it; to remove or appropriate stores; to arm the population if necessary; to use their utmost diligence to prevent forces being raised for the royal cause; and to clear the parliament "from all imputations and aspersions, and throw all the odium of these proceedings on the king and his party."²⁵

Charles now began to see that his enemies were bent on his destruction; and having experienced the extreme hopelessness of argument, persuasion, and remonstrance, he roused himself at length from his inaction, and determined to make an attempt upon Hull. But it was now too late; and he had forfeited by delay, and an aversion to shed the blood of his subjects, the propitious moment when he might successfully have carried the place; and once in possession of its stores, all the subsequent horrors would have been prevented; for it is highly probable that at that period, and under these circumstances, the parliament would have been inclined to listen to terms of pacification, which might have restored Charles to

²⁴ Parliam. Hist. vol. xi. p. 118. ²⁵ Ibid.

his throne clothed with the legitimate authority which he had received from his ancestors. Aware of the impracticability of obtaining the town by force in his present weak and unprovided state, he had recourse to stratagem. Mr. Beckwith, of Beverley, a gentleman warmly attached to the king's interest, had a son-in-law who was a subaltern officer in Hull garrison. Measures were privately concerted between this gentleman and other friends of the unfortunate monarch to gain over lieutenant Fowkes to their interest; and for this purpose, Beckwith wrote an invitation to his son-in-law to spend an evening with him at his house in Beverley, as he wished to communicate with him on business of the utmost importance. The lieutenant obtained permission to visit his father-in-law, and was commanded to return to his duty the next day before two o'clock. When he arrived at Mr. Beckwith's house, he was ushered into a private apartment, where he found a large party of gentlemen apparently engaged in conversation of extraordinary interest, as their countenances betrayed the utmost anxiety and intense thought. That their deliberations were of a secret nature was evident from this circumstance, that one of the party was concealed under a mask which covered his whole face. Fowkes considered this man well, and mentally pronounced him to be sir Joscelyn Percy, a known adherent of the king, and the son of Henry, the eighth earl of Northumberland.²⁶

Mr. Fowkes was received with great cordiality by the party to which he was introduced; and a conversation, which appeared to have been interrupted by the entrance of the young soldier, was resumed without any apparent reference to himself. The horrors attendant on domestic warfare were described by one of the party in animated language; and the delirium of the parricide was instanced as one of the dreadful results, who, in a civil conflict, should be paralyzed with the sickening discovery that the blood which stained his victorious weapon, had been drawn from the life-veins of his parent, and that the foe whom he had just laid dead at his feet, was no other than the venerated author of his own existence. From general topics of this character, the conversation naturally turned to the present posture of affairs in England, and the inevitable probability that such scenes would soon be realized in this unhappy land; and they all united in

²⁶ One of the manuscripts in my possession asserts, that the gentleman in the mask was no other than Charles, king of England, whose anxiety prompted him to be present *incog.* for the purpose of directing the proceedings in a point of such moment to his future interests. I think, however, that this interpretation ought to be rejected, because it is wholly unsupported by any substantial evidence.

deploring the evils which must result from the usurpation of sovereign power which the parliament appeared inclined to assume. Even lieutenant Fowkes deprecated any attempt to deprive the king of his legal rights; and declared, that while he possessed a sword and a hand to wield it, nothing should seduce him from his sworn allegiance, nor wrest from his sacred majesty those powers and privileges which his ancestors had bequeathed to him, confirmed as they were, by law and ancient usage. So little, adds my authority, were even the soldiers themselves acquainted with the dark designs of their crafty leaders.

This open declaration excited visible emotions of surprise in the whole party, and particularly in the masked visitor. One of the company immediately explained to him, with great eagerness, the outline of the present dispute between the king and parliament; that the latter had an army in pay against the king, of which he (Mr. Fowkes) formed a part; that, unless it were prevented by some master-stroke of policy, this country would soon become the theatre of war; that, as his father-in-law was an adherent of the royal party, if he himself continued in the service of the parliament, their swords would be mutually pointed at each other's throats; and concluded by saying, that it was in his individual power to preserve the lives of thousands who would otherwise be slain in the dispute; and by a single act of obedience to the commands of a monarch, whom he had already professed his readiness to serve, he might have the glory of tranquillizing the country by soothing all its stormy passions to repose; and be hailed by mankind as the preserver of the king, and the protector of the lives, liberties, and property of his fellow countrymen, as well as his dearest connexions. Mr. Fowkes enquired with great eagerness by what means this happy consummation was to be effected. By the simple expedient, said the other, of delivering up the citadel of Hull to the king; which, with the assistance of captain Lowenger, the commander of your division, may be accomplished with the greatest ease. It is impossible to prescribe the exact process, he added, which must depend on many local and casual circumstances; but it may be arranged between yourselves with absolute certainty of success, and on the completion of the project, I am authorized to propose that the captain shall receive a gratuity of £1000. and yourself £500.; and that the same sums shall be annually paid to each of you during the remainder of your lives.

Lieutenant Fowkes was not rich, and he flattered himself that he was possessed of a proper feeling of attachment to the king; he was now in his father's house, surrounded by his father's most intimate friends. His sense of duty however told him, that the proceeding to which he had been solicited to lend his aid, would, on

his part, be little short of treason, and his conscience whispered that it must be attended with infamy, should he be fortunate enough to escape condign punishment. On the other hand, he mentally enquired, what is treason? It is no other than an offence committed against the person or dignity of the monarch; but by this act he should essentially serve the monarch, and therefore, it could not be pronounced treason in the strict and legitimate sense of the word. Again his ideas wandered to the opposing argument; and what, thought he, will be the opinion of my associates and brother officers of such a dishonourable breach of trust? He was puzzled and bewildered by his own thoughts; and was only roused from his abstraction by a purse of gold, as an earnest of future fortune, and advancement in his profession. He at length promised to consult his superior officer, captain Lowenger, and make his father-in-law acquainted with the result, but absolutely refused to enter at present into any positive engagement. With this understanding they were obliged to rest satisfied; and the party broke up, leaving Mr. Fowkes and his father-in-law to make any further arrangements, should mature and deliberate reflections induce the soldier to enter more explicitly into their views.

The next day, lieutenant Fowkes returned to the garrison, and without delay communicated the circumstances to the governor, who was the intimate friend of his father-in-law, and, as he knew, not only a gentleman by birth, fortune, and education, but also possessing affections well disposed towards the king's person, and little desirous to see the country involved in civil war. Sir John thought this proceeding somewhat extraordinary, and charged Fowkes to keep it secret from every person but himself; and carry on the correspondence with Mr. Beckwith as though every thing was favourable to their mutual views.

Several letters now passed between Fowkes and Beckwith, all of which were inspected, and some even dictated by the governor himself; and the correspondence closed with a letter from Fowkes, in which he communicated a plan, said to have been agreed on between himself and captain Lowenger, for delivering the town of Hull into the king's hands without the hazard of a single life. A day was named, on which it was said that both these officers would be on duty; the captain at the head of the main guard, and himself at the north gate; and that, if his majesty would be there with a thousand horsemen, half of them with a foot soldier mounted behind each, he would be prepared to admit him; and marching straight to the main guard, captain Lowenger would immediately deliver into his hands the whole military strength of the town. Mr. Beckwith was rejoiced that the plot was so near its completion; and promising perfect success without the existence of any risk;

and communicated it to the king, by whose command preparations were made for carrying it into execution. This was notified to Mr. Fowkes on Monday; and the next day was appointed for the accomplishment of this most important enterprize.

Sir John Hotham now began to entertain some compunction for the part he had taken in this business, and foresaw that his duplicity might occasion much unnecessary bloodshed. To prevent this he summoned a council of war, and laid before the assembly a detailed statement of the case; and, as he had anticipated, many of the members contended strenuously for admitting the forces into the town, and then, after putting every one of them to the sword, to possess themselves of the king's person. But the governor protested against such a wanton effusion of blood, and proposed to give his majesty notice that they were privy to his plot; and to recommend him to relinquish his intention of making any attempt upon Hull, as such a proceeding might be attended with fatal consequences. This course was not by any means palatable to a portion of the council; but sir John Hotham persisted in it, and despatched his own secretary with a letter to the king, apprizing him of their knowledge of his intentions. This disclosure put a period, for the present, to the king's designs upon Hull, on account of its utter impracticability, in the absence of arms, ammunition, and money sufficient for a regular siege.²⁷

Sir John sent an express to acquaint the parliament with the particulars of the plot which had been thus frustrated;²⁸ but they had received, from some of the dissatisfied members of the council, a private account of the transaction, by which so favourable an opportunity of gaining possession of the king's person was wantonly rejected; and though they passed a vote of thanks for his conduct in this affair, they also placed spies upon his actions,²⁹ which ultimately brought him to the scaffold. Beckwith was pronounced guilty of high-treason against the parliament, and an order was issued for his apprehension. He was taken at York, just before the king departed for Nottingham, but was rescued by his majesty's orders, who told the messengers that they might inform their employers that when they delivered up sir John Hotham to his justice, he would deliver up Beckwith to their's; and until that period he would protect him from injury.³⁰

²⁷ The above account of this transaction has been drawn up from MSS. in my possession, and contains a correct statement of the facts. It is somewhat differently related in Tickell's *Hull*, p. 382—385.

²⁸ Vid. sir John Hotham's Letter, dated 3 June, 1642. ²⁹ *Clar. Hist. Rebel.* vol. i. p. 710.

³⁰ *Vicars. Jehovah-Jireh*, p. 84.

The parliament now proceeded to active operations. They removed the superfluous arms and stores from Hull to London, and struck the first publick blow by raising money, levying troops, and manning the fleet. The king, in his own defence, was obliged to follow their example in the best manner he could. His queen retired to Holland, where she disposed of her own private jewels, as well as those of the crown; and with the money purchased a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition; which, after many hair-breadth escapes, were safely transferred to the king at York. Thus relieved from his embarrassments by the affectionate solicitude of his wife, Charles felt inspirited with all the dignity of his exalted rank, and proceeded with great alacrity to raise and embody regiments of horse and foot for his immediate service, and soon found himself at the head of a gallant army, devoted to his cause, and headed by the principal nobility and loyal gentry of the kingdom. The king despatched a troop of horse into Holderness, to secure a supply of stores which were on board of a vessel riding at anchor in the river Humber. This troop marched through Beverley on the 2nd July, 1642, and accomplished the purpose of their expedition with equal zeal and success. On the same day, a company of foot soldiers called Strickland's regiment, consisting of about 300 men, was commissioned to secure a strong post on the side of Beverley nearest to Hull, that the town might not be subject to any sudden attack from the garrison in the latter place; as the king had now determined to fix his head quarters at Beverley; and the soldiers accordingly took possession of a private house at Hull-Bridge, near Beverley, in the night, where they were joined by the earl of Newport, the earl of Caernarvon, and several other noblemen, the high-sheriff of the county, sir Thomas Gower, being with them. This post was held for some time by about 700 soldiers under the command of colonel Wyvil.³¹

On the 4th of July the king removed his court to Beverley,³² his plate and plenishing being carried with him; took up his residence at lady Gee's house,³³

³¹ Depositions at the trial of Charles I.

³² *Parliam. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 256. There is a story in circulation that when Charles visited Beverley minster, the old painting was pointed out to him which represents the anachronism of king Athelstan presenting Saint John of Beverley with a charter, on which is inscribed the well known couplet, *Als fre, &c.* It is said that the king immediately confirmed these liberties by exclaiming, "*EVEN SO FREE BE.*" I know not on what authority this story can be authenticated.

³³ Depositions at the trial of Charles I. I am not able to pronounce decisively where this house was situated, unless it was near the North-Bar. In a MS. possessed by the present representatives of the Gee's family, containing "a note of such deeds and evidences as doe concern the title of all the lands and possessions which was the inheritance of sir W. Gee, knight, late of

with the prince and the duke of York ; and invested the earl of Lindsey with the chief command of his army, which was stationed there, that he might the more speedily execute his designs on the garrison at Hull, which he now determined to reduce by force of arms. He appointed three or four regiments under the command of sir Robert Strickland, and lieutenant-colonel Duncombe, as a guard of honour about his person ;³⁴ and had likewise with him a small train of artillery. His army altogether consisted but of 3000 foot and 1000 horse.

The court of this monarch, in his adversity, was more splendid than those of many sovereign princes at the summit of power ; and the town of Beverley now exhibited a scene which its inhabitants, doubtless, contemplated with sentiments of honest pride and satisfaction. He was attended by all his faithful nobility ; “ not one,” says Clarendon,³⁵ “ remained at York ;”³⁶ besides a numerous retinue of private gentlemen. Whilst he remained at Beverley he received considerable accessions to his treasury by the voluntary gifts of his loyal subjects,³⁷ which enabled him to make head against the formidable power of his enemies. Before he proceeded to lay siege to Hull, he published a proclamation,³⁸ explaining his views

Bishop-Burton, in the county of York, deceased,” is the following entry. “ *The messuage and land in North-Bar-Street* bought of Henry Story and his wife. The indenture of bargain and sale thereof to William Gee, merchant. Dated 8 May, 24 Eliz.” The large house where the row of Bar houses now stand, with its gates of iron, was taken down within the last sixty years. This Gee had houses also on the east-side of Wednesday-Market; in Walker-gate, Lair-gate, Keld-gate, and East-gate.

³⁴ Depositions at the trial of Charles I. ³⁵ Clarend. Hist. Rebel. vol. i. p. 710.

³⁶ The following is a list of the loyal nobility who formed the monarch’s court at Beverley, on the present occasion. The lord Keeper, duke of Richmond, marquis of Hartford, marquis of Hamilton, earls of Cumberland, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Salisbury, Carlisle, Northampton, Devonshire, Clare, Westmoreland, Lindsey, Monmouth, Newcastle, Dover, Caernarvon, Newport, Thanet, Huntingdon, Bristol, Rivers, Cambridge, and Berkshire; lords Mowbray, Strange, Willoughby, Longaville, Rich, Andover, Fauconbridge, Lovelace, Paulet, Newark, Coventry, Dunsmore, Saville, Seymore, Capell, Paget, Mohun, Faulkland, Chandos, Gray of Ruthin, and Charles Howard of Charlton; Mr. Secretary Nicholas; Lord Chief Justice Bankes; Mr. Comptroller, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer. Drake. Ebor. p. 150, 155.

³⁷ These voluntary contributions gave such high offence to the parliament, that Charles found himself under the necessity, in some instances, of issuing writs of protection. A document of this kind, addressed to the vice-chancellor of Oxford, is preserved in king Charles’s Works, published in the same volume with Eikon Basilike, already referred to. It expresses his determination “to protect and defend those who shall be persecuted for that cause, by having contributed to Our defence and protection. Given at our court at Beverley, 18 July, 1642.” These donations however, were a source of great satisfaction to the king’s friends, and a pamphlet was published about this time, entitled, “Exceeding welcome News from Beverley, 1642.” In Bibl. Bodl. C. 13. 15. Linc.

³⁸ Vid. Append. G.

and intentions; and accompanied it by a message to the house, in which he entreated the members to return to their allegiance, and prevent, by their obedience to the laws, the calamities attendant on a civil war. The house had already passed a vote for arraying an army, and establishing the earl of Essex in the command, and therefore the message was answered by a contemptuous petition to the king at Beverley, which had been previously drawn up, and contained a reference to the usual topics which were intended to throw upon Charles the odium of the war.³⁹

The active and efficient preparations made for the siege, had disconcerted the garrison at Hull; and the governor having in vain endeavoured to amuse Charles with open protestations of loyalty and attachment,⁴⁰ in which he was joined by all the officers, who endeavoured to atone by hollow and insincere professions, for the errors of disloyalty and rebellion; Hotham at length cut through the banks of the Humber, and inundated the whole surrounding country.⁴¹ This proceeding was followed by a general order to strengthen the fortifications; and every practicable effort was made to sustain the expected siege; but their best defence was the element with which the flat country was inundated to a considerable depth; for it prevented the royalists from making regular approaches, or erecting batteries to bombard the town.⁴² The governor's policy, however replete with present safety, was most injurious to the country, and ultimately to himself; the fine meadows and pastures were ruined; the cattle destroyed; the means of supplying the garrison with provisions circumscribed; and all the hope of the industrious occupiers of the soil, buried beneath the salt wave. His majesty beheld the universal

³⁹ Vid. Append. H.

⁴⁰ A treaty is said to have subsisted at this time between sir John Hotham and the king, for the possession of Hull; the former having stipulated, says Clarendon, to deliver up the garrison, whenever the king should appear before it, on condition of receiving a full pardon for his former offences. Clarend. Hist. Rebel. vol. i. p. 709. But he was unable to perform his stipulation, for he did not possess the confidence of his officers; and even his own son viewed his conduct with the eye of jealous suspicion. Ibid. vol. i. p. 710.

⁴¹ Vicars. Jehovah-Jireh. p. 116.

⁴² The attempts made by the king upon Hull were pronounced by the parliament the first commencement of hostilities; for in the charges afterwards exhibited against the unfortunate monarch, it was urged, "that he the said Charles Stuart, for the accomplishment of his designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents in his and their wicked practices, to the same ends, both traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people therein represented. Particularly upon or about the 30th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1642, at Beverley, in the county of York; and upon or about the 30th day of July, in the year aforesaid, in the county of the city of York, &c." State Trials. 8vo. edit. vol. iv. col. 1071.

desolation with regret and sympathy, and deplored most pathetically to his council, the first fruits of that dreadful harvest of affliction which his unhappy people were now destined to reap. Two hundred men were incessantly employed in cutting wide and deep drains to carry off the water; and others were busily engaged in the work of destruction by diverting the current of fresh water with which the town of Hull was supplied; and even the mills belonging to the inhabitants were burnt and destroyed.⁴³ Two forts were erected by the royalists, the one at Hessle, and the other at Paul, to prevent any supplies being thrown into the town by water; and 200 horse were stationed at Barton with directions to scour the country, and obstruct the communication between Lincolnshire and Hull. Notwithstanding these precautionary measures, the parliament, by a prompt and decisive stratagem, succeeded in throwing a strong reinforcement into the town by water, and soon convinced the monarch that they possessed the advantage over him both in discipline and numbers. Every thing being now prepared, the parliament gave the signal for active operations, and the first blood that was shed in this unhappy contest, save and except a few insulated murders which had been committed by Hotham's party in their sallies from the garrison of Hull, was drawn by captain Pigot, a parliamentary officer, who commanded a ship of war, stationed in the Humber. A vessel laden with ordnance was sent over to the coast of Lincolnshire to construct a battery, which, in case of emergency, was intended to act in concert with that at Paul. Captain Pigot disputed its passage, and commenced an engagement in sight of the garrison. The royalists defended their charge with great gallantry, though they fought under every disadvantage, determined that the stores should not fall into the enemy's hands. They contended to the last extremity; and at length being overpowered by their adversary's weight of metal, they received a fatal broadside, the vessel sank, and every soul on board perished in the water.⁴⁴

The sword was now drawn, and the siege of Hull was prosecuted with vigour, but without success. After many ineffectual attempts, the king relinquished all thoughts of reducing the fortress, and returned to Beverley; but the rebels had followed him by a circuitous route, and unexpectedly crossing the imperfect ditches at the North-Bar, beat down the centinels, and penetrated into the very heart of the town, before the royalists were aware of the pursuit. Charles was desired by

⁴³ Vicars. *Jehovah-Jireh*. p. 118.

⁴⁴ Tickell. *Hull*. p. 436.

his officers to take refuge in the Hall-garth; and when he was placed in safety, they called out the troops, and gave the rebels battle in the streets. Disappointed in their design of securing the king's person, they made but a feeble resistance, and soon fled with precipitation to their place of security within the walls of Hull.⁴⁵ This bold proceeding excited apprehensions for the king's personal liberty, and the council pressed him to retire to a place of greater strength. Having therefore entrusted the protection of the town of Beverley to a single regiment, he finally retreated with his court to York.

Chap. XX.

Consternation of the inhabitants of Beverley after the king's departure—London merchants arrive at Beverley, and petition for leave to sell their goods—Precautions for strengthening the town—Parliamentary troops take possession of it—Sir John Hotham apprehended at Beverley—Battle in the streets between the earl of Newcastle and sir T. Fairfax—Troops of the latter routed—Royalists sack the town—Commission for a treaty of peace—Practices of the independents—Trial and execution of the king—Change of measures—Pens built in the minster nave.

THE inhabitants of Beverley, thus abandoned by the army in which all their hopes of protection centred, were impressed with sensations of considerable alarm, under the anticipated expectation that the town would now be occupied by a detachment of the republican troops from Hull, who were at this time employed in committing barbarous ravages in the neighbourhood. All labour was suspended; anxiety deprived the people of their accustomed cheerfulness, and the authorities were at a loss how to conduct themselves in this pressing extremity, divided as they were in opinion respecting the merits of the dispute between the king and his parliament; though the inhabitants were yet generally loyal, and well affected

⁴⁵ Ex. MS. penes me.

towards their lawful monarch. The town was characterized by an awful stillness, yet the streets were full of people. Even women and children were silenced by their fears; and might be seen pacing from house to house with pale cheeks, and terror in their looks, to seek for consolation in the opinion of those who needed it themselves. Knots of men were assembled, apparently in deep consultation, in the market-places and other parts of the town; yet little was said, and that only in a mysterious and subdued tone of voice, for nothing could be certain but their fears. All was darkness and uncertainty. Rumours, various and contradictory, were afloat, and none knew what to receive as authentic, or what to reject as false. In the midst of all this consternation, a body of London merchants entered the town to claim protection, and the privilege of exposing their merchandize for sale. They had been accustomed to attend the fairs at Howden, and came this year as usual to dispose of their wares, but had been excluded, probably by the king's party, lest they should disseminate republican principles amongst the inhabitants; for it was well known that the citizens of London were devotedly attached to the parliament. They requested, therefore, of the mayor and governors of Beverley permission to hold a fair within their town; promising that if their petition was granted, they would in future be regular in their attendance at the chartered fairs already established in the borough. A corporate meeting was summoned by Mr. Nelthorp the mayor, to determine a question of such importance to the interests of the town in the present decayed state of its commerce; and this appearance of business for a time diverted the attention of the people from the calamities by which they were threatened. The discussion was long and stormy, for the worst passions of human nature were now afloat throughout the country, and the council chamber of Beverley, on this occasion, afforded no pleasing specimen of their prevalence. The royalists and republicans arranged themselves on two sides, and contended like combatants at mortal arbitrament. The former argued that their charters afforded no sanction for a fair at this season; and expatiated on the inexpediency of admitting these people who were violently opposed to the king, at a moment when the eye of the royal party was upon their actions; when a regiment under the same control was in the very heart of the town, and they might be called to an account for their conduct, and made to suffer an exemplary punishment. The other party ridiculed their fears, and spake of the advantages which must necessarily result from the introduction of such a fertile source of merchandize; and the value of such a connexion as that of the London merchants. In the end interest prevailed over expediency, and it was ultimately resolved that although they did not possess

the power of holding a fair at the present season, yet the Londoners should be allowed permission to open their own shops and dispose of their merchandize in the High-street, without being subject to the tolls usually paid to the corporation; and that, as they were respectable merchants, no pedlar or petty chapman should be allowed to compete with them on the same terms, but all other persons attending with goods should be subject to the tolls which were customary in the town of Beverley.¹

This proceeding found employment for the inhabitants, and in some degree allayed the agitation which had so lately prevailed among them. The merchants set out their stalls on each side of the street, and produced their goods for inspection, consisting of mercery, haberdashery, cutlery, and other wares, which were offered for sale on liberal terms to the country dealers.² For a few days this novel sight was pleasing; all was bustle and traffic; and a stranger would have thought he had been in a land of peace and mutual confidence, so little did the inhabitants appear to be affected by the circumstances of blood and warfare, which, even at this moment, were passing without their gates. Soon, however, was the scene to be changed for care and pain, trouble and anxiety. The wily merchants by their brief connexion with the town, had augmented all the former fears of the inhabitants, by exaggerated statements of what was passing in the metropolis; by magnified details of kingly aggression, and the oppressive burdens imposed by arbitrary power; and soon succeeded in conjuring up before the imagination, a sanguinary and insatiable monster, under the name and shape of Charles Stuart, who delighted in blood, and was only happy in the midst of slaughter and devastation; whose design was to establish an absolute monarchy, and triumphantly erect popery and the inquisition on the ruins of the Protestant establishment. They gave to the king's friends the reproachful epithets of ungodly oppressors, lying malignants,³ atheists,⁴ sons of Belial;⁵ while those of the parliament were complimented with the terms godly, prudent, wise, and circumspect men.⁶ By such means the people's fears were more actively excited; indifference began to assume a form of promptness and decision, and they entertained soon (many of them for the first time,) a marked hostility towards his majesty's cause.

¹ Corp. Rec. 16 Sept. 1642.

² Bursell's MSS. Lansd. Coll. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 273.

³ Vicars. Parl. Chron. vol. i. p. 123. ⁴ Ibid. p. 396. ⁵ Ibid. p. 433.

⁶ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 57. et passim.

The fair was now over, and the town appeared desolate. Its streets, lately so full of life and animation, were left solitary and forlorn. Former fears were cherished and increased by new sources of terror and alarm, so that the inhabitants of Beverley had no reason to be proud of their new acquaintance; and soon the agitation of the town became universal and excessive. A death-like silence reigned, for, whatever might be his feelings, each person restrained himself from any *expression* of terror, although it was visibly depicted on every cheek. The universal question—what is to be done? could not be accurately determined, for the town was inadequately fortified; its banks and ditches out of repair; and if an army appeared before it, the gates could not, in its present state, remain closed; and, how repugnant soever to the views or feelings of the inhabitants, the troops must be admitted, and not only maintained at their expense, but the town would be subjected to the unrestrained licence of a dissipated soldiery, the privacy of domestic retirement invaded, and the feelings of individuals outraged by the riots and debauchery which always accompany the presence of a mercenary army in time of civil commotion. At length the evil appeared at their very gates; the troops from Hull in their frequent sallies, had been heard in consultation about the sack of their town; and, notwithstanding the impression which they had received from the London merchants, the recent acts of the republican soldiers, in plundering and burning the surrounding villages, had given rise to terrors which dictated the necessity of preparation. A corporate meeting was therefore summoned, and it was unanimously determined, that wide and deep ditches should be made at the west end of every lane leading to Westwood, over which, foot-bridges only should be placed; and that the three bars or gates of the town should be repaired, and kept locked and guarded by the constables, from nine o'clock at night till six in the morning, to prevent any surprise in the dead of night, when they would be equally unprepared to treat or to resist.⁷ Still the general voice of the inhabitants appears at this period to have been in favour of the king, though some were doubtless tainted from the effect of evil communication, for not many days before the above resolution, Mr. Manby, a most zealous and uncompromising royalist, was sworn into the office of chief magistrate for the ensuing year; a situation, at this period, of great trust and confidence, as the custody of the town was in his hands; and he possessed much discretionary power which might be exercised either

⁷ Corp. Rec. 13 Oct. 1642.

to the advantage or detriment of the inhabitants, in proportion as his own private sentiments might chance to accord with the views of the prevailing party. It is evident, therefore, from his election that the majority thought and wished that the royalists would be ultimately successful. Their calculations however were erroneous, and soon the troops from Hull took possession of the town of Beverley, and it remained theirs throughout the whole continuance of the war, and was regularly garrisoned with a strong party of soldiers, as a means of strengthening and protecting the town of Hull.

The first great battle was fought at Edgehill, the earl of Lindsey commanding the royalists, and the earl of Essex the republicans. The field was well contested, and both parties claimed the victory; but the greatest loss was sustained by the king's army, for the brave earl of Lindsey lost his life in the conflict, and died covered with eighteen honourable wounds. The flames of civil war now spread through the land, and the two armies, as fortune gave them the pre-eminence, committed their devastations and exercised their cruelties with impunity. Civil war is always exterminating. Private feuds become mixed up with the public dispute, and personal hatred, or thirst for revenge, produces appetites which can only be satiated with blood. Property became insecure; the public taxes were claimed by both contending parties; requisitions of aid were issued, and the town of Beverley was included in a royal command to fit out a ship of 800 tons for the king's service, manned with 260 experienced seamen, and provided with double stores.⁸

Beverley was now converted into a *depôt* for prisoners; and they were guarded by the inhabitants themselves in the absence of regular troops, who were frequently called away on actual service. Corporate meetings were regularly held to provide against any emergency that might occur; for situated as they were between York and Hull, the former possessed by the royalists, and the latter by the republicans, they were subjected to the consequences of every vicissitude of both the contending parties. At one of these meetings an order was made, that each Governor, accompanied by a burgess, should perambulate the town in rotation, "during the continuance of these dangerous times," for the purpose of seeing that the constables and guard are on duty, and preventing any collusion or plotting, which might endanger the safety of the town.⁹ And shortly afterwards it was ordered, that the

⁸ Swinden's Yarmouth. ⁹ Corp. Rec. 16 Feb. 1642-3.

sum of sixty pounds be raised by assessment on the inhabitants, and collected by the aldermen in their respective wards, to be applied to the purchase of powder, match, firing, and the maintenance of prisoners, in compliance with the order of the lieutenant-general; and if any person refuses to pay his just proportion of the assessment, notice shall be given of the deficiencies to that officer, that measures may be adopted to enforce the payment.¹⁰

Sir John Hotham at length began to tremble for the consequences of his own disobedience. Much blood had already been shed, and the contest did not promise a speedy termination. He formed a design therefore, of abandoning his own party, and embracing the king's cause; hoping by this step to atone, in some degree, for the miseries which he had contributed to bring upon the nation. The negotiation was conducted by the queen, with whom he stipulated to deliver up the garrison under his command; but his actions were inspected with too much jealousy to allow him the power of accomplishing his undertaking. The attempt however was made. He discharged captain Bushell from prison, who, with a party of soldiers made two several attacks upon Beverley, in the hope that the possession of that town might facilitate the execution of his design; and succeeded in forcing one of the bars; but he was ultimately beaten off by a stronger party from within, and lost his life in the struggle.¹¹ These events bore evident marks of the treasonable intentions of sir John Hotham, which other corresponding transactions tended but too strongly to confirm, and orders were issued by the parliament for his apprehension. But the unfortunate governor had received a secret intimation of their design, and escaped, after a guard of soldiers had invested his house. He fled with precipitation from the town on one of his fleetest horses, and left his pursuers far behind, intending to take refuge in his house at Scorbrough, which he had previously fortified, and secured by a garrison of soldiers devoted to his interest,¹² under whose protection he might have proceeded forward to York, and have found safety with the royal party. Dreading however, a pursuit, he forsook the public road, and fled with the utmost rapidity to Stone-Ferry; but the boat was not at its moorings, and he had no time to lose, neither would he venture to remain in that exposed situation, because his person was well known to the country people, and therefore he made the best of his way to Wawn. Here his malignant fortune

¹⁰ Corp. Rec. 24 Feb. 1642-3 ¹¹ Vicars. Jehovah-Jireh. p. 368.

¹² Rushw. Coll. vol. v. p. 276.

again prevailed. The ferry-boat had proceeded up the river with a party of pleasure, and he was once more disappointed in his hope of crossing the water. The wretched fugitive was now utterly at a loss what course to pursue, conscious that the tidings of his flight would soon be made public, and that escape or concealment would then be equally impracticable. His sole remaining consolation was, that haply the inhabitants of Beverley were yet ignorant that he had abandoned his charge, and he determined to proceed thither with all possible expedition, and confide himself to the honour of those friends with whom he had always held a confidential intercourse as the representative of the town in parliament.

At this time the troops in Beverley were under the command of colonel Boynton, and amounted to near 1000 men. Sir Matthew Boynton, his father, was invested with a command in Hull garrison, and on the governor's flight, had despatched an express to his son; apprizing him of the circumstance, and communicating the order for his apprehension. The soldiers were drawn up in the Market-place when sir John Hotham arrived; and, on the sight of them, he felt irresolute whether it would not be expedient to retrace his steps before he was recognized; but the soldiers *presented* their arms at his appearance, as is usual to a superior officer, and this manœuvre encouraged him to ride up and place himself at their head. The inferior officers, being altogether unacquainted with sir John's defection, obeyed his orders to march, and he led them towards the North-Bar, considering that if he should succeed in conducting them to his house at Scorbrough, he should be prepared to endure a siege of sufficient duration to cover his escape to the royal army. But, alas! for the instability of all human calculations, he had not proceeded many yards before he was met by colonel Boynton, who, seizing the bridle of sir John's horse without ceremony, declared him his prisoner as a traitor to the commonwealth. Resistance was in vain, and sir John submitted himself implicitly to his nephew's direction.¹³ Still, all hope had not forsaken him, for the drowning man will endeavour to preserve his life by struggling with a hazel wand. In Beverley he had many sincere friends on both sides of the question, and he calculated on the possibility of escaping through some collateral street, and secreting himself under the first roof which should present itself to his eye as containing an occupier in whom he could confide. He knew that three of the body corporate¹⁴ were staunch royalists,

¹³ Rushw. Collect. vol. v. p. 276.

¹⁴ These were Mr. John Fotherby, Mr. Robert Manby, and Mr. W. Ellerington.

and, under present circumstances, would doubtless afford him their protection; and the town contained many private gentlemen of the same firm and unyielding principles. These reflections were the work of a moment, and he concluded that the experiment was worth trying. As the party advanced through the streets, Hotham suddenly struck his spurs into his horse's side, and darting down a cross lane with the swiftness of an arrow, vanished from their sight. By this time the town was raised and the streets were full of people. When colonel Boynton saw his prisoner take this precipitate step, he despatched a company of soldiers in pursuit of the fugitive, and charged the populace, at their peril, to assist in his capture. Poor Hotham had little chance of escape, beset as he now was, by numbers; and after some ineffectual attempts to ride through the crowds by which he was soon surrounded, he was knocked off his horse with the butt end of a musquet, and finally secured.¹⁵ The garrison at Scorbrough was now marched to Beverley, and the town was strengthened by the parliament with other additional forces.¹⁶ The rescue of sir John Hotham was attempted the next day by a body of his majesty's forces, who invested the town of Beverley for that purpose, but were repulsed by colonel Boynton with considerable loss. Thus abandoned to his fate, this miserable man was long detained in prison, and not brought to trial from a deficiency of evidence to prove his guilt. At length he was tried, together with his son, who was apprehended about the same time with himself, on a similar charge; and they were both found guilty, condemned to death, and executed at the beginning of January, 1645.¹⁷

England now exhibited the sad spectacle of cities beleaguered, villages plundered and burnt; and the face of the country displayed a shocking picture of waste and desolation. And all this carnage and misery was produced under the semblance of religious duty. The army in which Cromwell held a command, boasted (how truly, let their irregularities testify) of the most perfect discipline and undisputed subordination. It was pretended that drunkenness and profanity were effectually restrained by the imposition of penalties. "If any man swears, say they, he forfeits 12 pence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other roundhead, he is cashiered; insomuch that the whole country where they come, leap for joy of them, and come in and join them."¹⁸ Notwithstanding this

¹⁵ Ex. MS. penes me. ¹⁶ Rushw. Collect. vol. v. p. 276.

¹⁷ Clarend. Hist. Rebel. vol. ii. p. 620. ¹⁸ Special Passages. Cromwelliana. p. 5.

boasted purity, the perpetual invasions of private property, and the violations of domestic peace, which characterized equally the royal and the parliamentary armies; added to other terrible calamities and privations, made thinking men of both parties anxiously desirous of peace. But such unnatural divisions are not suddenly allayed, and much valuable blood and treasure were expended before either party would consent to lay down their arms.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was now established in the command at Beverley, with 25 troops of horse, and 2000 foot,¹⁹ which had been thus strengthened as a security for Hull, whither his father had retired after his defeat at Atherton Moor. But the earl of Newcastle, following in the rear of the vanquished republicans, came on the town of Beverley before the roundheads were aware of his approach, and attacked them furiously in the streets with a superior force. The rebel troops behaved with much intrepidity, and the townsmen on each side joining in the affray, many lives were lost. In one place might be seen soldiers engaged in fatal fight; in another, women and children bewailing the doubtful fate of husbands or parents; nearest relations arrayed on different sides; high words and hard blows were heard in every quarter, when the deafening sound of ordnance ceased but for a moment; and soon the streets streaming with blood, were strewn with bodies, wounded, dying, and dead. The royalists were victorious, and pursued the flying republicans to the very gates of Hull; and most happy was he who could find protection within the walls.²⁰ Returning to Beverley, a new scene of confusion

¹⁹ Rushw. Collect. vol. v. p. 280.

²⁰ General Fairfax himself gives a different account of this transaction, but I have reason to believe that the brief statement in the text is correct. The gallant general acknowledges to no more troops than "the horse and 600 men," while in the genuine collections of Rushworth, already cited, (ut supra) we find that he had with him at Beverley, "25 troops of horse, and 2000 foot." Again, Fairfax estimates his loss at only three men; now an entry in Saint Mary's register records the death of 13 royalists slain in this skirmish, and it may be reasonably supposed that *the loss of the republicans would be much greater*, owing to the disproportion of their force. The vicar of Saint Mary's at this time was a staunch republican, and he might probably suppress the numbers slain on the side of his own party. The account presented to us by Fairfax is as follows. "The town being little, I was sent to Beverley *with the horse and 600 foot*; but my lord of Newcastle now looking on us as inconsiderable, was marching into Lincolnshire, &c." —Memoirs of Gen. Fairfax, p. 95. Edit. Knaresborough, 1810. "The earl of Newcastle came to besiege Hull. I lay at Beverley in the way of his march, and finding we were not able to defend such an *open place* against an army, I desired orders from my father to retire back to Hull, but the committee then had more mind of raising money, than to take care of the soldiers; and yet these men had the greatest share in the command at this time, and would not let any orders be given for our retreat; nor was it fit for us to return without order. The enemy marched with his whole army towards us. Retreat we must not; keep the town we could not. So to make our

and distress was exhibited there; for the town was given up to plunder, and was divested by the soldiers of much portable property.²¹ And while the inhabitants lamented for the loss of their valuables,²² they attended the interment of thirteen royalists, and probably many more republicans in Saint Mary's church-yard, who had fallen in the late combat.²³

These proceedings were too terrible not to alarm all good men; and the demand for peace became so general throughout the country, that after much preliminary argument, commissioners on both sides were formally appointed; who met at Oxford, in 1644, to deliberate upon terms which might bring this unnatural warfare to a period. His majesty attended in person, and had the commissioners of the parliament been invested with a real power to treat, much blood might have been spared; for the parties appeared to entertain very little difference of opinion respecting the main points in dispute; and the ensuing commotions would have been wholly prevented, by the restoration of the king to his rightful throne on firm and constitutional principles. The treaty failed; but its results were of some importance; for the views of the more violent party were now laid open; and several officers in the republican army threw up their commissions, when they discovered the deep laid schemes of the cabal, under whose authority they were held. The

retreat more honourable and useful, I drew out all the horse and dragoons towards the enemy; and stood drawn up by a wood side all that night. Next morning by day, our scouts and theirs fired on one another. They marched on with their whole body, which was about 4000 *horse* and 12000 *foot*. We stood till they were come very near us; I then drew off, having given directions before for the foot to march away towards Hull, and thinking to make good the retreat with the horse. The enemy with a large party came up in our rear; the lanes being narrow, we made good shift with them till we got into Beverley and shut the gate, which we had scarce time to do, they being so close to us. In this business *we lost Major Layton, and not above two more*. The enemy not knowing what forces we had in the town, stayed till the rest of the army came up, which was about a mile behind. This gave our foot some advantage in their retreat, it being five miles from Hull, and the way on narrow banks. I sent the horse by Cottingham, a more open road, who got well thither, they overtook the foot and made good their retreat, till we got to a little bridge two miles from Hull, where we made a stand; the enemy followed close, *our men gave them a good volley of shot, which made them draw back*, and they advanced no farther. So leaving a small guard at the bridge we got safe to Hull." Ibid. p. 97-101.

²¹ Vicars. Parl. Chron. vol. iii. p. 30.

²² About this time, Mr. Robert Manby, the mayor, was disfranchised for going with the marquis of Newcastle, and taking with him the mace, and probably the seals and other emblems of authority belonging to the corporation. Corp. Rec.

²³ The entry in Saint Mary's register is as follows. "Thirtene slaine men on the king's ptie was buried the 30th day. (June 1643.) All our lives now at the stake; Lord deliver us for X his sake."

army was now re-modelled, on true republican principles, and persons invested with the command, who were entirely devoted to the cause which the parliament had in view.

At this time it is highly probable, that Mr. Warton, the only remaining member for Beverley, returned to his allegiance; for he now resigned his situation in parliament, and Messrs. John and James Nelthorp were elected to supply the vacancies.²⁴ Mr. Warton was subsequently persecuted, and perhaps ruined by the intrigues of the parliamentary party. He afterwards received the honour of knighthood from the king, but was so impoverished by the confiscation of his property, that he could scarcely maintain the rank of a gentleman. His eldest son, a blooming youth of nineteen, fell at Scarborough, in defence of his sovereign. To preserve the wreck of his property, he was under the necessity of compounding with the commissioners of the parliament by a grievous fine; and experienced, by the total ruin of his fortune, the unrelenting severity of fanatic intolerance, and revolutionary hate.²⁵

In 1646, colonel Rossiter, in company with Leven and Pointz, reduced Newark, and were directed to watch the motions of the Scottish army in the north, into whose custody the king had voluntarily placed himself for the security of his person. This act was considered by the more moderate party as a virtual termination of the war; and they expected, with some degree of solicitude, that the monarch, entirely divested of certain protection, as his own army was now dissolved,²⁶ would agree to the original proposals of the parliament, and be content to hold the crown of England as his predecessors had held it, and govern his subjects by the wise and prudent laws which had been enacted by former monarchs for the common welfare of the state. But the moderate party amongst the parliamentarians

²⁴ Corp. Rec. 27 Sep. 1645. ²⁵ Wool. Life of Warton. p. 2.

²⁶ The corporation of Beverley now began to make arrangements for settling all their military accounts on the anticipation of a speedy peace. And it was ordered, that "whereas a troop of men and horses under the command of capt. Baines, were lately billeted at divers houses within this town, and according to orders from the committee of York the charges were to be allowed and defrayed forth of the monthly assessment payable within the borough and manor of Beverley; and whereas there are now assessments gone forth for the months of April, May, and June last; it is ordered this present day by the mayor, governors, and burgesses assembled, that William Sherwood is nominated and appointed to demand and receive the said assessments of the collectors therewith chargeable; and he the said William Sherwood forthwith to bring the moneys into this chamber, that the said billets and charges may be discharged and satisfied, and the remainder thereof to be returned according to the tenor of the said committee's order." Corp. Rec. Aug. 1646.

had entirely lost its influence in the house, and its adherents were completely disappointed in their expectations. For now a new party had arisen in the state, which became an instrument in the hands of a bold and fearless desperado, to elevate himself to the summit of sovereign power on the sacrifice of his master.

Cromwell began now to entertain in his own breast those ambitious views which subsequently placed him on the throne; and he hid them from the world under the cloak of religion. He was a professed INDEPENDENT; a sect which pervaded alike the city, the country, and the camp. All ranks of society were full of its professors. Soon, in every town and village the spirit of fanaticism was prevalent, and superseded the chaste and sober practice of genuine religion; and when the independents perceived the superiority they had acquired over the minds of the people, they threw off the mask, and adhered in practice no longer to the principles they had formerly professed in theory. The flame, long suppressed, now burst forth with an irresistible violence that carried all before it. They openly challenged the superiority, says Hume, and even menaced the church with that persecution which they afterwards exercised against her with such severity. They had a majority in the house, and voted the Liturgy an abomination to the godly, and even prohibited the use of it under heavy penalties.²⁷ They were no respecters of persons; and it was one of Cromwell's sayings, that if he met the king in battle, he would fire a pistol in his face as readily as against any other man.²⁸ Slaughter and spoliation were preceded by long prayers; and murder, as Holles expresses it, was no sin to the visible saints.²⁹ Even the subversion of the altar, and the murder of the king, were esteemed acts of piety and devotion to God, and were accompanied by the outward forms of religion. With the bible in their hands, the impious regicides brought a virtuous monarch to the block; with a text of scripture in their mouths, they overthrew the altar and the throne.

This sect, with Cromwell at its head, was now established at Whitehall; and this ambitious individual, having taken possession of the king's rich beds,³⁰ began

²⁷ The zeal of the populace was irritated by every practicable expedient against the church and its ministers; and William, bishop of Lincoln says, in this year, "the times grow high and turbulent, and no one knows where the rage and madness of the people may end. I am just come from Boston, "he continues," where I was used very coarsely." Vid. Thompson's Boston, p. 56. And in Hull, a party of fanatic soldiers robbed the churches of the Books of Common Prayer, and carrying them to the Market-place, amidst the loudest and most savage acclamations of joy, the sound of trumpets, and the beating of drums, committed them to the flames! Hadley's Hull, p. 199.

²⁸ Hume. Eng. vol. vii. p. 224.

²⁹ Holles. Memorial.

³⁰ Whitelock. Memor. p. 362.

to intimate that he felt himself fully competent to govern the kingdom.³¹ The king was the golden ball cast before the two parties, the parliament and the army, and the contest grew so warm, that it was feared the nation would be again involved in blood. But the army having the greater power, got the king into their hands, notwithstanding all endeavours to prevent it;³² and he was soon brought to trial; openly insulted in the face of his subjects; and at length, under the sacred pretence of religion and justice, was cruelly and deliberately executed, declaring, with his dying breath, that he was not only innocent of committing the first act of hostility against his people, but that it was never his intention to infringe or overturn their legal rights or chartered liberties.³³ The friends of the deceased monarch consoled themselves for his loss by assembling daily before his statue at the Old Exchange; but the eye of the parliament was upon them, and the oppressed royalists were soon deprived of this poor gratification. The statue was ordered to be broken down and removed, and in its place the following inscription was affixed;

Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus, anno libertatis

Angliæ Restitutæ primo. Anno. Dom. 1648. Jan. 30.

On the elevation of Cromwell, the corporations were purged of such portion of their members as were inclined to favour the restoration of monarchy; and at Beverley the three gentlemen already named, Fotherby, Manby, and Ellerington, had been formally displaced, and three independents, William Wilberforce, John Johnson, and William Waide were placed in the vacant situations.³⁴ The orthodox ministers of the church were also ejected in 1648, and their places occupied by fanatics;³⁵ and as a final blow at the establishment, the parish registers were

³¹ Major Huntington's Reasons. ³² Memorial of T. Fairfax.

³³ Respecting this bloody transaction, even Fairfax could say, "my afflicted and troubled mind for it, and my earnest endeavours to prevent it, will, I hope sufficiently display my dislike and abhorrence of the fact. Memorial. ut supra.

³⁴ Fotherby was displaced in 1642, Manby in 1643 or 1644, and Ellerington in 1645.

³⁵ "A sermon was preached in Saint Mary's church on Thursday after the 20th March, 1648, by Mr. Oxonbridge, nominated by the committee of plundered ministers. And the sum of £40. was ordered to Mr. Oxonbridge and Mr. Wilson, out of Nafferton and Skipsey, by the committee of plundered ministers, to be paid and retained for the use of the corporation. Mr. Wilson having had satisfaction by the parishioners for his part, and Mr. Oxonbridge requiring nothing." Corp. Rec. 1648. In Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, the following ejected ministers are mentioned. Christopher Nesse, M. A. born at North-Cave, preached at Beverley; Joseph Wilson, and — Ponnay, ministers at the same place, and Peter Clark, M. A. born at Beverley, preached at Kirby-Underall.

removed from the custody of the clergy,³⁶ and the solemnization of matrimony was committed to the hands of the civil magistrate.³⁷ The usual business of the town of Beverley, interrupted as it certainly must have been during the late commotions, now proceeded in its usual course; although the inhabitants had suffered severely by the heavy expenses to which they had been subjected, in furnishing men for the army, and providing them with necessaries.³⁸ The fairs and markets were continued as usual; and the London merchants, finding superior facilities for the sale and delivery of their goods at Beverley, continued to use its fairs with advantage for many years, although a restrictive regulation had been made by the body corporate for the protection of their townsmen, that every London merchant who remained at Beverley more than twenty days after his wares had arrived at Hull, should be subject to a fine of £20. a week, for any prolonged stay beyond that period.³⁹

The church of Saint Nicholas, it is said, was destroyed in the civil wars; but we are not furnished with any authentic document to shew at what precise period, or under what circumstances the destruction was effected.⁴⁰ The parishioners,

³⁶ "The office of registering was taken from the ministers of seüall parishes and committed to men chosen by y^e suffrages of the parishion's on the 29th of September, 1653, by an act of a (soe called) parliament in that yeare. Soe that from that time till this you are to search one Boke, wherein are the registers of Saint Johns and Saint Martins jointly till April, 1657, from which time to this, the register of Saint Martins was continued in the same boke &c.—In both which there have been many omissions; because (as I suppose probably) people denied the payment to the register, imposed by that foresaid parliament for that office." Ex. Reg. S. Johan.

³⁷ The form of a marriage register, under this dispensation, was as follows :—A. B. bachelor, and C. D. spinster, made entry of their intended marriage the — day of —; whose banns were published upon the — day of —; the — day of —; and the — day of — instant, in the open market-place, of every of the respective days, at the hours appointed by act of parliament, without exceptions, and were married on the — day of —, by —, one of the justices of the peace.

³⁸ The corporation books contain numerous entries to this effect; a few of which I subjoin. "A letter to be written to Col. Bethel concerning the raising of an assessment (or the proportion thereof) of £14,000. for two months." 19 Oct. 1648. "Billets for the provost marshall and soldiers paid by the corporation." Ibid. "Ordered that Mr. Wilberforce and others go this day to Hull for the procuring £2000. either at the Trinity House there or elsewhere, and that 4 aldermen and 4 burgesses of this town will engage for the same." 12 July, 1650. "Money given to widows whose husbands slayed in service." January, 1650–1. "Ordered that concerning the moneys and plate lent unto sir John Hotham for the use of the public, Mr. Nelthorpe shall be certified that the same will be doubled." 20 Feb. 1650–1. "John Giles, in consideration of the soldiers kept their guard in his house eighteen nights, shall be paid ten shillings." 6 Sept. 1659.

³⁹ Corp. Rec. 18 Sept. 1645.

⁴⁰ It is probable that the nave of the building, then in a dilapidated state, might have been taken down during the siege of Hull, by the earl of Newcastle; as materials of every kind would be then in

altogether unprovided with the means of attending the publick worship of God, made a formal application to the mayor and governors, as the trustees of Saint John's church, that they might be provided with accommodations in the minster;⁴¹ and represented that if the nave were fitted up with pews, its spacious area would be abundantly sufficient for the inhabitants of Saint Nicholas, as well as those of Saint Martin and Saint John. A corporate meeting was accordingly summoned, and after mature deliberation it was determined to accede to their request, and to borrow a sum of money sufficient for the erection of pews in the nave, to be repaid by the sale of the seats. This resolution was carried into effect, and Mr. Ward tendered £100. by way of loan, on the security of the corporation. It was therefore ordered, "that the £100. borrowed of Mr. Ward towards building the seats in the minster, shall be taken as for the use of this corporation; and those men engaged for the said monies unto the said Mr. Ward, shall be saved harmless by this corporation. And that Mr. Ward, Mr. Joseph Stancliffe, Mr. Acklom, and Mr. Hunter are to be overseers for the said work."⁴² At the same time the corporation undertook to build galleries at their own risk, though their funds were not in such a flourishing state at this time as to admit of any gratuitous sacrifice, and they hoped, from the numerous and urgent demand for pews, to be remunerated by disposing of them to private individuals.

The pews and galleries were soon erected, and early in the year 1660, a corporation order was made, "that Mr. Ward, Mr. Stancliffe, Mr. Acklom, and Mr. Hunter, together with the ministers and churchwardens of Saint Martin's and Saint John's parishes, should be empowered to sell all and every the pews which are newly built in the minster, and to give an account of their actings therein to this chamber."⁴³ And at another meeting an order was made for granting to the

requisition, to construct the forts and batteries necessary for a successful attack upon that town; for in these unhappy times the churches were not spared by either party; and it was recommended to the earl when he raised the siege, to fortify Beverley minster, and convert it into a garrison for the protection of the town. Tickell's Hull, p. 487. The tower or steeple was however left standing, for we find amongst the corporation records a licence which was granted in 1693, to the mayor, aldermen, and the rest of the inhabitants of Beverley, by John, archbishop of York, to take down the old steeple of Holme church, and dispose of the materials in repairing the parish churches "of Saint Martin and Saint Mary," in Beverley, as the occasion should require. Corp. Rec. 2 Aug. 1693.

⁴¹ The parish of Saint Nicholas was subsequently united with Saint Mary's. Vid. *infra*. P. 3. c. iii.

⁴² Corp. Rec. 1659. ⁴³ Ibid. 27 Feb. 1659-60.

same committee the corporation seal, to be attached to the assignment of the pews so sold.⁴⁴ Several pews were now disposed of and regularly transferred, and some of the purchasers were careful enough to proclaim the reality of their contract by causing their names to be painted on the panel of the seat door.⁴⁵ The corporation erected pews for the accommodation of their own members, and paid thirty pounds towards the pulpit and the minister's pew, the same sum being also allowed out of the parish purse;⁴⁶ and it was ordered that "when all the pews were sold, and the work finished, a general account should be produced, and if there be any overplus, the same should be paid back proportionably to the purchasers of the other pews."⁴⁷ At the end of the year however, the pews were not all disposed of; and the corporation ordered, "that all the pews in the minster which remain unsold, be nailed up forthwith."⁴⁸ And this formed the concluding order respecting the property of these pews.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Corp. Rec. 16 May, 1660.

⁴⁵ An evidence of this custom was discovered when the galleries were removed in 1826. On one of the doors was legibly painted, MARY ACKLOM, HER PEW.

⁴⁶ Ex. Reg. S. Johan. 1659-60,

⁴⁷ Corp. Rec. 12 Nov. 1660. ⁴⁸ Ibid. 31 Jan. 1661.

⁴⁹ The minster is called a free church, and at present it is used as such, but how it became so is an inquiry which it may not be easy to solve. The account given above tends to shew that it must have been either from the indisposition, the inattention, or the inability of the parishioners to purchase faculties, that the seats have become unappropriated, and hence by prescription, free. Some faculties, I am informed, were obtained, and the property thus protected, would doubtless be considered legal. By a general view of the ecclesiastical law on this subject, which is not quite so clear as might be wished, I should conjecture that all pews which were originally held *without a faculty*, though the individuals might be possessed of an indefeasible right by purchase, would be maintained by possession only, and could not be alienated or transferred at pleasure; and if the families of the original purchasers should become extinct, or have waived their personal right, either by secession from the establishment, or by leaving the town, the pews would become vested in the minister and churchwardens, in trust for the general benefit of the parishioners; and they would possess the power of establishing any other families in the vacant seats; or they might pronounce them absolutely *free*, if such a measure would, in their opinion, conduce more to the general interests of the church.

Chap. Ƒ.

The Restoration—Purgation of the borough—Charter of Charles II.—Relics of Saint John of Beverley discovered—Pestilence at Beverley—Excommunications—Charter of James II.—Election contest in 1685—Costly present to Saint Mary's church from the London merchants—Suit between Hull and Beverley—Abdication of king James—Extensive preparations for repairing and beautifying the minster—North gable screwed up—Ornaments and decorations—Election contests of 1722 and 1727—Improvement of the Beck—Excommunications.

THE acts of an usurper are of no interest in a local history, except they bear an immediate connection with the subject under discussion. This was not the case with the town of Beverley during the usurpation of Cromwell, or the brief space in which his son wielded, with an unsteady hand, the sceptre of government. Unequal to the fatigues, and alive to the dangers of the lofty situation to which he had been unwittingly exalted, he resigned his dignity after a sway of eight days' continuance; and a new parliament was convened, into which the secluded members were subsequently admitted, and king Charles II. was soon restored to the throne of his ancestors, to the great joy of the whole nation; he was proclaimed at Beverley on the 12th May, 1660, amidst the ringing of bells and other tokens of general rejoicing;¹ and made his publick entry into London on the 29th of the same month.

The boroughs now underwent a second purgation, and the council chambers were cleared, by royal authority, of all the individuals who were violently attached to the republican party; and at Beverley these appear to have had a decided majority on the bench. The following aldermen were removed on this occasion,

¹ King Charles II. proclaimed May 12. Ten shillings given to each warden of every company, to spend amongst them for the solemnization of this day. Also 10s. amongst the constables, &c. —Corp. Rec. 1660.

because they refused either to take the oaths, or subscribe to the declaration;² Josiah Acklom, William Waide, William Forge, William Coulson, Thomas Hudson, Timothy Gray, and Thomas Milner; and their places were supplied by seven gentlemen of loyal principles, viz. Thomas Johnson, Thomas Clarke, George Davies, Thomas Gossip, Thomas Davison, Stephen Goakman, and John Todd.³ Added to this change, sir Hugh Bethell declined the representation of the borough, and Michael Warton was elected in his stead,⁴ much to the credit of the inhabitants, for he had been dreadfully persecuted, and almost ruined, by the infliction of republican vengeance.⁵

In 1662, the king granted a charter to the town, confirming all the officers in their respective situations, and constituting them a body corporate and politic, under the name of the mayor, governors, and burgesses of the town of Beverley. This charter contains a code of laws for the good government of the borough; recounts their rights, privileges, and immunities; appoints a court of record to be held every Monday, for the purpose of holding pleas of such things as may happen within the town, with a view of frank pledge, and other privileges, on payment of certain annual quit rents to the king.⁶ It confirms their markets and fairs, and protects them by a court of pye powder;⁷ and secures all their other liberties, privileges, franchises, &c. by whatever names and titles they may have been conceded, whether by letters-patent or otherwise.⁸

At the latter end of the year 1664, on opening a grave in the body of the minster, a vault of squared freestone was discovered of about 15 feet in length and 2 feet in breadth, within which was a sheet of lead 4 feet long, containing some ashes, beads, brass and iron nails, and other decayed funeral remains.⁹ On the

² The declaration ran in this form:—"That it is not lawful, under any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the king; that they do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by the king's authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him; that no obligation lays upon them, or any other persons, from the oath commonly called The Solemn League and Covenant; and that the same was in itself unlawful, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

³ Corp. Rec. June, 1660.

⁴ Ibid. 12 June, 1660.

⁵ Wool's Life of Warton, p. 2.

⁶ Vid. a copy of this charter in the Appendix. I.

⁷ Vid. infra. part 3. cap. 1.

⁸ Corp. Rec. 5 Sep. 15 Ch. II. No. 22. The expenses attending this charter amounted to £40l. 4s. 0d.

⁹ To this account I may add, on the authority of Mr. Warburton, Somerset Herald, that "a knife and a pair of silver slippers were found also in the grave;" and this able antiquary supposes, from the information of Mr. Michael, that this was the identical knife which Athelstan pledged upon his altar. Lansd. MSS. 896. VIII. fo. 217. There may be some probability in

leaden covering was an inscription¹⁰ importing that in the year 1188, the church was burnt on the night following the festival of Saint Matthew the Apostle, in the month of September; and that in the year 1197, a search was instituted after the relics of Saint John, when these bones were found in the eastern part of the sepulchre, and deposited here, and therewith also a mixture of dust and mortar was found, and also re-interred.¹¹ In the same year a pestilence again raged at Beverley, although every practicable expedient appears to have been resorted to for the purpose of averting this dreadful calamity from the town.¹² The dead were conveyed to the Trinities and buried in heaps, and the lazaretto was again in requisition as a sick hospital; and after the visitation was ended, it was strictly enjoined that the pest-house should be preserved and kept in good repair, to serve for a similar purpose, should the same calamity again renew its attack upon the inhabitants.¹³

this account, for it was not a very long period after Athelstan flourished that the bones of the saint were taken up and enshrined; and there is nothing unnatural in the supposition, that this invaluable pledge might be deposited with them. Vide ut supra. p. 61.

¹⁰ Gent. Rippon, p. 76.

¹¹ The Latin inscription was as follows:—*Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXXXVIII, combusta fuit hæc Ecclesia in mense Septembri, insequenti nocte post festum Sancti Matthæi Apostoli; Et in Ann. MCXCVII, VI. Idus Martii, facta fuit inquisitio Reliquarum Beati Johannis in hoc loco; et inventa sunt hæc Ossa in orientali parte Sepulchri, et hic recondita; et pulvis cemento mixtus ibidem et inventus, et reconditus.*

¹² Thus, in the month of June, 1637, "it was ordered, in respect of the eminent danger of infection, that there shall be no public meeting within this town which may occasion a concourse of people either men or women; and that upon woman's occasions, as childbearings or christenings, and the like, there shall not be above ten persons at once, and those to be of their especial friends and neighbours, without the licence of the mayor and two governors, whereof one to be for the ward, upon pain of twenty shillings, to be forfeited by the party that causeth the meeting. And that no person shall receive any goods from Hull, as linen cloths, wool, or woollen, upon pain of five pounds." Corp. Rec. 12 June, 1637. In the next month all communication with Hull, where the plague now raged with much violence, was wholly prohibited under heavy penalties. Ibid. 25 July, 1637. By such means the visitation was at this time averted. Apprehensions were again entertained in 1645, when it was "Ordered that whereas there is much danger by reason of the plague dispersed abroad in the country, that there be a sufficient watch and ward kept at the out ends of this town, to keep out vagrants and other suspected people, unless they have sufficient testimonial under the hand of a man of eminencie for their travel." Corp. Rec. 28 April, 1645.

¹³ In a lease of so recent a date as 1751, we find the following covenant:—"And the said Jonathan Midgley for himself, his executors, &c. doth covenant and agree. . . . that in case any plague, pestilence, or other contagious distemper should, by divine permission be inflicted upon any of the inhabitants of this town as heretofore, that then, upon any such melancholy visitation, the said Jonathan Midgley shall leave, surrender, and yield up the said close and premises during the continuance of such visitation, for the same use, intent and purpose, as before."

It appears that the independent faction which brought the late monarch to the scaffold, were now busily engaged throughout the kingdom in making interest to gain a preponderance in the cities and boroughs; for we find a precept addressed to the high-sheriff of Yorkshire by the king in council, on this subject, which was officially communicated to the mayor of Beverley;¹⁴ and in obedience to its provisions, very few of those persons were admitted to any public office in the corporation who possessed an influence during the Protectorate; for the inhabitants in general had never cordially embraced the measures of republicanism, but submitted with reluctance to its imperious domination. William Coulson and William Wilberforce, (ancestor of William Wilberforce, esquire, late M. P. for Yorkshire,) were the only two of this party who subsequently held offices in the corporation. About this time some very extensive excommunications took place in Beverley. A considerable number of persons, both male and female, received sentence in 1667, by a writ of Richard, archbishop of York, dated 23rd October; some of whom were absolved on their repentant submission; while others, more incorrigible were subjected to the disgrace of public or private penance. Their crimes were adultery, fornication, and incest. In 1671, another writ of excommunication was issued by Robert Hitch, archdeacon of the East-riding, dated October 31, for similar practices; and several penances were inflicted in 1684.¹⁵

From the very commencement of king James's reign, his principal design appears to have been the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion. To accomplish this end the more effectually, he endeavoured to place all public offices in the hands of persons well affected towards papal supremacy, by procuring the surrender of all the corporation and colonial charters, and granting new ones, with

¹⁴ The writ was couched in the following decisive terms. "After our hearty comendacōns. His Ma^{tie} having rec^d frequent informacōn from seuerall parts of this kingdom, that diuers p'sons formerly displaced by the Com^{tes} authorized for regulating Corporacōns in pursuance of an Act of Parliam^t and o^{rs} do without taking the Oath and Declaracōn appointed by the Statute of the 13th of his Ma^{ties} Raigne Endeavour to be elected and re-admitted into the several offices of Maiors, Bayliffes, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Townesclerkes & other Offices in the respective Cittyes and Burroughes of this kingdom, with design, as may be justly apprehended, to disturb the peace & happyness of His Ma^{ties} Government. His Ma^{tie} thereupon hath commanded us to pray & require you to signifie his pleasure unto the Major, Bayliffes, Aldermen, or other officers in every City & Towne Corporate within the County of Yorke; that they do not henceforward admitt any p'son or p'sons into any office whatsoever in any of their Corporacōns but according to the Rules prescribed in the Act of Parliament. And soe not doubting of your care herein, we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, the 28th day of September, 1668. Signed by the whole Council, —E. MS. penes me.

¹⁵ Ex. Reg. S. Johan.

especial powers reserved to the crown, of confirming the appointment of all the principal officers. Pursuant to this scheme, he granted a new charter to the corporation of Beverley, by which they were again incorporated under the new name of mayor, *aldermen*, and burgesses. This charter was similar in substance to that of Charles II. but it contained a proviso to this effect; "that it shall and may be lawful for the king, his heirs and successors, at any time, and at all times, by order in privy council, to remove from their respective offices, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and capital burgesses, common clerk, or any one or more of them, and that after such removal, there shall within convenient time, others be chosen in their room."¹⁶ By this clause, the king was constituted sole master of the corporation, and could at pleasure change the whole magistracy;¹⁷ and did actually remove the worthy recorder, sir Edward Barnard,¹⁸ and seven of the aldermen. James Moyser, esq. succeeded to the vacant recordership, and John Acklom, Samuel Johnson, Thomas Clarke, John Gunbie, William Clarke, Benjamin Lambert, and Edward Wilbert were appointed aldermen, in the room of William Dunn, William Wilberforce, Edward Gray, John Sugden, William Coulson, Edward Howson, and William Nelson, who were dismissed.¹⁹ This proceeding appears to have excited some disgust amongst the members of the body corporate; for very shortly afterwards, Samuel Johnson and Thomas Clarke, two of the newly appointed aldermen, resigned their gowns, and Thomas Slatter and Joshua Naylor were elected to supply the vacancies.²⁰

The family of the Wartons, of Beverley Parks, appears to have recovered somewhat from the ruinous destruction by which it was impoverished during the civil war; for in 1685, Michael Warton and sir Ralph Warton had a smart contest for

¹⁶ This charter is given in the Appendix K.

¹⁷ The renewal of the charter cost the corporation £432. 13s. 4d. and three sums of £40. 8s. 0d. each, were presented to Mr. Dymoke, Mr. Fotherby, and Mr. Ashmole, for their trouble in the arrangements, to purchase a gold ring, with the arms of the corporation engraven thereon. Ex. MS. penes me.

¹⁸ Sir E. Barnard was a scholar and a finished gentleman. His private virtues made him estimable in the opinion of his acquaintance; and he is said to have been "the honour of Kingstone-upon-Hull, the delight of Beverley, and the ornament of the law." The reason of his dismissal is not easy to be determined, for he was a man distinguished by the soundest principles of honour and strict integrity. He did not long survive his removal, but died on the 19th day of November, 1686, and was buried in Saint Mary's Church, where is a plain, but elegant marble table to his memory. Vid. *infra*, part iii. cap. 3.

¹⁹ Charter of Jas. II. Corp. Rec. 11 March, 1684. No. 23. ²⁰ Corp. Rec. 1685.

the borough against sir John Hotham, and succeeded in throwing him out. It is true, sir John complained of undue and illegal practices on the part of his opponents, and at the meeting of parliament instituted a petition against them, but on cool reflection he deemed it wise to let the matter rest, as probably his own conduct, during the heat of the contest, would not endure a rigid investigation. The petition therefore was never heard.²¹

The fairs at Beverley were now regularly attended by the citizens of London; and it is evident they found the traffic very advantageous, else it is scarcely to be believed that they would have travelled with their wares to so great a distance from home. A still further proof of the benefit which they derived from their speculations in this town, is supplied by the fact, that in the year 1686, "certain worthy citizens of London who of late years kept Beverley mart," entered into a voluntary subscription, and made a splendid present to the church of Saint Mary; consisting of a velvet carpet, with gold and silken fringe for the communion table; a gilded common prayer book, covered with velvet, suspended by silken strings; a large pulpit cloth of velvet with deep gold and silk fringe; and a pulpit cushion of velvet on both sides, with noble tassels or knobs of gold and silk interwoven at each corner, and a valance of velvet fringed to correspond, to be suspended from the cushion.²²

The privilege enjoyed by the burgesses of Beverley, of passing through the river Hull into the Humber, free of toll, was ever regarded by the port of Hull with a jealous eye. It had the appearance of an encroachment; and men are equally apt to be jealous of imaginary indignities, as though they were real. The people of Beverley however, only exercised a privilege which was used by them long before the town of Kingston-upon-Hull possessed a single charter of liberties. In the year 1687, it was determined by the latter port to make another attempt to substantiate their jurisdiction over Beverley. The water bailiff was directed to seize some fir deals belonging to a merchant of Beverley, which brought on a law suit, but the jury once more gave a verdict in favour of the merchant.²³

Towards the conclusion of king James's reign, the monarch again issued a writ of quo warranto against the corporation; and by an order from the king in council, dated 11th June, 1688, James Moyser, esquire, was removed from the office of recorder, and Thomas Alured, esquire, put into his place; aldermen Christopher

²¹ Oldfield. Boroughs, vol. v. p. 336.

²² Ex. MS. penes me. ²³ Gent. Hull, p. 184. Hadley, p. 268,

Chappelow, John Fotherby, William Clarke, and Joshua Naylor were also discharged, and their places supplied by John Sugden, John Thorpe, John Brigham, and Thomas Milner. Four capital burgesses, named Henry Johnson, Henry Thirsk, Edward Coulson, and Edward Webster were dismissed, and the vacancies filled up by Edward Coulson, Peter Thompson, Richard Booth, and John Gorwood.²⁴ These were arbitrary measures; and James was soon convinced that they were calculated to alienate the affections of his people; for the Prince of Orange was now on the seas, and the country looked up to him for a redress of their grievances, and the firm establishment of the Protestant religion in these dominions. The feeble attempt of James to make atonement for his errors by issuing a proclamation, in which he revoked the writs of quo warranto, and pronounced his former charters valid where new ones had not been granted, was now too late; and he abdicated the throne and privately departed out of the kingdom, which placed the crown on William's head without a struggle.²⁵

Some regiments of Danish soldiers having landed at Hull, for the service of the new monarch, they marched to Beverley, and the sick, as well as the ammunition and ordnance were forwarded at the expense of the corporation.²⁶ During their short stay two young men, belonging to one of the regiments, having had a quarrel on the passage, which could not be decided on board the vessel, sought the first

²⁴ Corp. Rec. 1688.

²⁵ The charter of Beverley had been surrendered, enrolled, and recorded, as is mentioned in the proclamation above referred to; and while the corporation, amidst the various and discordant rumours which agitated the country, were in anxious expectation of its renewal, the town clerk received the following letter, which shews the unsettled state of affairs, and the general hostility which every where prevailed against the exiled monarch. "To Mr. Christ. Tadman,—Sir, The stupendous and surprizing news of the last night's revolucōn has putt a stop to the proceedings of renewing the Corporacōns. For last night, or rather this morning, about 4 a clock the king went away privately down the river with no other company but y^e L^d. Chancello! Sir Edw^d. Hales and the L^d. Dunbarton. 'Tis thought they have gone for France. But that which is as strange is, to see the peace and tranquility y^t hitherto continues in this great city. I had proceeded no further then only to draw up the long Ch. of Beverley in the same terms with that of Ch^s. II. But it cannot go on now, any more than the Parliam^t. Elecions, for that I am informed the writts are most of them witheld, and none given out but where the sheriffs have already taken out their patent, which are not above a quarter of the whole number, I am Yr very humble Servant, S. Gwillyn. N. B. The Queen and Prince of Wales went away the night before." Ex. MS. penes me.

²⁶ "Mr. Maior incurred the sum of £14. 1s. 1d. in conveying sick Danish soldiers, and ammunition waggons, lately landed in Hull. Ordered to be paid." Corp. Rec. 16 Dec. 1689.

opportunity of a private meeting, to settle their difference by the sword; and their fate is recorded in a doggerel epitaph still remaining in Saint Mary's church-yard:—

“ Here two young Danish souldiers lie,
The one in quarrell chanc'd to die;
The other's head—by their own law,
With sword was sever'd at one blow.” ²⁷

It was now nearly a century since the minster had undergone any substantial repairs; and from the magnitude of the edifice, and the absence of funds sufficiently productive, it had become so much dilapidated about the commencement of the eighteenth century, that its restoration was despaired of. The windows were shattered, the roof decayed, the gutters, battlements, and other parts perishing from neglect, and the whole transept was an absolute ruin. The north gable had fallen away from the building, as it appeared, irretrievably; for the upper part overhung the foundation, at least three feet and a half; and fears were entertained that it would speedily fall, and involve the choir and other connected and dependent parts in its own destruction. At this time (1706) sir Charles Hotham and John Moyser, esquire, were the representatives for Beverley; the latter of whom, happily for the town, was an adept in the science of architecture. His active mind contemplated the ruinous state of this once magnificent fabric, and he determined that it should be restored to its former splendour. He proposed a general subscription for this purpose, and set the example by placing the sum of £ —. against his own name. While thus benevolently engaged, the term of his parliamentary deputation expired, and he was succeeded by sir Michael Warton, who subscribed £500. towards the repairs of the minster. These noble examples were followed with avidity by others who regretted the decay of their magnificent church, and by means of a brief and private collections, the funds became adequate to the purpose of repairing and beautifying the structure. Mr. Hawkesmoor, a London architect, was employed to survey the building, and make an estimate of the expense; and he pronounced that it would cost £3,500. to restore it to its pristine beauty and perfection. Sir Charles Hotham and sir Michael Warton, the members, together with the mayor and aldermen of Beverley, petitioned the king to allow them the

²⁷ In the register of Saint Mary's parish are the following entries. 1689. Dec. 16. Daniel Straker a Danish trooper buried.—Dec. 23. Johannes Frederick Bellow (beheaded for killing the other) buried.

privilege of using the materials of the decayed monastery of Saint Mary at York; and a licence was granted, enabling them to pull down and carry away such materials as might be necessary for their purpose, during the period of three years. Accordingly, a great quantity of stone was removed to Beverley by water,²⁸ and the projected improvements were commenced with spirit, and carried on with assiduity.²⁹

During the progress of the work sir Michael Warton died, and bequeathed by will the sum of £4,000. as a fund to keep the minster in perpetual repair; and named as the trustees, the archbishop with the dean and chapter of York, and the mayor and recorder of Beverley; and his executor, sir Michael Newton, was directed by a decree in chancery, to pay the interest of this sum at five per cent. to the churchwardens of Saint Martin's parish, until the same could be eligibly vested in the purchase of lands of inheritance.³⁰ This increase of means gave a new impulse to

²⁸ Drake. Ebor, p. 577.

²⁹ In the year 1714, a grievous murrain amongst the cattle occasioned considerable losses in the town and neighbourhood of Beverley. The stock on the common pastures suffered severely; and a small portion of land was fenced off, to separate the cattle that were infected from the rest, that the distemper might be prevented from spreading. In this murrain 5418 cows died, and 439 calves. Ex. Reg. S. Johan.

³⁰ Sir M. Warton left, in addition to this sum of £4000. to the minster, the further legacies of £1000. to the hospital in Beverley founded by his father, and £500. to the charity school, with which sums certain estates were purchased in Dalby, Partney, and other parishes in the county of Lincoln; and it was enacted, 46 Geo. III. that "the whole clear rents, issues, and profits thereof, after deducting the necessary costs and charges relating to the said trust, should be divided into 21 equal parts and shares; and *two* of such parts or shares thereof should be applied for the said charity school, and *three* other of such parts or shares thereof applied for the said hospital, and the remaining *sixteen* parts or shares applied for keeping the said minster in perpetual good repair." From these estates, and the chantries assigned to the minster by queen Elizabeth, a considerable saving was subsequently made, and the trustees were enabled to vest further sums in the purchase of other property. With this surplus another estate was purchased at Dalby and Dexthorpe, in the county of Lincoln, for £630.; £760. was vested in the Beverley turnpike; £300. in the Alford turnpike; and in 1806, there remained in the hands of the receivers £331. 14s. 9½d. the sum of £204. 11s. 0d. remaining on mortgage of the premises at Partney. Act, 46 Geo. III. And the property which had accrued to this church by the donation of the chantries, lands, tenements, and rents comprized in queen Elizabeth's letters-patent was as follows:—25 tenements in Minster-Moorgate; 5 tenements in Fleming-gate; 1 close near Saint Nicholas's church; 5 tenements and 1 coach-house in Keld-gate; 1 close in Paradise; 11 tenements and 1 close in East-gate; 7 closes in Grove-hill lane; 3 tenements in North-Bar-within; 5 tenements in High-gate; 2 tenements, a garden, and closes in Beckside; 1 close at Etton; a tenement at Crossgarths; a tenement in Newbegin; closes in Lurk-lane; 2 tenements and a close in Back-street; a tenement in Well-lane; 3 tenements in Lair-gate; stables in Corporation yard; 2 tenements in Saturday-market; 2 tenements in North-Bar-without; a close in Osier-yard; a house and close; a bathing-house; and the house formerly occupied by the head master of the grammar school. Act, 46 Geo. III. for the curates of the minster.

the work, and many expensive decorations were added, which, from the false taste which prevailed at that period, have some of them been since removed as superfluous deformities. The task of reinstating the north gable in its true perpendicular was the most arduous and difficult, but it was accomplished by an ingenious device of Mr. Thornton, of York, who invented a machine with which he screwed up this ponderous wall, and replaced it in its true situation.³¹ The floor was taken up, and a new one laid in its present ornamental form; during the process of which operation, the bones of Saint John were taken up, and replaced in an arched vault, immediately beneath the second rose in the groining of the roof, at the east end of the nave. The following inscription was added to the former one,³² engraven on a sheet of lead. "The same relics having been dug up, were replaced and honoured with an arched vault of brickwork, the 25th March, 1726, when the tessellated pavement of this church was first laid."³³ At this time also the nave was completely fitted up with new pews, a pulpit and galleries for the performance of divine service, and all the plans of Mr. Moyser, both for ornament and utility, were carried into full effect. "These plans, unfortunately, were to be executed at a time when there was little reason to expect, that in the construction of the proposed embellishments and additions, any attention would be exerted to make them harmonize with the building in which they were to be placed. Our ancestors, it has been well observed by an author in the *Archæologia*, in the former part of the last century, and in that before it, despising gothic architecture, and blind to all its beauties, neglected, rather than destroyed, the remains of it in

³¹ Vid. *infra*. part III. ch. ii. Thornton was a clever man, but rather tenacious of his powers. We are told by the editor of Dr. Stukeley's *Letters*, *Bibliotheca Topogr.* vol. i. p. 186, that "he had frequently heard from the late Mr. Samuel Buck, who died August 17th, 1779, aged 83, the following anecdote relative to this undertaking. Being at Beverley at the time they were screwing up the gable, he observed that one of the screws had given way; and though his silence might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, Mr. Thornton received his information with manifest disgust, as if offended at the accidental failure of his skill." Thornton died at York, and was buried in Saint Olave's church. On the south side of the altar is a mural monument erected to the memory of this artist. The sculpture is within an ellipse of black stone, and the shield bearing the inscription is supported by cherubs. A skull and cross bones decorate the base, and the whole is surmounted by an urn and flame. Immediately over the inscription is a shield, bearing, *az.* a chevron *or.* inter two compasses and a sphere. In chief *ar.* three flowers. The inscription:—Near this place lies the body of William Thornton, joiner and architect, who departed this life September 23, 1721, aged 51 years.

³² Vide *ut supra*, p. 234.

³³ The original inscription is in latin, and is here subjoined. *Reliquiæ eadem effossæ et ibidem recompositæ Fornice Lateritio dignabantur XXV. die Mensis Martij Anno Domini MDCCXXVI. quando et tessellatum Ecclesiæ hujus Pavimentum primo fuit instratum.*

England. They built up Grecian altars and altar pieces, and galleries, in gothic churches and chapels; and these strange improper things of their erection and invention seem to have been the only objects of their admiration.³⁴ These observations are general, but so exactly descriptive of what took place in our minster, at the time in question, that we might almost feel disposed to think they had a particular reference to it. Every thing was formed on Grecian models; the galleries were supported by doric pillars, and a dome with doric triglyphs. Before the old altar screen was placed a wooden one of Grecian work, on which stood eight beautiful corinthian pillars, supporting a splendid triumphal arch, surmounted by a magnificent gilded eagle. The pulpit, the reading-desk, the cover for the font, all made at the same time, were all in the same taste; and by way of climax of absurdity, an entrance screen into the choir was erected, in which the Grecian and pointed styles were mixed together, and a kind of non-descript monster was produced, referable to no species of architecture.”³⁵

While these peaceful improvements were in progress, the town was occasionally agitated by the intemperate disputes and political cabals of an electioneering contest. In 1722, sir Michael Warton having retired from the representation of the borough by reason of bad health, his nephew, Michael Newton, esquire, was recommended to the burgesses as his successor. The election however, was violently contested by Ellerker Bradshaw, esquire, who tried every means to ingratiate himself with the electors, but was unable to secure a majority of votes, for on the day of election the numbers were, for Michael Newton, esquire, 552; sir Charles Hotham, 493; and Ellerker Bradshaw, esquire, 353. As the former stood too high numerically, to be easily unseated, Mr. Bradshaw petitioned the house of commons against the return of the latter; and complained that sir Charles Hotham was not a burgess, and therefore incompetent to represent the borough in parliament; that he was guilty of treating; that he had used threats and other undue and illegal practices, to influence the votes of the burgesses, &c.; but the petition was withdrawn, and no report was made upon it.³⁶

At the following election, in 1727, Mr. Bradshaw was more successful, after a contest of unusual obstinacy and perseverance. It would be well, were it possible

³⁴ Kerrich, *Observ. on Goth. Archit. Archæol.* vol. xvi. p. 299.

³⁵ Coltman's *Short Hist. of Beverley Minster*, p. 53, 54.

³⁶ Oldfield, *Boroughs*, vol. v. p. 336.

to add, that the means used to ensure success were strictly honourable and praiseworthy, and conformable equally to the dictates of morality and the constitution of the country. Unhappily this was not the case; and the credit of the borough would be less liable to impeachment, if the records which remain of this venal election could be wholly expunged; for this was the famous contest which originated the statute against bribery, 2 Geo. II.³⁷ The historian however, must relate occurrences as they actually took place, for he can neither add to, nor diminish from the records of truth. A petition was preferred against the return of Mr. Bradshaw, which brought on a full investigation before the house of commons; and such a scene of gross corruption was elicited, that although the return was not disturbed, the legislature found themselves under the necessity, for the honour of the house, and in vindication of public morals, to provide against a recurrence of such practices by a formal statute; and a bill was passed, entitled, "An act for the more effectually preventing bribery and corruption in the elections of members to serve in parliament;" and the preamble states, that "whereas it is found by experience that the laws already in being have not been sufficient to prevent corrupt and illegal practices, &c."

The town had now, in some degree, recovered from its former depression, and the inhabitants were determined to make a spirited attempt to restore its facilities for external traffic. The canal or beck, during the decayed state of the place, had imperceptibly warped up, and could not be kept open for want of a sufficient fund to defray the necessary expenses thereof; the staiths were out of repair, and absolutely useless; and the roads leading from the town to the river Hull, were in so ruinous a condition, that carriages could not pass upon them without extreme danger; to the great decay of the trade and impoverishment of the town. It is true, the corporation, with a laudable anxiety for the public welfare, had expended periodically for many years, considerable sums out of their own private revenues, in cleansing the river, and repairing the staiths and roads, but at length their income was so much reduced that they were unable to continue the work they had so benevolently begun; and it had become absolutely necessary for the purposes of commerce, that the beck should be made wider and deeper, and a permanent fund created for keeping it in perpetual repair.³⁸

Many plans were proposed and rejected; and at length, John Warburton, esq. Somerset Herald, a man well versed in such speculations, was desired to give his

³⁷ Oldfield. Boroughs, vol. v. p. 337.

³⁸ Act for cleansing Beverley Beck, fo. 1.

attention to the subject; who delivered, for the consideration of the town, as an effectual means of renewing all the desired advantages, the following “ Proposals for cleaning and keeping clean Beverley beck from the head of the harbour to the foot of the low mill race on both sides, and deepening it three feet and a half. First, that an engine boat be built after the manner of those used in Holland and Flanders, to draw up the weeds that now hold together the mud, and stop the soil and dirt that is washed into the harbour of the said river at the time of land floods, £10. 0s. 0d. The expense of men and horses in working the said boat, £10. 0s. 0d. Secondly, it is proposed that one lock or pair of floodgates be erected on the upper side of the great bridge, and that the sides of the key be raised by battlements, in order to make a more capacious basin for collecting water into at times of flood, which by being flushed out again at low water, will wash away and dissolve all that loose ousey matter which cements, holds together, and obstructs the flux and reflux of the tides and fresh water floods, and if not timely prevented, must inevitably occasion the said river to overflow its banks whensoever the spring tides and land floods shall oppose each other; and thereby may occasion the loss of some hundred acres of ground which lies contiguous to the said river, and particularly the town’s pasture named Figham; and will no ways prejudice sir M. Warton’s low mill, or the navigation of the river Hull, £60. 0s. 0d. Thirdly, that one pair of floodgates be placed on the upper side of the little bridge, at the head of the harbour; and that a reservoir or basin be made proportionably thereunto, in order to keep water in, to be flushed out as occasion may require, to scour and keep clean the space between the two bridges: the charge will be £10. 0s. 0d. For cutting, cleaning, and planting willows by the sides of the river, to secure and prevent them being washed down for the time to come, £20. 0s. 0d. Fourthly, it is proposed that Holm church beck, which now runs by Holm church into the canal, be brought in at the head of the canal; and that such of the town ditches which now run into Walker beck be cleaned and kept open, in order to bring³⁹ Fifthly, that the charge for cleaning the said beck be collected by voluntary contribution; and that the names of the chief benefactors,⁴⁰

³⁹ In. MS. pauca desunt.

⁴⁰ In 1699, the Beck was cleaned out, as is above recommended, by subscription, and the following is an account of the several sums collected on the occasion. Christopher Thompson being the mayor:—

	£.	s.	d.
Sir Michael Warton	30	0	0

with the sums they give, be recorded on a table to be set up in the Gild-haul of this corporation.⁴¹"

To these proposals the following objections were made. "Mr. W. proposes to place a pair of floodgates to stop the water in until it is low in the other parts of the beck, and then to let the water suddenly out of that reservoir to drive the sludge out of the way below; the sludge having been first loosened by other means. This would be an easy and cheap way of cleansing and keeping clean the beck, if it would but answer in practice, but I am afraid it will miscarry for the reasons following. The flowing and ebbing of the tides in the river Hull is but very slow on account of that river being so narrow, and the great distance from the Humber, and the free passage it hath many miles beyond Beverley beck. This causes the water to take a long time rising to a small plum height, and Beverley beck must be the same time rising to the same height, which being so short causes the water to move so slowly that its motion can do little or nothing to carry out any sludge, &c. for cleansing the same by the tides. Suppose the water in the reservoir were pen'd up to a yard above the surface of the water below it on the other side of the bridge; it is evident that the beck below the High-bridge is near eighteen times as long as that between the bridges, and consequently, if all that water were laid on the surface of the water below the bridge, it would but

	£.	s.	d.
Sir Ralph Warton	10	0	0
Mr. Ralph Warton	10	0	0
Mr. Charles Warton	5	0	0
Saturday Market Ward	14	4	5
Within North-Bar	11	13	0
Beckside and Flemingate	2	14	6
Without North-Bar	2	13	6
Toll-Gavel Ward	5	13	6
Norwood, &c.	6	13	0
Wednesday Market	6	9	6
Keldgate and Newbigging Wards	6	11	6
Borrowed of Mr. Sanders	50	0	0
— E. Robinson, for wood sold him....	10	0	0
	£	171	12 11

Total Disbursements	197	1	6
Total Receipts	171	12	11
Paid more than received	25	8	7

⁴¹ Warburton's MSS. Lansd. Coll. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 190, 195, 197.

raise that water one-eighteenth part of a yard, and that is no more than two inches; and if the water in the reservoir was raised two yards higher than the water in the beck below, it would raise the other only four inches; and what can four inches of water do towards carrying away sludge? Where the water is above one yard deep, I think it will prove but a very slow motion as seems very plain, if it be considered that the whole body of water in the beck must move together, for it will not roll over the water like an ager.”⁴²

These preliminary disquisitions paved the way for improvement; estimates were at length agreed to,⁴³ and in 1727, an act was passed for cleansing, deepening, and widening the beck; for repairing the staiths and amending the roads; and that these purposes might be effectually accomplished, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses were empowered to levy certain tolls for the remuneration of those who might advance money for the works; and when they were repaid, to serve as a perpetual fund for keeping them in a state proper for the purposes of general traffic. The duties allowed by this act, being found, by experience, insufficient, application was made to parliament in 1745, for an increased toll, which might enable the corporation to prevent the works from falling once more into a state of ruin; and an advance was allowed to be made in a certain proportion as prescribed in a schedule appended to the act. A clause was inserted, empowering the justices of the peace to compel the owners or occupiers of houses or land contiguous to the streets to keep clean their frontage, and to remove all accumulations of filth and dirt, which might otherwise be conveyed into the beck, and thus tend to impede the navigation.

⁴² Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 193.

⁴³ Mr. Lelham's estimate was as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
For dressing Beverley Beck on both sides, and deepening it 3 feet 2 inches at the bottom; the length thereof is 1353 yards, or 246 roods, at about £1. 8s. per rood of 16½ feet	369	12	0
For jettying the banks with piles and brushwood	50	0	0
For a lighter to take the rubbish away in	40	0	0
For making a finn to the said lighter for deepening the beck, if the water cannot be turned another way	35	0	0
3,000 yards of paving, at 12d. per yard	150	0	0
A bridge over the mill dam, with three arches	28	0	0
Total, £.	672	12	0

511 50 The annual charge for keeping it clean, &c. £8. 0s. 0d.

In this century, numerous sentences of excommunication were pronounced against individuals residing in Beverley, and penances were performed both in the minster and Saint Mary's church;⁴⁴ which tend either to arraign the morality of the town, or to exhibit a fixed determination on the part of the parish officers, to prevent, by signal punishment, the commission of crimes which were calculated to outrage public feeling, and overturn that principle of order and decorum which forms the great barrier of civil and social virtue. How far the application of this remedy, provided by the discipline of the church, might be effectual to promote this salutary purpose, it may be somewhat difficult to pronounce; certain it is, that the *prevention* of crime is infinitely preferable to its *punishment*; and the labours of the nineteenth century are uniformly and assiduously directed to the *means* of prevention, by instilling proper principles into the plastic mind of youth, that the ripening man may be prepared for the practice of virtue, by being instructed how to trace the line of demarcation between right and wrong with unerring precision; and justly to estimate the nature of that future punishment which will assuredly be awarded to the commission of crime, and of the eternal reward which must inevitably result from a course of piety and virtue, enforced by the devout practice of our most holy religion.

⁴⁴ I have selected the following instances of this punishment out of the numerous lists contained in the vestry minutes and registers of Saint John and Saint Mary. In the united parishes of Saint John and Saint Martin, no less than 143 were either excommunicated or did penance between the years 1709 and 1766. The number was also great in the other two parishes. Their offences may be estimated from the following extracts taken out of Saint Mary's records.

1726, Sept. Joseph North and Mary his wife; Thomas Newmarch and Mary his wife, and John Blardon and Jane his wife, were presented for anti-nuptial fornication.

1726, Nov. 2. Thomas Day and Ann his now wife, of the parish of Saint Nicholas, were presented for the same crime.

1743, Dec. 4. Sarah Ayre performed public penance for fornication with Stephen Gray.

Dec. 11. Stephen Gray performed public penance for fornication with Sarah Ayre.

1744, Nov. 4. John Ayre performed public penance for adultery with Mary Sagg.

1747, Ap. 26. Richard Burton performed public penance for fornication with Ann Wright. Decree signed April 23.

At the archdeacon's visitation was presented p. churchwardens of Saint Mary's, Mary Holmes, for fornication, she having borne twin bastard children, the father unknown.

1750. Susannah Hopkin did penance for incest with Thomas Hopkin, her son-in-law.

1750. Joan Wilkinson and Jane Lyon, spinsters, were presented for fornication with John Plaister, on the 9th October, 1750, at Plaxton.

Chap. XX.

Accession of George III.—Drainage—Act for augmenting the revenues of the curates of the minster—War with America—Hull dock act—Addresses and petitions—French revolution—Beverley volunteers—Scarcity of corn—Attack on the king—Depredations—Act for appointing an additional assistant curate—Act for lighting and watching the town—Superb illumination for peace—Illumination for queen Caroline—Coronation festival—Improvements in the minster—Gas works—Balloon.

The accession of George III. to the throne of England was at a point of time peculiarly felicitous. The arms of Great-Britain were successful in every quarter of the globe; and her navy swept the seas with triumphant dignity, asserting its unlimited sway on its native element, and exacting obedience and submission from all the nations upon earth. This supremacy soon produced a general peace, which was celebrated at Beverley with every demonstration of joy; and a loyal address was voted to his majesty by the corporation, which was presented by lord Egremont, and received by the king in the most gracious manner.¹

¹ To the king's most excellent majesty. The humble address of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Beverley, in the county of York.

We, your Majesty's ever loyal subjects, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Beverley, in the county of York, beg leave to approach your royal presence with our most sincere congratulations on the happy return of peace, an event most desirable in its own nature, and peculiarly interesting to a commercial nation.

Your majesty's wisdom, which the most flattering series of good fortune could not mislead, sensible that the tide of military glory is ever the most dangerous when it is the most rapid, stopped the desolating hand of war, and restored to your subjects, and in its consequences to all Europe, the blessings of peace;—blessings which to us are the more dear, because we have seen the great ends of the war fully accomplished, the injuries which these kingdoms have received from foreign powers vindicated, their ability to annoy us hereafter circumscribed, our colonies protected, and a vast territory added to the British empire.

These are real glories which no time can efface, no faction obscure: the fame resulting from military achievements, however splendid and magnificent, is nevertheless accompanied with calamity and terror. But during this more happy period the liberal attainments of science, the copious

The inhabitants of Beverley and the surrounding district, now that the country was relieved from the expenses and vicissitudes of an extensive continental war, began to direct their thoughts towards the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and the improvement of the soil. The low lands in the vicinity of Beverley appear to have been always subject to inundation, and consequently of little comparative value, until by the modern system of drainage they have been brought into a regular and systematic course of cultivation. And this is not the only benefit which has been conveyed to the inhabitants by the exercise of this system; it has fertilized the soil; it has given to the community much land which had hitherto been of little service; and, which is of still greater importance in a physical point of view, it has banished those epidemic diseases which were generated by the constant exhalations proceeding from the stagnant waters and morasses by which the town of Beverley was surrounded.

In times far remote, the country had been subject to violent and sudden floods, proceeding from a rush of waters from the Wolds, the consequences of a rainy season, which frequently broke the banks of the river Hull, and covered the low lands to a considerable depth, so that people were obliged to use boats for the purpose of attending Beverley market. To remedy these inconveniences, frequent commissions² were issued to examine and repair the banks and sewers. Notwithstanding every precaution the evil was of perpetual recurrence, and in 1763—4,

advantages of commerce, and all the amiable arts of peace will flourish under the protection of a prince of virtues too exalted to derive his fame from any other source than the true happiness of his people.

Given under our common seal the 17th June, 1763.

² "In the 26 Edw. III. John Sutton of Holderness, Tho. de Seton, Will. de Skipwyth, and John de Wilton were appointed to view the banks, &c. upon the coast of Humber, betwixt the towns of Hesele and Ravensere; and also upon the coast of Hull betwixt Beverley and Kingstone-upon-Hull." Pat. 26 Edw. III. Some time afterwards, "Sir Simon de Heselardton, knt. Roger de Fulthorp, Thomas de Beverlee, and Walter de Ruddestone, were appointed to view and repair the banks, &c. in the towns of Lokyngton, Watton, Scorburch, Kilingwyk, and Besewyk; which, by the descent of the fresh waters from the Woldes into the river of Hull, were broken." Pat. 47 Edw. III. "So also in the following reign, a commission was issued to sir John de St. Quintin, knt. John de Lokton, Will. de Holme, Robert Sturemy, Hugh de Arderne, and Will. Hundegate, for those upon the river of Hull, and parts adjacent, from the towns of Killingwyk, Scoreburgh, Watton, Besewyk, Lokyngton, and Rotsee, to the towns of Ake, Eske, Erughome, and the manor of Berghe." Pat. 10 Rich. II. And subsequently a commission was directed to "Lawrence de Allerthorp, clerk, Will. Gascoigne, Rob^t. Tirwhit, Will. Newsome, Will. Hundgate, Rich. de Beverley, and William Wandesforde, for the banks of the river of Hull, and parts adjacent, from Eiton, Lockyngtone, Scorburch, Ake, and Berghe, to Beswyk, Wattone, Hotone, Craunsewyke, and Skerne." Pat. 1 Hen. IV. Dugdale on Imbank. and Drain. pp. 131, 132, 133.

after a stormy winter, the banks of the Hull were broken, and the turnpike road from Whitecross to Beverley stood four feet deep in water for a considerable length of time. An act of parliament was procured to enable the proprietors of land to drain the level; and this was fully accomplished by means of the Holderness drainage, at an expense of between fifty and sixty thousand pounds.³

Nor were the interests of religion neglected amidst the anxiety which was now displayed for agricultural improvements. An act of parliament was procured, 6 Geo. III. intituled, "An act for vesting certain estates in the county of Lincoln in trustees, and to enable them to appropriate the rents and profits thereof; and also certain sums of money, subject to the trusts declared by the will of sir Michael Warton, knight, deceased, for the augmentation of the revenues of the curacies of the late collegiate church of Saint John in Beverley, in the county of York, and for erecting an organ in the said church, and for other purposes therein mentioned." Under the provisions of this act, several improvements were made in the internal economy of the minster, which were alike calculated to promote the benefit of the curates and their parishioners; and an organ was erected upon the screen which separates the transept from the choir, by Snetzler, at an expense of near £800.

The disorders in North-America, which ultimately involved this country in war, having commenced, his majesty issued a proclamation in 1775, declaring those colonies to be in a state of open rebellion, which was published at Beverley with all the accustomed formalities; and a full meeting of the corporation being subsequently convened; a loyal address to his majesty was unanimously voted, in which they declared their "abhorrence of the present unnatural rebellion in some of the colonies in North-America, as well as of those factious and evil minded men both at home and abroad, by whose means the same hath been, and still is principally promoted and abetted;" and professed themselves incompetent to express their "detestation of all those societies or sets of men, who, contrary to the allegiance they owe and have sworn to his majesty, are now, by their inflammatory letters and publications, in a most daring manner, sowing the seeds of sedition amongst their fellow subjects, and thereby endeavouring, as much as in them lies, to involve us at home as well as abroad, in all the calamities of a civil war."⁴

An act having passed, 14 Geo. III. enabling the Hull dock company to lay a duty on all vessels having ingress or egress to or from the docks, they proceeded to

³ Strickland. *Agricult.* p. 194.

⁴ Given under the common seal of the corporation, 27 Sep. 1775.

impose certain rates upon vessels from Beverley and other places on the river Hull, which did not enter the haven, but only passed the North-Bridge. This was, in effect a revival of the ancient dispute; for the burgesses of Beverley claimed the indefeasible right of a free passage into the Humber, without payment of any duty or impost whatsoever, as secured to them by charter, prescription, and legal award;⁵ and a new dock act having subsequently become necessary, they petitioned the house of commons for relief.⁶

The ratification of the definitive treaty of peace between Great-Britain, France, and America, was signed in 1783; an event which produced an address to the throne from the corporation of Beverley, who expressed the warmest sentiments of gratitude and congratulation for the humane and just measures which his majesty

⁵ Vid. ut supra, p. 190.

⁶ To the honourable the commons of Great Britain in parliam^t assembled.

The humble petition of the gentlemen, merchants, dealers and tradesmen of Beverley, in the East-riding of the county of York, and the neighbourhood thereof, whose names are hereunto subscribed, SHEWETH—

That your petitioners observe by the votes that a bill is depending in this honourable house for &c. (Here the title of the Hull Dock Bill was inserted.) That the river Hull is an ancient navigable river, and by the said act proposed in the 14th year of his present majesty's reign, there are payable and paid to the dock company thereby constituted certain rates or duties for certain ships and vessels coming into or going out of the harbour, basin or dock, within the port of Kingstone-upon-Hull, as in the said act is particularly mentioned and described.

That some of the ships and vessels which may have occasion to use the said river Hull, up to or near to the said town of Beverley and other places above the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, may not have occasion to use the said basin, dock, quay or wharf, or any quay or wharf whatsoever in the said harbour or haven called Hull haven, lying between the river Humber and the bridge at Kingston-upon-Hull, called Hull North Bridge. That as such ships and vessels have an incontestible right to pass through the said harbour or haven, your petitioners conceive it to be a hardship on them, and a grievous burden on the trade and commerce of the said town of Beverley, and other places lying above the said Hull North Bridge, that ships and vessels only passing through the said harbour or haven as aforesaid should be charged with and compelled to pay the same rates and duties as are imposed on ships and vessels actually using the said basin or dock, quay or wharf.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that provision may be made in the said bill for exempting from the payment of the said rates and duties imposed under the said act of the 14th year of his present majesty's reign, all such ships and vessels as shall come or go coastwise from or to any port or place whatsoever in Great Britain to or from any place in or up the river Hull, or any other river, cut, stream or canal which now falls, or shall at any time hereafter fall into the same river, and which shall not come into or go out of the said basin or dock, or use the same or any quay which now adjoins, or shall at any time hereafter adjoin thereunto, or any quay within the Humber, commonly called Hull Haven, lying between the river Humber and the bridge at Kingston-upon-Hull, called Hull North Bridge, or that your petitioners may have such other relief in the premises as to this honourable house shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

had pursued in terminating a long and expensive war, and restoring to his subjects the blessings of peace.⁷ This was followed in 1784, by another, in which his majesty is thanked for the dismissal of his ministers, "whose principles and conduct," says the address, "were ill suited to obtain the confidence, or answer the just expectations of the public, at this arduous juncture;"⁸ and a third in 1786, of congratulation on his escape from the desperate attempt made by Margaret Nicholson upon his life.⁹ The subject of slave emancipation having now become popular, a petition from the corporation and inhabitants of Beverley was presented to the house of commons in 1788, recommending the abolition of "a traffic so disgraceful to a free country, and to promote among those who are already in a state of servitude such means of instruction as may contribute to their civilization and future happiness;"¹⁰ and in 1789, the joy for his majesty's recovery from the dangerous malady by which he had been attacked, produced an address of congratulation to the throne;¹¹ and another to the queen, on the same happy event.¹²

Shortly afterwards, the French revolution once more lighted the torch of war, and it soon blazed, with horrible coruscations, throughout the whole continent of Europe. The place of hostile contention was not confined to any one country, but the sword of the warrior was unsheathed in every kingdom, and even this island was threatened with invasion. In 1793, England heard the first menace of an attack upon her shores; and three years afterwards preparations were made by the French, on a very extensive scale, for that purpose. They constructed rafts and flat-bottomed boats without number, and assembled a well-appointed army of veterans, on the sea coast opposite Britain, which was pompously denominated, "The army of England." Though all these mighty preparations were calculated rather to alarm the weak than to intimidate the brave, yet the ministry thought it necessary to put the nation in a posture of defence. Circular letters had been directed to the lords-lieutenant of the several counties in England so early as the year 1794, apprizing them that his majesty would graciously accept the services of any temporary corps of cavalry or infantry, which should voluntarily associate to serve near their own homes, and protect their own property from the designs of an invading foe. This resolution was no sooner made publick, than one spirit

⁷ Corp. Rec. 7 April, 23 Geo. III.

⁸ Corp. Rec. 16 Feb. 24 Geo. III. ⁹ Ibid. 26 Geo. III.

¹⁰ Records of Hull, 1788. ¹¹ Corp. Rec. 30 Mar. 29 Geo. III.

¹² Corp. Rec. 29 Geo. III.

appeared to animate the whole nation; and rich and poor vied with each other in protestations of loyalty to their king, resolving to hazard their lives in defence of the constitution. The whole population of England was soon in arms; and the inhabitants of Beverley were amongst the first to stand forward in defence of the country. At the very earliest notice that the services of the inhabitants, in a military capacity, would be acceptable to the government, a numerous corps of volunteers was embodied; and on Christmas-day, 1794, they appeared for the first time clothed and accoutred, and made a very respectable and martial display. They mustered in the Market-place, and proceeded in order to Saint Mary's church, where an appropriate sermon was preached by the Rev. Robert Rigby, the vicar; and from this time they made a rapid progress in acquiring a competent knowledge of military tactics. When the experiment of invasion was really contemplated, the Beverley volunteers had attained a high state of discipline; and were fully prepared to act in concert with the regular army, as an efficient part of a disposable force, to repel any attempt which might be made on the rights or liberties of the king or his people.¹³

War in itself is a dreadful calamity and a scourge; but its difficulties and privations to the inhabitants of this country, were now increased by another divine visitation, which heightened the miseries of the labouring classes, and in some districts drove them to desperation and consequent outrage, fomented, as the passions of the suffering people were, by the poison of sedition and discontent, actively disseminated throughout the country by corresponding societies, and the advocates of anarchy and revolution. A scarcity of corn prevailed during the year 1795, to such an alarming extent as almost to threaten absolute famine; and the prices advanced so high as to place the most necessary article of provision beyond the reach of working people. To the honour of humanity, however, be it said, that the more opulent used every possible exertion to neutralize the calamity, and to avert the evils with which poverty and indigence were at this time assailed; and the town of Beverley afforded a conspicuous example of such benevolence. At the quarter

¹³ The first officers of this corps were Col. Cruger, Christopher Machell, esq. capt. — Langton, esq. captain, and Moses Green, serjeant. It was considered a circumstance highly honourable to the town of Beverley, that this corps was superior in numbers to what was furnished by the port of Hull; and it is said that a very spirited letter had been addressed to the inhabitants of the latter place, inciting them to imitate the example of this patriotic town. Hull Advertiser.

sessions held in June, a regulation was made to prevent forestalling, or other speculation in these eventful times; and it was ordered that all grain should be bought and sold by the Winchester measure only. And a subscription was entered into for the purpose of purchasing corn, and selling it to the poor at such prices as should enable them to procure a supply necessary for the consumption of their respective families, and the amount was very considerable. The right honourable lord Yarborough gave fifty guineas; John Wharton, esquire, fifty pounds; Richard Watt, esquire, of Bishop-Burton, ten guineas; and other names were added by the more wealthy inhabitants of Beverley and the neighbourhood for smaller sums, which enabled the committee effectually to relieve their indigent neighbours from the embarrassments which had been caused by a defective harvest, and a consequent scarcity of provisions.

The dissensions of the country, however, had attained an alarming crisis, and insurrections were every where apprehended. The most daring insults were offered to the king as he proceeded through St. James's Park to open the parliament, both by inflammatory speeches, and actual hostility. Stones and other missiles were thrown at the carriage, several of which struck it with considerable violence; and on his return the attacks were renewed with such persevering rancour, that after his majesty had quitted the state coach, it was completely demolished by the infuriate populace. Such a wanton outrage, committed on the person of the sovereign, roused the well affected portion of the community to a sense of duty. On the 4th of November, copies of the king's proclamation relative to these outrages were submitted to parliament, and ordered to lie on the table. Addresses to his majesty poured in from all quarters; and at a full meeting of the corporation of Beverley, in the Guild-hall, it was agreed, *nem. dis.* to forward an address to the throne on the daring insult which had been offered to his majesty's person on his way to and from the parliament house.¹⁴ And the next day his royal highness Prince William of Gloucester honoured the corporation with his company to breakfast. He was entertained in the council chamber, and after breakfast the freedom of the borough was voted to him by the corporation, and presented by Robert Osborne, esq. the recorder, which his royal highness was pleased most graciously to receive.¹⁵

Meanwhile disorder and insubordination progressively advanced, until personal property became insecure; for the illiterate people, having the pernicious doctrines

¹⁴ Corp. Rec. 5 Nov. 1795. ¹⁵ Ibid. 6 Nov. 1795.

of unalienable right and natural equality continually sounding in their ears from demagogues charged with the subversion of peace and social order, soon became impressed with the actual belief that the indefeasible rights of man authorized them to seize with a strong and lawless hand, those goods which appeared to be superfluous to their more opulent neighbours; and hence robberies became frequent, and delinquency was increased beyond all former precedent. The year 1796, was pregnant with these evils at Beverley to an alarming extent. Many persons were plundered on the highway when leaving the markets. Shops out of number were feloniously broke open; and though the magistrates were exceedingly active, their authority appears to have been disregarded, if not openly and successfully defied. Mr. Wilson, of Beverley, was robbed on his return from Hull. Mr. Hunsley's shop was robbed; but an example was occasionally made; and a felon of the name of T. Raper, was sentenced to a seven years transportation for having committed a robbery at Beverley. These disorders passed away as the film of error and deception was removed from the eye; and the good sense of Englishmen returning after a temporary mania of delusion and violence, every thing resumed its former aspect of peace and tranquillity throughout the country.

At the latter end of the year, a dispute arose in the parish of Saint Mary's respecting the means of raising men for the army and navy, pursuant to the provisions of an act of parliament. At a vestry meeting an order was made, empowering the churchwardens to offer a bounty of forty guineas each to volunteers who were willing to enter into his majesty's service.¹⁶ This order appears to have created some unfavourable sensation in the minds of the parishioners, for another vestry was convened soon afterwards, at which the vestry clerk was ordered to draw up a case for the opinion of counsel, whether the assessment now laid for advancing bounties to volunteers in his majesty's navy be strictly legal; and it was further resolved that an appeal be made at the next general quarter sessions for the peace on account of such rate.¹⁷ Soon however the dispute was settled, the latter order rescinded, and the original resolutions confirmed.¹⁸

The income of the curate and assistant at the minster being much too limited for the sphere of life in which they were placed; an act of parliament was obtained "for appointing new trustees of certain estates in the county of Lincoln; and for

¹⁶ Vestry Minutes, 28 Nov. 1796.

¹⁷ Vestry Minutes, Dec. 1796. ¹⁸ Ibid. 4 Jan. 1797.

authorizing the application of part of the rents and profits thereof, and of other estates towards the augmentation of the stipends of the curates of the late collegiate church of Saint John of Beverley, in the county of York; and for appointing another assistant curate of the said church.”¹⁹ By the provisions of this act, the trustees were empowered to augment the salaries of each curate, by such proportionate payments out of the trust funds, as should make their income respectable, and constitute a proper remuneration for the arduous and incessant duties of their office.²⁰

In 1808, a project was formed for lighting, watching, and regulating the town, that the uniform march of civilization, which was conveying its benefits to other opulent places, might also be visible here; and nothing is a more unequivocal symptom of the improvements of modern times than the universal impulse which has pervaded all classes of society, for the introduction of lamps into the streets to facilitate the pursuits of business or convenience when the sun has withdrawn his light, and to prevent the disorders which so frequently arise under the veil of darkness. For this purpose an act was obtained, to enable certain commissioners therein appointed, of whom the mayor, recorder, and aldermen form, *ex officio*, a part, to levy a rate upon the inhabitants for the above purposes, which rate was restricted to a maximum of two shillings in the pound per annum.²¹ From this time the town exhibited a new and imposing appearance; and many of the nocturnal disorders which were not of unfrequent occurrence before this salutary regulation, were now entirely suppressed.

The decisive victories which reflected such lasting glory on the British arms, and destroyed all the aspiring hopes of Buonaparte, by placing his capital at the disposal of the combined powers, and condemning him to perpetual exile, were followed by

¹⁹ Title of Act, 1806.

²⁰ By this act it was provided, “that from and after the appointment of the said additional assistant curate, divine service shall be performed in the said late collegiate church or minster of Beverley twice every day in the year; and the said two assistant curates shall by turns read the morning and evening prayers according to the form prescribed in the book of Common Prayer used by the church of England; and they shall likewise perform all the occasional duty of or belonging to the said church or minster; and the performance of the services aforesaid, by the said two assistant curates, shall be under the immediate inspection and regulation of the said curate or minister; and the said curate or minister shall preach in the said church or minster one sermon in the morning, and another sermon in the afternoon of every Sunday in the year; and also one sermon on such other days whereon sermons have been by the said curate or minister usually heretofore preached.”

²¹ Stat. 48 Geo. III. 1808.

a general peace. This happy event, as may be supposed, after the long period of privation and suffering which the people of England had submitted to endure, rather than witness the degradation of her flag, was received with every testimony of congratulation and joy. The proclamation was accompanied, throughout the country, with the splendour of a public festival; and the superb illuminations which graced each town and village in the land, served to shew the unanimity of sentiment which pervaded every bosom. The inhabitants of Beverley displayed their loyalty by an undisguised demonstration of their principles. On the 30th May, 1814, a numerous party of gentlemen dined together at the Tiger inn to celebrate the birth-day of Mr. Pitt, by whose system of politics the war was brought to such a happy termination, where the feelings and sentiments of the assembly were exhibited by loyal toasts and constitutional orations; and Tuesday, the 28th of June, was devoted to the solemn business of proclaiming peace. Ringing of bells and other symptoms of rejoicing commenced at an early hour; and before mid-day the following procession was arranged at the Guild-hall:—

Twenty-four Constables with Banners.

Band of Music.

The Mayor, Aldermen, capital Burgesses, &c.

The principal Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood.

The Tradesmen and other Inhabitants.

Brethren of the Constitutional Lodge of Free-Masons, No. 554.

Benefit Societies.

Society of Odd Fellows.

This procession made its first stand at the cross in Wednesday Market, where the proclamation was formally made amidst the reiterated cheering of the people; it then moved forward to the Saturday Market-place, where it was received with a royal salute from eight guns, and peace was again proclaimed at the cross. After proceeding through the North-Bar to the extremity of the town, the assembly returned to the Saturday Market-place, and sung the national anthem of **GOD SAVE THE KING** in full chorus; separating until the hour of dinner with loud acclamations. The day concluded with a superb illumination, the most striking feature of which was the Market cross. The columns were adorned with spiral wreaths of brilliant lamps, interspersed with laurel, olive, and evergreens, the emblems of victory and permanent peace, and the urns were decorated with elegant festoons of small lamps tinted with every variety of colour. The whole was

surmounted with a splendid crown of glory composed of variegated lamps, which were arranged with such taste and delicacy as to produce an effect equally striking and sublime. The cross, thus arrayed in its habiliments of variegated flame, exhibited the appearance of some rich palace of fairy land, which had been decorated with pearls and diamonds by an invisible agency, for the reception of a beloved princess of more than mortal beauty and accomplishments.²² On the 4th of July, a meeting of the corporation was convened for the purpose of placing the feelings and sentiments of the town more permanently on record; and it was unanimously agreed to present a dutiful address to his royal highness the Prince

²² On this memorable occasion, the following well-executed transparencies and devices excited public attention. The mayor displayed, in variegated lamps, a magnificent G. R. crowned; and a transparency, in which, as the chief magistrate, he displayed the arms of the corporation, with the words PERSEVERANCE, and TRUE BLUE. The windows of general Vyse were ornamented with wreaths of variegated lamps and stars, amidst which appeared the crowned G. R. in flame: and a similar device was conspicuous in the windows of sir William Pennyman, general Garth, Mr. P. Hunsley, Mr. Tigar, Mr. Muschamp, Mr. H. Johnson, Mr. Ferraby, Mr. Bland, and Mr. Norris, the latter gentleman having added the word PEACE. The whole length of Mr. Walker's front wall was illuminated with a zigzag line of lamps, and a triumphal arch, dedicated to peace and loyalty, blazed over his entrance gate. The house of Mrs. Sterne exhibited great taste and delicacy. The whole surface of the front door was occupied by a fine transparency; the windows were decorated with Grecian arches; and the G. R. and crown were introduced with great effect. Colonel Machell exhibited many appropriate transparencies and mottos, brilliantly intermixed with lamps and diamonds, both at his house and the bank. W. Beverley, esquire, had the words WILLIAM PITT, and a splendid star. Dr. Brown had a transparency with E. R. P. A. in lamps. Mr. Duesbery's house was elegantly festooned with lamps, and the word PEACE; to which he added, with much judgment, a transparency of the duke of Wellington. Mr. Lockwood's windows were ornamented with Grecian arches in variegated lamps; Mr. S. Hall had P. P. in lamps; Mr. Carrick, the word PEACE, with a transparency; Mr. Ramsey the same word, and Mr. P. Gordon, G. P. R.; Mr. Brigham, PEACE, in a double row of lamps, the letters six feet long, surmounted by a brilliant star. The Tiger inn was festooned with lamps, and the transparency displayed, "John Bull himself again"; and the Cross Keys had "John Bull in his element," and "Long live Wellington," in lamps; the Blue Boar had a ludicrous transparency of Napoleon's journey to Elba; and the Hall Garth, PEACE. Mr Joseph Hall had his windows festooned with diamonds, and a transparency with the following device:—On the right was a figure of Britannia, attending to the earnest prayer of an African slave, who was placed in the centre of the picture, while the genii of France, on the left, appeared to cement his chains. Britannia thus speaks:—

Let union every nation join,
Of every clime from pole to pole;
No more the sable slave shall groan,
Since he's, like us, a human soul.

The post-office had a splendid appearance, ornamented, as it was, with two brilliant transparencies. First, the dove and olive branch, with the motto, "Peace to all nations." Second, Britannia seated on a rock, with her usual emblems, the lion and cornucopia, crowning the duke of Wellington with laurel; in another part of the picture was a naked figure bearing a scroll, with the names of Badajos, Salamanca, Madrid, &c. and in the back ground were seen ships in full sail, as emblems of commerce, &c. &c. About half after twelve, a balloon ascended at the North-Bar.

Regent on this auspicious event.²³ At the same court, it was also resolved to forward a petition to the legislature praying for the abolition of the slave trade.²⁴

Another display of the same nature, but on a very different occasion, followed a few years afterwards. It is unnecessary here to detail the state of feeling exhibited in this country at the time when the bill of pains and penalties against the late unhappy queen Caroline was pending in the house of lords. Suffice it to say, that the general excitation was never equalled except under circumstances of actual rebellion. The question was agitated throughout the land with a violence which led to ill-will and hatred, and often to acts of open hostility amongst all orders and descriptions of men. The press, that mighty engine, by which states and empires may be upheld or overthrown, was actively employed on both sides, and, independently of the periodical journals, pamphlets were multiplied with ostentatious profusion; hot blood produced hard words; the language was distorted to produce vituperative epithets and contumelious expressions; while public morals were assailed, and domestic feeling outraged by imputations and disclosures at once revolting and indecent. The number of addresses which were presented to this unfortunate woman is incredible; and the splendour and processional pomp by which they were accompanied, afforded to them a degree of popularity which their intrinsic merits failed to command; and when the bill of pains and penalties was finally abandoned, the nation was shook to its centre with acclamations and rejoicings, in which the town of Beverley bore its part, and displayed a satisfaction at the result, which it is doubtful whether the inhabitants really felt, by getting up an illumination, which, though inferior in point of splendour to its magnificent

²³ The following is a copy of this address:—

To his royal highness George, prince of Wales, regent of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland. The dutiful address of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the town of Beverley, in the county of York, in common council assembled.

May it please your Royal Highness. We, his majesty's loyal subjects, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the town of Beverley, in the county of York, in common council assembled, beg leave to present to your royal highness our heartfelt congratulations at the restoration of a glorious and honourable peace.

We have viewed with wonder and gratitude, the wisdom, firmness, and vigorous exertions of your royal highness, your council, and your forces, both by sea and land; and the pre-eminent services of your brave and faithful allies, in conducting and bringing to a happy termination the most arduous contest for the deliverance of Europe from the greatest tyranny that ever visited the civilized world. May your royal highness long live, and may you be repaid by the affection and prosperity of a loyal and happy people, and by the esteem and admiration of surrounding nations.

Given under our common seal at Beverley aforesaid, the 4th day of July, in the 54th year of his majesty's reign.

²⁴ Corp. Rec. 4 July, 1814.

predecessor, is said to have been almost general. Some gentlemen, however, disdaining to sanction a measure which was so decidedly at variance with their own opinions, refused to gratify the predominant cupidity of the mob, so far as to exhibit publickly such decisive tokens of a feeling which they could not entertain; and it was anticipated that their firmness in this particular would be productive of some disturbances. The judicious measures adopted by the magistrates to prevent the occurrence of any acts of lawless violence, were, however, attended with success, and only two windows were broken during the continuance of the illumination. But after the candles were withdrawn, and darkness had interposed her veil to favour the designs of a few heartless desperadoes; they sallied forth when the peace officers had retired to rest, and demolished the windows of almost every person who had discountenanced the evening's display.

The coronation of George IV. was appointed to be solemnized on the 19th of July, 1821, and the inhabitants of Beverley were determined to have a splendid *fetè* in its honour on the same day. A publick meeting was summoned at the Guild-hall on the 13th, to consider on the propriety of entering into a subscription for the purpose of enabling the poor to unite in the rejoicings of that occasion, and it was unanimously determined that a fund should be immediately raised for the purpose; when G. L. Fox, esquire, one of the representatives, contributed fifty guineas, the corporation, ten guineas, S. Hall, esquire, the mayor, and several other gentlemen, five guineas each; and sundry smaller sums were advanced, amounting altogether to more than two hundred pounds. The day was ushered in by the ringing of bells in both churches; and coronation cakes were distributed at the minster to upwards of 2,000 children. At twelve o'clock the authorities and gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood met in great numbers at the Guild-hall; and after some preliminary arrangements, a procession was formed of the corporation and other public bodies, attended by the inhabitants, who uniformly displayed the utmost readiness to do honour to the auspicious occasion; and the gay party proceeded to Saint Mary's church in the following order:—

Persons bearing appropriate Banners.

Band of Music.

The Members of the Corporation.

The Gentry, Clergy, and Inhabitants.

The Brethren of the Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons, No. 554.

Benefit Societies.

Divine service commenced at one o'clock, and a sermon adapted to the solemnity was delivered by the Rev. R. Rigby, the vicar; after which, the procession advanced from the west door of the church up the east side of North-Bar-Street as far as the New Walk, and returned down the west side of the same street to the cross in Wednesday Market, whence it proceeded to the Guild-hall. Here the assembly dispersed for the present, after performing in full and solemn chorus the national anthem of **GOD SAVE THE KING**. At three o'clock dinner was served up at the different inns and public houses to two thousand persons, the expense of which was defrayed from the subscription fund, each person being allowed one quart of ale; and an elegant dinner was provided at the Beverley-Arms, at the expense of the corporation, to which the principal gentlemen of the town were invited;²⁵ nor were the ladies unwilling to testify their loyalty on this occasion, but cheerfully did honour to the ceremonies by appearing with joyous countenances in their gayest attire at a brilliant assembly in the evening, which terminated the rejoicings with harmony and spirit.

The property of the minster having sustained a considerable increase, it had been resolved by the trustees of the fund, to engage some competent person as a permanent architect and overseer, that the improvements of the fabric which were in contemplation, might be carried on by gradual steps, and in one uniform style of workmanship and decoration, without the disgusting varieties which occur by successive repairs under the direction of different and perhaps inefficient artists; and in the year 1813, Mr. Comins, a pupil of Shute of York, was engaged for this purpose. Under his management, the deformity exhibited in the Corinthian altar screen was cleared away, and the church promised to display marks of its pristine beauty and chaste decoration. Considerable progress was also made in the restoration of the ancient screen which had been basely disfigured, and in many parts destroyed by the barbarous devastations of former ages.²⁶ But it was reserved for Thomas Hull, esq. M. D. to give the finishing stroke to the absurd ornaments of modern interpolation; and during the mayoralty of that gentleman in 1823, he

²⁵ The following were amongst the many loyal and constitutional toasts which were drank at this dinner:—Our gracious sovereign king Geo. IV. and may he long live to reign over a loyal and free people. Duke of York and the army. Lord Melville and the navy. The archbishop of Canterbury and clergy of the realm. The lord chancellor, the judges and sages of the law. Lord Liverpool and the king's ministers, &c. &c. &c.

²⁶ The execution of this screen is a fine specimen of the art of sculpture in the present day, and does infinite credit to the acquirements of Mr. Comins; whose masterly performances in the restoration of the exterior, are also conspicuous in various other parts of the building.

determined to effect a complete reformation by taking down and removing the Grecian pews and galleries in the nave, and fitting up the choir for divine service with pews of uniform appearance; that one style, in unison with the chaste beauties of English architecture, might be preserved throughout the whole building.

In an English building of purity and excellence like Beverley minster, the introduction of such Grecian anomalies as were perceptible in the altar screen and the galleries, the pulpit and every other arrangement in the nave, as well as the selection and appropriation of this part of the fabric for divine service at a time when the population was less considerable than at present, reflect a want of judgment in our predecessors, which can only be attributed to the defective taste of the age in which they lived. It remained for those, whose improved ideas and matured experience had convinced them of the impropriety of such absurdities, to enquire into, and endeavour to ascertain the expediency and practicability of translating the service from the nave into the choir. If this could be accomplished, no further obstacle would interpose to prevent the removal of the galleries and other unsightly incumbrances; and the necessity of such a measure was apparent from the existence of many complaints, not only of the great coldness incident to such an open situation as the nave, but also from the difficulty which many of the congregation experienced of hearing and seeing the officiating minister during the performance of divine service, which alone would have been of sufficient importance to justify the change. The subject was taken into consideration in the above year, and followed up with great industry through the exertions of Dr. Hull, to whose activity, zeal, and perseverance the public are indebted for the correct and valuable improvements which have been recently made in this magnificent edifice. The information obtained by an accurate survey and admeasurement of the choir was communicated to the corporation at a council meeting, and was received with an unanimity of sentiment and feeling rarely met with in a corporate body; the only doubt at present entertained by a few individuals, being confined to the practicability of providing sufficient accommodation.

The able designs, however, of Mr. Fowler, of Winterton, accompanied by clear and faithful specifications, supported and established, as they were, by those of Messrs. Rickman and Hutchinson, removed all difficulties now existing; but other obstacles were at length suggested, which had a tendency to impede and embarrass, though they did not eventually frustrate the design. As the minster was considered a *free* church, a popular clamour was excited amongst the parishioners, and a petition on the subject was forwarded to the archbishop of York. A

corporate meeting was once more summoned, and it was resolved that a deputation from their body, consisting of the mayor, as one of the trustees under the will of sir Michael Warton, and four aldermen, should wait on the archbishop and the dean and chapter of York, who are also trustees under the same will, and submit the plans and specifications for their inspection and approval. This meeting took place on the 27th of August, 1824, at the deanery in York; and on the 9th of September following, the archbishop, the dean and chapter, and the corporation again met at the minster, when it was finally agreed that the proposed alterations should be made. On the 6th of December, an order was formally issued by the corporation for the work to proceed without delay;²⁷ but it was not till the 30th of July, 1826, that the choir was opened for divine service, and it was found to be more than amply sufficient for the congregation, notwithstanding the constant attendance of many individuals from the adjoining parishes.²⁸

In 1824, the commissioners under an act of parliament obtained in 1808, for the better watching, lighting, and improving the town, contracted with Mr. Malam to light the streets with coal gas for twenty-one years, at the rate of £400. per annum, which was agreed to be paid out of the rate laid by the commissioners for that purpose; and Mr. Malam, in consequence of this contract, built very extensive gas-works at a considerable expense, and the streets were first lighted with this material in the month of December in that year. It was subsequently doubted, however, whether the act of 1808 would legally authorize the commissioners to light the town with *gas*; but to secure Mr. Malam, who had now incurred the principal expense, and to relieve themselves from any responsibility, they determined to apply to parliament for permission to extend the powers of the act, and to confirm the agreement with Mr. Malam. An act was therefore passed for that purpose in 1825; and it was enacted, "that it shall and may be lawful for the said

²⁷ Corp. Rec. 6 Dec. 1824.

²⁸ The completion of this work, executed throughout in a style conformable with the general character of the edifice, and calculated, in every respect to fulfil the proposed intentions of those who projected its introduction, reflects the highest credit on the good taste, judgment, and liberality of the trustees; and the public must feel that much is due to Mr. Fowler for the accuracy of his designs, the chaste and uniform harmony in the arrangements, and the excellence displayed in the execution of the whole. The only remaining decoration which may be considered objectionable is the organ screen; and surely a more inappropriate introduction in an English church was scarcely ever witnessed; yet while we contemplate, with such satisfaction, what has already been accomplished, we do not despair of seeing this screen removed to make way for another more consistent with the style of the building, and more suitable to the solemnity of the place.

commissioners by and out of the monies authorized to be raised by the said recited act or this act, from time to time to cause the streets, lanes, and other public passages and places in the said town and liberties of Beverley, to be lighted with gas or oil or any other material, at such times of the year and in such manner as they may think proper; and to enter into any contract or contracts with any person or persons, company or corporation, for lighting the same, and for furnishing pipes, lamps, lamp irons, lamp posts, and all other things necessary for that purpose, in such manner, for such periods of time, and upon such terms and conditions as the said commissioners shall think proper. And they are hereby authorized and empowered, &c. to erect or purchase gasometers, &c. and to purchase or rent or take on lease for years any messuages and buildings, &c. within the town of Beverley which they may think proper.”³¹ They were further empowered by this act to break up the soil and pavement of the streets for laying pipes, with consent of the corporation; to let out lights to individuals; to repair the footways, to water the streets, and many other useful purposes. In the succeeding year, these works were appropriated to the purpose of inflating a balloon for an aeronautic expedition; and on the 25th May, 1826, Mr. Brown made a splendid ascent from Mr. Thompson’s yard.³²

Thus having brought down the annals of Beverley to the period when this history was commenced; it only remains for the author to add, that the materials have been collated and embodied with care and fidelity; and if he shall have been fortunate enough to have attained the merit of accuracy without being unusually tedious, he shall esteem his toil more than repaid.

²⁹ Act 6 Geo. IV. p. 4.

³⁰ The balloon took a south westerly direction, and Mr. Brown descended with some degree of violence on the moors between Crowle and Thorne, and received some injury in the spine. Being conveyed to the latter town he was bled, which gave him immediate relief, and he was able to proceed in a post chaise to Sheffield to fulfil another engagement of a similar nature.

PART III.

Topography, Statistics, &c.

Chap. II.

PERAMBULATION OF THE TOWN.

Restrospect—General description—Beck-side—Site of Saint Nicholas's church—Gas-Works—The Minster—Hall-garth—Black-Friars—Grey-Friars—Keld-gate—Routh's Hospital—Grammar School—Lair-gate—Theatre—Hospital of Saint Giles—Independent Meeting-house—Church Methodist chapel—Catfos—Newbigging—East-riding Bank—Maison-de-Dieu—Quakers' Meeting-house—Hen-gate—Saint Mary's church—Nornwood—Pick-hill—Fairs—Court of Pie-powder—Assembly-rooms—News-room—Constitutional Lodge of Free-masons—Beverley Bank—North-Bar—Cockstulepit-lane—Sessions-hall—Saturday-market—Market Cross—Shambles—Corn Exchange—Lady-gate—Post-office—Guild-hall—Trinities—Wednesday-market—Ranters' Meeting-house—Minster-moor-gate—Work-houses—Fox's hospital—Charles Warton's hospital—Sir M. Warton's hospital—Graves's Free School—Wesleyan Methodist chapel—Baptist Meeting-house—Tymperon's hospital—Common Pastures—Concluding remarks.

IN the preceding chapters we have traced the town of Beverley from its primitive foundation through all the grades of its eventful history; we have seen how it gradually emerged from darkness into light, and have marked its progressive steps from ignorance to intelligence, and from slavery and oppression to the enjoyment of liberty, civilization, and opulence. We have beheld, as in a dark and uncertain vision, its first state, which was a grove of ancient oaks, the polluted seat of bloody rites, and revolting superstitions, situated amidst morasses which

were often overwhelmed by temporary inundations. Then followed some tokens of social intercourse by the erection of a few huts at a short and convenient distance from the Beaver-Lake, to form a British town; and in the second century of our era the wood was partially cleared to afford space for a more extended residence, and a Christian church elevated its modest head, (a striking emblem of humility) amidst the surrounding foliage. The Saxon spoilers desecrated this unostentatious fane; but their sons restored it with increasing beauty, under the pious sanction of a patron saint. It now assumed the form of a dignified ecclesiastical establishment endowed with privileges and emoluments by royal clemency; and the groves which formerly rang with the impious yellings of idolatry, now resounded with the exalted melody of a pure and benignant worship. The town increased. The dead solitude of the primitive grove was changed into a glowing scene of activity and life; and an augmented population gave cheerfulness and animation to the prospect. Succeeding monarchs endowed the rising colony with municipal honours and immunities, civil and ecclesiastical; and in process of time the Beaver-Lake was converted into a thickly inhabited borough, enriched by commerce, enlightened by religion, and decorated with edifices of more than common magnificence and sublimity. Kings, peers, and prelates have equally contributed to its prosperity and renown, by their presence, their countenance, and active patronage; and one unfortunate monarch found a refuge within its precincts, which was denied by other towns of greater security and strength, when a band of daring regicides thirsted for his blood. Every stage of its fortunes has been delineated with fidelity and care, and the detail is authenticated by the laboured accuracy of minute research. Its fluctuations have not been carelessly passed over; and the merits or defects of its most distinguished inhabitants have been touched with a bold and impartial hand. The ancient glories of its ecclesiastical supremacy have been swept away, but the remains of its noble and independent institutions are far from being inconsiderable or devoid of interest. The local record of its present state affords many objects to excite the admiration of the topographer and the antiquary; and the judicious policy which guards and regulates its many benevolent establishments, gives it a proud pre-eminence in the annals of provincial fame.

The town of Beverley, which, in the reign of queen Anne, gave the title of marquis to Charles Douglas, duke of Queensbury and Dover, and now gives that of earl to Algernon Percy Lord Louvaine, is situated in the midst of an extensive and well-wooded plain in the East-riding of Yorkshire, about nine miles N. N. W.

of Hull ; thirty miles E. by S. of York ; and 182 miles N. of London. Its length is considerable, being about a mile and a half from the beck to the toll-bar, which forms the terminating point on the north ; but then Fleming-gate, which occupies nearly half a mile of that distance, is only a single meagre street without a collateral branch ; and the street called Beck-side partakes of the same singularity, if we except the offset which leads to the coal-yards. The streets are, many of them, narrow, the characteristic of an ancient town, except the North-Bar-street, which is spacious and noble ; and Norwood, where the fairs are held. Lair-gate and Walker-gate are not indeed particularly confined, but they are irregularly furnished with buildings, and some portion of both is vacant. Several respectable houses, however, are found in these streets which relieve the attention and furnish symptoms of an opulent population. Some of the bye-streets are *extremely* narrow ; Silvester-lane, Dog-and-Duck lane, Minster-Moor-gate, and even that respectable residence Newbigging are much confined. Yet Dr. Hull's house stands extremely well at the end of Newbigging, as does that of Mr. Bower at the extremity of Hen-gate ; the houses in both market places have open and airy situations, which are conducive to health ; and the North-Bar house is far from being unpleasantly disposed. Several of the insulated mansions enjoy all the advantages of a country situation, united with the benefit of the social institutions which characterize a populous and respectable town. Of these sir William Pennyman's, Mr. Ellison's, Mr. Walker's, and the vicarage are specimens. Mr. Beverley's house and premises are an ornament to Norwood, as is the house of Mr. Robert Machell to the North-Bar-Street without. Mr. Duesbery's residence is rather shaded by Saint Mary's church, but the noble appearance of that massive and superb edifice amply compensates for any inconvenience which may be experienced by its immediate vicinity. The same may be said of the rectory, which is the residence of the Rev. Mr. Coltman. The prospect of the minster from the front windows of this house is rich, solemn, and inspiring. No part of the town is too thickly crowded with a dense mass of population ; and this circumstance, added to the remarkable cleanliness of the streets, may be a reason why the town is so exempt from the influence of epidemic disease ; and from the state of order and regularity by which it is distinguished, it will be believed that destructive fires, which, in former times, when houses were constructed of slight patches of brickwork merely filling up the interstices of wooden frames, or still more simply of mud and thatch, were so terrible to the inhabitants, are of rare occurrence. Every precaution is used to prevent

this calamity,¹ and ample provision is made for its suppression in case of any unforeseen accident, in the establishment of a night watch to communicate the alarm; and four fire engines, with every requisite apparatus, to lend their aid towards extinguishing the flames. The houses are principally built of brick, and here and there may be seen a mutilated stone animal or broken statue, which serve as frail memorials to remind us of the decorations of ancient times.² Vestiges of antiquity are indeed of frequent occurrence in Beverley, independently of the superb specimens exhibited in the two churches. The spacious moats which surround Paradise and the Trinities; the wall and gateways of the Grey Friars; the

¹ In an act for lighting, watching, &c. passed 6 Geo. IV. it is enacted, that if any person wilfully or negligently suffer any chimney in the town of Beverley to be set on fire, he shall be subject to a fine, not exceeding five pounds.

² It is remarkable how the lapse of time, and the changes, personal, physical, and local, which a few ages do not fail to effect in the topography of any ancient town, should have swept away every recollection, not only of the particular situations of principal places in ancient Beverley, but even of many of its primitive and most distinguishing appellations. Some of its streets and highways have changed their names, and others are entirely defaced; the grass grows where markets were held, the scene of traffic and speculation is now a solitary pasture for cattle, and the "busy hum of men," with all the passions which are excited by human wishes or human turpitude, is now changed for the bleating of sheep and the lowing of oxen. Thus, in the reign of Edw. III. a market is described as being situated in a "comun' via," which ran from the end of Minster-moor-gate "usque Eccl'ia S'ci Egidij." Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 2. p. 56. b. The precise situation of this lane is now unknown, but it is evidently in cultivation, and probably extended across the premises of Mr. Walker. The recollection of many other ancient places is entirely swept away by the stream of time. The names frequently occur of Bowbrigg-lane, Smithill, Wood-lane, East-gate, Saint John's-aere, Brackenthwaite, Fryth-dyke, Ryngand-lane, Brathwell, Brydalmyding-lane, Schomarket-lane, Stikhill, Rossel, Aldegate, (vid. Lansd. MSS. 896. VIII. Inquis. Ch. I.; Compotus of Saint John's church, dated 1446. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 24, 26,—l. 2. p. 57 a, 92; Compotus of the Corp. dated 1437, &c.) to few of which can a local situation be absolutely assigned. With the following ancient names I may, perchance, be somewhat more successful; but even here, much must evidently be left to conjecture. *Aldeford* was the name of a ward, for which constables were appointed so early as 55 Hen. III. "Constabular' Northwood et Aldeford, Simon de Kelke, et Petrus de Marchgraft." Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 34. A stream of water formerly ran from Westwood by the side of Pickhill-lane, and crossing the junction of Hen-gate and Norwood, penetrated through the town. At this junction was a ford termed *Aldeford*, and at the end of Walker-gate a bridge was thrown over it, which was called Cross-bridge, and here John de Ake built his chapel. In the compotus of Simon Sprotley, collector of rents &c. for the church of Saint John, 24 Hen. VI. we find Thos. Tyrwhitt charged for a croft in *Hellegarths*. Now *Hellegarth-lane* evidently proceeded from, or was attached to, the cemetery of some religious establishment, for *Helle* signifies *sepulchrum*, and is derived from *helan*, to cover or conceal, and therefore properly expresses *the grave*, that common covering or concealment of mankind. Vid. Farmer's *Worship of Human Spirits*, p. 366. In a more extended sense it signifies the invisible world of departed spirits, whether good or bad, whence the *Hela* of the Goths, and the *El-ysium* of classical antiquity. Fab. Pag. *Idol*. vol. i. p. 377. Accordingly, *Hellegarth-lane* is supposed to have proceeded from the *Friars*, in a line parallel with Fleming-gate, and ending at a place formerly called Cockpit-hill, which now forms the commencement of the street called Beck-side. The *Prebend's Garth*, Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 3. p. 21 b. which was situated "infra scit' nup' dom'

North-Bar, (alas! how mutilated by modern *improvements*) and the remains of the town ditch, are no inconsiderable specimens of the labours of our forefathers.

The present extent of the town and lordship may be denoted by the following statement. The parish of Saint Nicholas contains 635 acres 3 roods; that of Saint Mary, 95 acres 3 roods; and the parish of Saint Martin, 259 acres 1 rood. In addition to this admeasurement, the common pastures are very extensive. Westwood contains 504 acres; Hurn, 110 acres; Figham, 297 acres; and Swinemoor, 263 acres; making a general total of 2164 acres 3 roods; exclusive of the parish of Saint John of Beverley, which comprehends a district of several miles in compass, and includes the surrounding hamlets of Molescroft, Storkhill-cum-Sandholm,

Sacrist' Eccl' Collegiat," was probably on the north side of the east end of the minster, part of which still belongs to the crown; some think that the prebendal houses and the Hall-garth were situated all together. *Whinsgate* was a road leading from Keld-gate-bar to Cottingham, through Beverley-Parks. *Stapillaplegarth* is mentioned in the provost's books, l. 2. p. 56 b, and was in Hen-gate; *Pottergate* occurs in the same document, p. 57 a, and was in Ridings, on the road to Grovall. *Galley-lane*, or *Gallows-lane*, the site of the old gallows, was a lane leading to the west, from Molescroft toll-bar. In the compotus of Simon Sprotley, above cited, mention is made of a tenement "juxta torrentem in vico de *Mylnebeck*." This was at Grovall, where the provost had an excellent water mill. *Saint Gilnige*, Ex. Reg. Præp. l. ii. p. 57 a, and *Seyntgelicroft*, Compot. 1437, are two names for the paddock called Saint Giles' Croft, now in the occupation of Dr. Hull; and *Spawcroft*, Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 2. p. 57 a, is the adjoining close. *Netbrig*, Compot. ut supra, was in Figham; and certain parcels of ground denominated *Brathwell*, *Calflands*, and *Peaselands*, Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 2. p. 57 b, were in Beverley-Parks. Several capital messuages are named, the respective sites of which it would be difficult to point out with unerring certainty. "*Ellerker's House* situat' in vel p'p'e le Wednesday M'kett," Ibid. l. 2. p. 91; another "*vocat' Chameller's House*" in Minster-moor-gate, Ibid. p. 92; a third "*vocat' Owinsmarshall*," Ibid. p. 56 a; and a fourth, called *Stanley Place*, Ibid. p. 56 b. The latter was occupied by the Stanleys in the reign of Edw. I. and was probably erected by that family so early as the reign of John. Ibid. l. 1. p. 28. (Vid. the article PICKHILL, in the present chapter.) At the end of Keld-gate was an old fortified bar, and beyond that stood a hospital for lepers. In the compotus, dated 1437, we find the following entry, "*Domus leprosori extra Keldgate Bar*." I find no other mention of it in any document which I have examined. A hospital or Guild-hall was situated without the North-Bar, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, having a guild under the direction of an alderman. In the same compotus it is thus mentioned. "*R' de xiijs. p' de Alder'no et Sen' Gilde b'e Mar' Virg' Bevlaci, p'ten' ex orient p'te barr. bor' et dom' elemosynar' de nono edificat' annoz ad e.*" It was in existence in Leland's time, for he says, Itin. vol. i. p. 49. "There is an hospital yet standing without the North-Bargate, of the foundation of two merchantmen, Akeborow and Hogeikin. As I remember there is an image of our Lady over this hospital gate." Such are the changes which distinguish all ancient towns, although it is probable that Beverley has experienced less of these vicissitudes than many others of more modern construction. And thus it is also with the inhabitants. One generation rises up; and falls, only to be succeeded by another. Ancient families, which formerly graced the town, are vanished and extinct; and others are introduced to supply their places, which in their turn must give way to successors, leaving nothing behind but their virtues to recommend them to the notice and applause of posterity.

Quicquid sub terrâ est in apicum proferet ætas,
Defodiet condetque nitentia. Hor. Ep. vi. l. i

Tickton-cum-Hull-Bridge, Woodmansey-cum-Beverley-Parks, Thearne, and Eske.

The adjacent country affords all the facilities both for pleasure and emolument that can be desired by the gentleman or the man of business. Recent improvements have furnished a series of excellent roads, those evident tokens of civilization and refinement.³ The land is in a high state of cultivation, and generally speaking, most productive; the country affords game and fish in great abundance, and the genial salubrity of the air conveys to the situation all the blessings of health and longevity. The scenery around has a charm for the stranger's eye; and in every situation, a fertile and well-wooded district affords to the passing spectator those ever-varying changes of sylvan scenery which impart unmixed gratification and delight to a contemplative mind. The town itself, at a distance, appears as if embosomed in a wood, and if the visitor place himself about the centre of the most elevated part of Westwood, his soul will be attuned to harmony by the magnificence of the prospect which is displayed in rich luxuriance before him.

The principal streets are well paved, and present an appearance of neatness and cleanliness which cannot fail to attract the stranger's attention on his first entry into the town. Of late years the population has sustained a progressive increase. In 1801, the town and liberties of Beverley contained 6001 souls; in 1811, they

³ In the year 1741, measures were taken to improve the road from Beverley to Hull; and it was agreed between the corporations of both towns, that an act of parliament should be applied for by the representatives of each borough, to convert this road into a turnpike. The act was procured; and the powers thereof extended by another statute in 1764; yet still within the memory of many persons now living, the roads from Beverley to Hull were so bad in the winter season, that it was impossible for wheel-carriages to traverse them, and all goods were conveyed from one town to the other by means of pack-horses. A rope was stretched across the road for a toll-bar, at which a penny was demanded for passage. The road was narrow, and the adjoining pastures on each side, being frequently inundated, it exhibited the doubtful appearance of an elevated bank in the sea; and in many places, where the path was less prominent, it became overflowed with water, sometimes for a considerable length; and white rods were placed at convenient distances, as fragile beacons to direct the passenger's devious footsteps while he travelled over the dangerous and uncertain ground, through the expanse of waters, lest he should mistake the pathway, and be lost amidst the surrounding floods. In the 17th century, the road to Hull was more commodious by way of Cottingham. *Mem. of Gen. Fairfax. Edit. Knaresbro'. 1810. p. 101.*

had increased to 6731; and in 1821, the return was 7464 souls.⁴ Formerly the town contained one collegiate church, dedicated to Saint John, and two parish churches dedicated to Saint Martin and Saint Nicholas, with numerous chantries and chapels both public and private; all of which are gone to decay except the minster, which is used for the purposes of divine worship by the parishes of Saint John and Saint Martin; and Saint Mary's chapel, which has been converted into a parish church, endowed with a portion of the profits originally bestowed on Saint Martin, and used by the parishioners of Saint Mary and Saint Nicholas. The structures are highly ornamental, they add a grace and dignity to the town, and forcibly remind the visitor of the splendid observances of those times when the ecclesiastical establishments of this country were in the plenitude of their power.

These concise observations will prepare the stranger for a regular perambulation of the town; and we will now conduct him through every street, introduce him to every institution, describe every public edifice, and particularize every locality with a degree of minuteness which will not fail to make him intimately acquainted with the manners and customs, the privileges and immunities, the peculiar observances, and even the names and popular superstitions of the inhabitants.

On entering the town from Hull we first encounter the coal-yards, warehouses, and wharfs, by the Beck-side.⁵ Passing these, we take a view of the site of Saint

⁴ The return of 1821 was as follows:—

Parish or Place.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Houses now Building.	Other Houses uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	In Trade, Manufactures, and Handicraft.	Other Families.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Saint Mary	646	684	—	40	52	418	214	1484	1730	3214
Saint Martin	668	758	1	30	96	266	396	1334	1603	2937
Saint Nicholas	124	125	1	3	48	47	50	266	311	577
Beverley-Parks, cum-Woodmansey	52	53	—	3	41	11	1	145	131	276
Ticton-cum-Hull Bridge.....	22	22	—	2	13	7	2	58	52	110
Weel.....	20	20	—	3	20	—	—	50	51	101
Storkhill-cum-Sandholm	10	10	—	—	9	1	—	31	17	48
Molescroft	23	23	—	2	15	2	6	56	55	111
Thearne	15	15	—	—	14	—	1	48	42	90
Total....	1580	1710	2	83	308	752	670	3472	3992	7464

⁵ The beck is probably referred to in the pleas of quo warranto, taken in the early part of Edward I. reign; and the archbishop claims wreck *there* as well as in the river Hull. Clamat

Nicholas's church, which lies due north of the road, at the distance of about forty yards, and is now used as an osiery. Not a vestige remains of this once celebrated pile, erected by the munificence, and displaying the architectural taste of our patron Saint John of Beverley, who probably anticipated that the massive structure would set at defiance the rude assaults of time. An awful lesson to mankind. The proudest structures must bend; the most solid edifices must crumble to decay. What then is man in the hand of Him who guides and directs the vast machine of nature? To-day he is all nerve and vigour; his sun shines bright, his friends are numerous and kind, his sinews are braced by health, and he looks forward to a long succession of happy years amidst the smiles and caresses of those whom his heart holds most dear. A single day perhaps is sufficient to dissipate the enchanting prospect, and destroy all his exhilarating hopes and cheering expectations. An unforeseen accident, or an incurable disease lays him on the bed of suffering, and, like the massive structure of Saint Nicholas, his material body sinks to its primitive elements, while the immortal spirit takes its reluctant flight into the unexplored regions of eternal space.⁶

eciam ab antiquo wreccum in hac forma videl't *apud Beverlacū ubi p'vū brachiū maris*, &c. which may probably bear a reference to the cut mentioned by Leland, vol. iii. p. 34. Utuntur Beverolacensis *brachio*, ex *Hulla* flumine derivato, quo merces commode importent et exportent; because the archbishop claims in another part of the same record, h're Coronatores p'pios in eadem aqua (*Hull*) & p'eos pl'tare om'ia pl'ta que ad Coronam p'tinet pl'tanda de rebus & fortunis inf'a p'dcam aq'am accidentibz & em'gentibz t'm. How far the phrase *brachium maris* may refer to an artificial canal is indeed doubtful: but our ancestors were sometimes rather loose in their appropriation of words. Thus *Baro* was used sometimes for a noble baron, and at others for a private person; the words *charta*, *scriptura*, *libellus*, *litera*, *epistola*, *syngrapha*, *chirographum*, &c. were equally used for a charter; the river *Humber* was termed, the sea; *Lel. Itin.* p. 54, and *Beverley*, in a few instances, is called a city. *Bale de Script. Brit.* p. 107. Be this as it may, the *Beck* is mentioned about the year 1360, "in Rot. A^o E. III. xxxiiij^o seisit fu'it in man' d'm iij acr' prati apud *le Beke*, &c." *Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev.* l. 1. p. 28. And again in the same document ten years afterwards; Item in Rot. A^o Rx. E. 3. xliij seisit l messuag' juxta *le Beke* in *Bev'lay* recu'pat' p' dnū Ric'm Ravenser p'positur' verss' Willi' fil' Robt'. de Rolleston p' br'e & cessav'it, &c. *Ibid.* p. 29. and also in a patent granted by king Edward IV. to George Nevile, archbishop of York. Rex. concessit Georgio Arch. Ebor. unum messuag' and unum gardinum in *Beverl'* in vico vocat' *Bekeside* nuper Thomæ Everingham Mil' per servic' debit'. Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. IV. This was the site of an ancient water mill, called Ragbrook mill; occupied 38 Ed. III. by John Brompton, and yielding an annual rent of 12d. to the provost. *Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev.* l. 2. p. 55. b.

⁶ This church was also termed *Holm* church, *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 103; but surely not from one Ralph Holm, a merchant, as we are gravely told by Mr. Bursall. *Lansd. MSS. B. Mus.* 896. VIII. fo. 273. *Holm* was a Saxon word for a verdant place surrounded by water; and was doubtless the name of this eminence, (for such it was in the early ages to which we refer,) before the church was erected. It would be curious to ascertain its design or use in British times, as it certainly partook of a reference to the superstitions of that people, connected with *this*, in common with many other eminences in the neighbourhood of *Beverley*.

Near this spot stand those extensive and useful buildings

THE GAS-WORKS,

one of the striking instances of modern improvement in scientific knowledge which would paralyze our forefathers with astonishment, perhaps with terror, could they rise from their graves and contemplate the successful ingenuity of their children. These works were erected by Mr. Malam in 1824, under an agreement with the commissioners of an act passed in the year 1808, for watching, lighting, and improving the town of Beverley, which was confirmed by the commissioners of an act passed for a similar purpose in the following year.⁷ The expense of the whole establishment amounted to 7 or £8,000. The town, the shops, and many private houses are illuminated nightly during the winter season with this inflammable material, which is discharged from a gasometer containing 18,000 cubic feet.

Having passed through Fleming-gate,⁸ which is nearly half a mile in length,

THE MINSTER

bursts upon us in all the effulgence of decorative masonry. Here we spontaneously pause to take a deliberate view of the lovely scene ; and if it possess the additional charm of novelty, the mind of the observer is inspired with sentiments and feelings, which, however they may affect, cannot be explained. They are so mixed up with ideas of the beautiful and sublime, both with respect to the building itself, as an effort of human skill and science, and the glorious purpose to which such a superb display of taste and elegance has been devoted, that the entranced spectator will gaze and wonder and admire, long before the vision will become sufficiently familiar to allow him leisure to reduce his thoughts to language.

Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis,
Urbe fuit summâ.⁹

The patronage of the minster church is vested in the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses. The clergy at present officiating within its walls are, the Rev. Joseph Coltman, A. M. who was appointed assistant curate on the 18th August,

⁷ Vid. *supra*. p. 263.

⁸ This street is mentioned in a charter of conveyance to Rivaux abbey in the reign of king John, Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 359 ; and was so named from the Flemish merchants or Esterlings who fixed their residence here in these early times ; and rendered the town famous for the excellence of its coloured cloths.

⁹ *Æn.* l. VII. v. 170.

1806; and principal curate of the perpetual curacy, December 6, 1813; the Rev. James Eyre, L. L. B. who was nominated assistant curate on the 7th March, 1814, and the Rev. William Hildyard, A. M. who received his appointment as assistant curate 7th July, 1817.¹⁰

The value in the king's books is £31. 6s. 8d.¹¹ The duties are numerous and comprehensive. Divine service is performed twice on every day in the week, and on Sunday two sermons are added, and a sermon on certain saints' days. In the north tower of the west end are eight bells to summon the congregation to divine service, and one in the south tower for funerals.

¹⁰ The following is the most accurate list of curates and assistants I have been able to procure.

NAMES OF CURATES.	DATE.	NAMES OF ASSISTANT CURATES.	DATE.
William Richardson	1580	Thomas Pegswick.....	1646
Thomas Whincop	1583	Joseph Wilson	—
Mr. Crashaw	1599	Humphrey Sainthill	—
Mr. Bindes	1605	Mr. Maskall	—
Thomas Bzabes	1610	Francis Sherwood	1660
Richard Rhodes.....	1613	John Forge.....	1670
James Burney	1632	Edward Saunders	1671
Mr. Oxonbride	1646	Robert Lambert.....	1714
Humphrey Sanishill	1660	William Morrell	1730
Mr. Garthwaite	—	Thomas Stainton	1751
Joseph Lambert.....	1671	John Harrison	1752
Stephen Clarke	1681	Francis Sherwood	1760
William Davies	1683	William Cookson	1766
Elias Forge	1692	James Graves	1769
Thomas Clarke	1703	George Ferreman	1779
Robert Steele.....	1708	William Norton.....	1785
Mr. Mease	1716	George Berkeley, Deputy	1786
Thomas Lewthwaite	1750	Joshua Brookes, Deputy..	1787
James Graves.....	1779	James Bollon, Deputy....	—
John Jackson.....	1807	Thos. Rogers Owen, Deputy	1792
Joseph Coltman.....	1813	Bethell Robinson, Deputy	1796
ASSISTANT CURATES.		John Jackson.....	1803
—		Joseph Coltman.....	1806
Marm. Kitching.....	1608	R. Barker	1811
Mr. Sympton	1623	George Inman	1811
Thomas Clarke	1625	Robert Ramsey	1813
Mr. Pomroy	—	William Woodhall	1813
Christopher Nesse		James Eyre	1814
		William Hildyard	1817

¹¹ Cler. Guide, p. 17. A rental of the revenues of the minster for the year 1706, may be found amongst the Landsdowne MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 13.

The population of Saint Martin's parish taken from the census of 1821, is 2937 souls; being an increase of 298 since 1811; and the population of the hamlets which form the parish of Saint John, is 736 persons. The number of marriages, births, and burials which have been entered in the minster registers, for the last twelve years, is stated in the following table.

YEAR.	MARRIAGES.	BAPTISMS.	BURIALS.
1815	26	128	84
1816	24	128	111
1817	16	123	108
1818	24	122	99
1819	30	119	105
1820	30	154	91
1821	22	107	88
1822	39	132	91
1823	25	134	78
1824	28	111	108
1825	31	140	101
1826	30	148	119

Adjoining the Minster-yard, towards the south west, stands the ancient manor-house for Beverley Water-towns, called the

HALL GARTH,

which is now converted into an inn, and distinguished by the sign of Admiral Duncan. An old tradition makes this the residence of Saint John of Beverley. A court of record was formerly held here every Monday, called the Provost's court, or the court of the Beddern, where causes might be tried for any sum arising within its liberties, which were very extensive, including upwards of a hundred towns, villages, and hamlets in the East-riding. It possessed also a criminal jurisdiction, but that had not recently been exercised. Here was the original gaol, which was usually situated within the manorial precincts.¹² The building is the property of Richard Dixon, esquire, who is lord of the manor of Beverley Water-towns, including the extensive domain of Saint John; and here the manorial courts are still held.

¹² It is said, but I cannot tell on what authority, that this prison is within the jurisdiction of Saint Peter at York. I am also informed that there is a low room, in the George and Dragon inn, divided by a beam in the ceiling, one half of which is within the same jurisdiction; and that debtors have been known, within the memory of man, to take refuge here and bid defiance to their creditors.

Eastward of the minster is a field known by the name of "The Friars," which was probably the site of the Black Friars' monastery.¹³ Adjoining this, is another piece of ground called Paradise, near which a great number of antiquities have been dug up, where was probably the hospital of Saint Nicholas.¹⁴ And in Chantry-lane, near this place, is an ancient building, with grounds inclosed by a brick wall, and ornamented gateways, (one of which is represented on page 64,) and a moat, one branch of which has been conveyed underneath the house, supposed to have been the monastery of Grey or Franciscan Friars;¹⁵ a conjecture which is grounded on substantial evidence, for the house of this order was suffered to remain after all the rest had been demolished.¹⁶

Diverging hence towards the south-west, we enter Keld-gate.¹⁷ On the right hand or north side of this street is situated

ROUTH'S HOSPITAL

for poor widows. This foundation was endowed by the will of Ann Routh, of

¹³ The house of Black Friars, in Beverley, occurs, says Tanner, as early as A. D. 1311. It is, however, mentioned somewhat earlier in the Provost's Register. It'm in Rot' A° D'ni M CCC iij pl'ita p' bre' de Rect' ten' &c. inter Willū fil' Anselm de Harpham vs's *Prior fratru p'dicator* Bev'lac' de uno mess 'q'd clam' tenere de p'po'itura p' reddit' un' denar.' Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 33. It is said to have been founded by a person of the name of Goldsmith. Lel. Itin. vol. i. p. 40. The site was granted 36 Hen. VIII. to John Pope and Anthony Foster. Tan. Notit. York. XII. 7. Rx xxvij Marcij conc' Johem Pope et Anthō Foster scit' nup' priorat' fr'm predicator in vill' Beverlaic' Ashegarthe and Pondegarthe et 4 p't un' bovat 'ter' in Colden magna tenend' in lib'o burgag'. A° H. 8. 36° p'te prima. Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 15. b.

¹⁴ "An hospital dedicated to Saint Nicholas, was by the Black Friars, but now decayed," says Leland. Itin. vol. i. p. 40. It was as old as 1286, when the archbishop of York granted an indulgence for its support. Reg. Joh. Romaine, Archiep. It continued till the time of Hen. VIII. when its yearly revenue was valued at £5. 14s. 6d. Tan. Notit. York. XII. 4. It stands in the king's books at £5. 0s. 10d. Bacon. Lib. Reg. p. 1144.

¹⁵ William Liketon and Henry Weighton, in A. D. 1297, gave some ground near the chapel of Saint Ellen to the Franciscan Friars whereon to build them an house, which falling to decay they removed to another house given to them by sir John Hotham. It was granted to Thomas Culpepper, 32 Hen. VIII. Tan. Notit. York. XII. 8.

¹⁶ Rex conc' Thome' Culpepper int' al' Scit' fr'm minor' voc' le Grey Friars infra villa Beverlac', tenend' de dno Rege in capite p' servic' mil. A° xxxij ° H. 8. 2^{nda} pte Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 29. b.

Rex concessit Licenc' Rad'o Sadler mil' aliend *domū* et scitū dudū frater minor, voc' le Graye Fryers infra villam de Beverlac': Anno xxxiv H. 8. p'te quarta. Ibid. l. 4. p. 96. a.

Rex conc' Licen' Edw^d Naylor aliend' omū de scit' vocat' le Grey Friars in Bev'ley et om' de dom' p'ti'n dict' scit' Rob^{to} Browne et her' &c. A° xxxvj H. 8. pte 2°. Ibid. l. 4. p. 8.

Rg^{na} conc' Lic' Io. East al Rad'o Lausbye scit' mon' de Grey Friars in Bev'ley 2° Maij 38 Eliz. Ibid. l. 4. p. 33.

¹⁷ Keld-gate is frequently mentioned in the Registers of the Provostry, with precisely the same orthography which it still retains. 14 Edw. III. on the 12th of February, appeared at the

Beverley, dated 6th October, 1721, in which she bequeathed a certain part of her property to its support for ever. The mayor, aldermen, and the minister of Saint John's church were appointed joint trustees to manage the funds, to nominate such widows as frequent the church to be partakers of the charity, and to execute the general provisions of the will. The inmates of this hospital are clothed with purple coloured woollen gowns, each being decorated with a silver badge, on which are engraven the name of the testatrix, and the day and year of her death. The present rental of the estates held by the corporation as trustees under this will, amounts to nearly six hundred guineas per annum; and the number of widows in the institution is thirty-two. They are allowed a residence in the hospital, and have a sufficient quantity of coals provided by the trustees, with a weekly stipend of five shillings each.¹⁸ On the same side is situated the

GRAMMAR SCHOOL,

which is under the superintendence of the corporation. The first mention of an establishment of this kind in Beverley is in the fifteenth century, where it is said that bishops Alcock and Fisher received the first rudiments of their education; and it was probably in the collegiate church. The present school is mentioned in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and is said to have been founded, but not endowed, by her brother and predecessor king Edward VI. It has been enriched by the bequests of many benevolent individuals, and several privileges have been conveyed to it at different periods, which give it consequence in the publick estimation. In 1626, Mrs. Margaret Darcy left by will a small sum of money to be lent to

provost's court an unmarried woman, named Matilda, and accused Alan Pavy of making use of "verbis contumeliosis in vico de *Keldgate* in Bev'lay, vocando ip'am meretricem: and deinde ip'am p'cussit cū quodam baculo, hoc fecit injuste, &c." Ibid. l. i. p. 50.

¹⁸ The following regulations are in use at this hospital:—It is ordered that each widow shall reside in the room assigned to her within the hospital;—that she must attend divine service in the church, without some reasonable cause to the contrary, twice a day, on all Sundays and holidays, in the gown provided by the trustees, with the silver badge attached thereto;—that no widow shall have any inmate, except a female relation or friend; and then only in case of severe indisposition or great infirmity, to be certified by the apothecary of the hospital;—that no spirituous liquors shall, on any account, be introduced into the hospital, unless upon the recommendation of the apothecary;—that one of the two nurses shall reside on the ground floor, and the other on the floor above; that the matron shall, once a month, make a report to the mayor of the conduct of the widows, as to their observance of the rules;—that any widow refusing to conform to the rules, shall be dismissed;—that if the matron shall be remiss or negligent of her duty, the extra allowance of matron shall be withdrawn; and that the apothecary shall, once a month, make a written report to the mayor of the state of the hospital, and the health of the widows.

poor labourers, and the interest applied to the support of a student at the university, sent, of course, from this school. In 1578, we find Robert Brokelbanck the master of this school; and in 1638, Richard Barritt was elected the usher in the room of one Francis Sherwood. In 1645, Mr. Robert Steele was appointed the head master at an annual salary of £20.¹⁹ And in the same year, Mr. Cook or Goth or Cox was appointed to the ushership with a salary of £13. 6s. 8d. a year.²⁰ The master's situation does not appear to have been very desirable at this period; whether from the narrowness of the stipend, or from the disturbed state of the country, or both, it may be hard to determine. Mr. Steele held it but four years, and the difficulty of procuring a successor may be inferred from the circumstance of an invitation having been sent to a Mr. Hesse or Nesse to request his acceptance of the head mastership of the free school;²¹ which he either rejected or very soon resigned, for in less than two years afterwards Mr. Thomas Poley agreed with the corporation to conduct the school for a remuneration of forty marks per annum, and to pay his own usher.²²

In the year 1652, Dr. Metcalfe bequeathed to the head master the annual sum of ten pounds; and also founded his exhibition for three students at the university, to be elected out of the scholars born and educated at Beverley; to every one of the three poor scholars the sum of £6. 13s. 4d. annually, on the following conditions. "The said three poor scholars to be appointed and approved from time to time, by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Beverley, and by the lecturer and school-master; and the said maintenance to be continued until the time that the said poor scholars shall have taken the degree of master of arts, if they so long continue students in the university, and upon condition that they take the said degree at the due time, within eight years after their admission into the university."²³ This bequest was followed up by another from Mrs. Margaret Farrar in the year 1669, who left forty shillings a year "for the schooling of a boy, the child of some honest pe son and inhabitant of the said town to be chosen by the mayor and aldermen. And the residue of the rents and profits to be kept for the benefit of such boy, if he shall be capable and fit for the university, who shall have the said whole residue of the rents and profits towards his maintenance there for seven years, if he shall not, in the mean time, get better preferment. And if such boy, by the master of

¹⁹ Corp. Rec. Oct. 1645. ²⁰ Ibid. Feb. 1645-6. ²¹ Ibid. 26 July, 1649. ²² Ibid. Feb. 1651-2.

²³ Extract from Dr. Metcalfe's will.

the school, shall not be thought capable and fit to make a scholar fit to be sent to the university, another shall be chosen in his place, and have the same allowance.”²⁴ In 1670, Dr. Lacy left a sum of money to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, “to pay yearly to two scholars that are or shall be born in the town of Beverley, and educated in the free school there, and from thence sent to the university of Cambridge, and entered students in Saint John’s college there, the sum of £8. each, until they go out masters of arts, within eight years after their admission; and so successively to two such scholars, as shall be sent from the said free school for ever.”²⁵ And in 1681, Mr. William Coates, by his will, founded another exhibition of £6. to be annually paid to a poor scholar sent from the free school at Beverley to the university of Cambridge, to continue until he has taken the degree of master of arts.

In 1660, we find the Rev. Francis Sherwood, at the head of the grammar school; and in the same year he was appointed assistant curate of the minster.²⁶ He was succeeded in 1669 by Mr. John Forge, who was elected head master in that year; and it was agreed that the sons of freemen, paying to the poor, should not be charged less than two shillings a quarter each for their education. In 1674, Joseph Lambert, A. M. was elected the head master with a salary of £20. a year, in addition to Dr. Metcalfe’s exhibition of £10.²⁷ In 1716, the Rev. Samuel Johnson was appointed to the head mastership;²⁸ which he held only four years, and was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Jefferson;²⁹ and the Rev. William Leake was appointed usher,³⁰ being the last person nominated by the corporation to that office. The remaining masters are not numerous.

Rev. John Clarke,	appointed	Feb. 24, 1735.
Rev. William Ward	————	Ap. 22, 1751.
Rev. George Croft	————	Dec. 5, 1768.
Rev. John Jackson	————	Sep. 4, 1786.
Rev. W. H. Neale	————	Feb. 8, 1808.
Rev. F. Gwynne	————	Dec. 18, 1815.
Rev. J. Orman	————	May 13, 1816.
Rev. G. P. Richards	————	July 17, 1820.

²⁴ Extract from Mrs. Farrar’s will.

²⁵ Extract from Dr. Lacy’s will.

²⁶ Ex. Regist. S. Johan.

²⁷ Corp. Rec. 7 May, 1674.

²⁸ Ibid. 7 Jan. 1716.

²⁹ Corp. Rec. 13 Jan. 1720.

³⁰ Ibid. 6 Feb. 1720.

The old school is accurately represented in the annexed engraving.



The school room is an appropriate building with a house for the master attached. It stood formerly in the minster yard, but this situation being found inconvenient, it was taken down and removed during the mayoralty of Mr. Ramsay, in 1815, to its present situation. The head master receives a salary of £70. a year from the corporation; £20. from the representatives of the borough, and £10. from Dr. Metcalfe's exhibition, with the house and garden at a nominal rent; and each free scholar pays forty shillings per annum for classical instruction, and an additional two guineas a year for writing and arithmetic. The children who are not free pay such sums for their education as the master may think proper to charge.

Attached to the school is a tolerably good library of useful classical books, which has long been accumulating by successive donations; and in 1824, the trustees entered into some resolutions for their preservation, which appear to have been necessary, and are certainly judicious.³¹

One of the turnpike roads, connected with Keld-gate, leads to Cave, another to Cottingham, which takes a direction towards the south; and to the north lies Lair-gate, a long street, which contains, first, the

THEATRE.

The first building which was appropriated to the exclusive purpose of theatrical performances that can be remembered in Beverley, was situated in Walker-gate, near the Methodist chapel. Being found too small and incommodious, it was

³¹ Corp. Rec. 2 Feb. 1824.

abandoned, and the present neat building erected at the beginning of the present century.³²

A narrow lane leads westerly past the theatre through Saint Giles's croft,³³ to the mill in Westwood; and near this place³⁴ stood the hospital of Saint Giles.³⁵ Near the theatre, in Lair-gate, we perceive before us the

INDEPENDENT MEETING-HOUSE,

which was originally erected in the year 1704, on a site purchased by the sect of Protestant dissenters called Presbyterians; and the building was formally dedicated and appropriated to the use of that sect for ever, and conveyed to trustees for this especial purpose. In 1711, Robert Stephenson bequeathed a tenement, a windmill,

³² The first theatrical exhibitions in this country consisted of pieces dramatized from the sacred volume, or from the sufferings of the primitive martyrs; and they were termed *Miracles*. They were usually performed in the churches, and the actors were the priests. The most ancient piece of this nature with which we are acquainted, was the production of Geoffery, abbot of Saint Albans, about the year 1110, and was called St. Catherine. The actors were habited in the sacred vestments of the abbey. Some of these early performances continued for several days, particularly if the subject was the Creation, or any other equally comprehensive; and they were usually honoured with the patronage and personal attendance of the royal family. This custom was not peculiar to the English nation, but was practised throughout Europe. Boyle. Dict. voc. Dassouci. A piece, called the Mystery of the Old Testament, was performed at Paris in the fifteenth century; and the Mystery of the Passion was represented at Angers, and afterwards printed by Philip de Noir in 1532. Notes to Rabelais, vol. ii. p. 146. "Notwithstanding the seriousness of the subjects that constituted these mysteries, it seems clear that they were not exhibited without a portion of pantomimical fun to make them palatable to the vulgar taste. Beelzebub seems to have been the principal comic actor, assisted by his merry troop of under devils; who, with variety of noises, strange gestures, and contortions of the body, excited the laughter of the populace." Strutt. Sports, p. 118.

³³ In the time of Thomas Rulande, prior of Wartre, the croft of Saint Giles was alienated to the corporation of Beverley for the sum of sixty pounds sterling. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 285.

³⁴ The building was evidently situated in a field opposite the west end of Grayburn-lane; and its foundations, with other vestiges of antiquity, have recently been discovered by Dr. Hull.

³⁵ This hospital was founded by one Wulfe before the Conquest; it belonged to the archbishops of York, until Walter Giffard alienated it to the prior of Wartre, Lel. Itin. vol. i. p. 40, in exchange for a wood called le Haye de Langwath. Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 432. This prelate subjected the master and brethren of Saint Giles to the prior in 1277; and he maintained here at the time of the dissolution five poor people. Its yearly income, 26 Hen. VIII. was valued at £8. The site, with the free chapel thereunto adjoining, was granted, says Tanner, 32 Hen. VIII. to Thomas, earl of Rutland. Tan. Notit. York. XII. 3. There appears, however, to be a small error in the above extract from bishop Tanner; the following entry in the Provost's Register makes the transfer to have taken place, 28 Hen. VIII. Rex sc'do Septemb'r conc' Thome' Comit' Rutl' totam scit' fund' nup' domus sive hospit' S'ci Egidij in Beverlaco ac lib'am Cappel' S'ci Egidij ib'm ac Eccl'iam Campal' ejusdem priorat' ac Eccl'iam d'ci nup' hospital' S'ci Egidij Ac o'ia mess' domos grang' ortos pomar, ter et solum tam infra quam extra ceptum et circuict' eorundem Tenend' in capite, &c. A^o xxviii H. 8. p'te s'c'do. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. I.

and a close of meadow land to the congregation, to be applied towards the maintenance of the preacher. In 1743, a tenement, with garden ground and other conveniences, adjoining the meeting-house, was purchased for his residence; and ten years afterwards, three acres of land at Bromfleet were added to the establishment for the minister's benefit. In process of time, however, the number of Presbyterians having decreased so very considerably in Beverley, that a sufficient congregation could not be sustained, the property was assigned to the present possessors; and Mark Bell, by his will bearing date the 23rd November, 1789, bequeathed £276. 1s. 3d. in the 3 per cent. consols, for the use of the minister for the time being. The annual income derived at present from this bequest is £8. 5s. 8d. In the year 1800, the meeting-house was rebuilt on a more modern principle, and the number of members is about 120. A short distance from this, at the corner of an obscure lane, called Laundress-lane, stands the

CHURCH METHODIST CHAPEL,

which was erected in the year 1826. The present preacher is Mr. Hillaby.

On the opposite side of the street, and somewhat nearer to the Market-place, is Graburn-lane, formerly called Catfos³⁶ lane; and in Lair-gate, at the corner of Newbigging,³⁷ stands the East-riding bank, the firm of which is Robert Bower,

3. p. 12. a.—The accounts we possess of subsequent transfers, &c. are rather imperfect and unsatisfactory, but I insert them as they may be useful to some enquirers. Rg^{na} p'don Rad' Lausbye qui A^o 24 El: atq' de R: Grey et Kater' ux: Man' de S^t Gyles in Bev'ley. 25 Ju. 26 Eliz. Ibid. l. 4. p. 33.—Pardon Rad'o Lausbye quia convenit cū Ingleby Daniell ad usus de Capit' Mess' vocat' S^{nt} Gyles in Bev'ley 20 No: p' fine iijⁱⁱ. 17 James. Ibid. l. 4. p. 89. Rex concessit Licenc' Rad'o Lausbye mil' alienand' Capital' Mess' vocat' S^{nt} Giles in p'ochia S^{ci} Joh'is Beverlaci novū Joh'i Wandesford 1^{mo} April p' fine vi^a. viij^d 20 James. Ibid. l. 4. p. 91. a.

³⁶ The learned Mr. Faber says, in his elaborate work on the Origin of Pagan Idolatry, vol. i. p. 400, that it has been often justly remarked that *the old Celtic names* of rivers, mountains, &c. very generally remain throughout England, though the present inhabitants are Saxons. Thus the name of Catfos was probably imposed, as many of the peculiar appellations in Beverley appear to have been, from the rites and ceremonies practised by the primitive occupiers of the soil. The memory of these observances is lost and swept away by the overwhelming stream of time; but the names survive to direct posterity in their search after the situations which have been distinguished by British residence. These rites were periodically performed in honour of Ked, Ket or Ceridwen, the ancient magna mater of this island, or her emblem the ark of Noah. Now Catfos would be derived either from Ket-fôs, the ditch of Ceridwen; Ket-fou, the cave, or Ket-voc, the lake of the same female divinity; in each case the reference is equally direct and satisfactory. And it may be further observed, that the Celtic *fôs*, the Cornish *vôs*, the Roman *fossa*, and the French *fosse*, are synonymous.

³⁷ The street called Newbigging was in ancient times occupied by the principal inhabitants of Beverley. It is repeatedly named in the Registers of the Provostry, so early as the reign of

Thomas Duesbery, John Hall, Robert Bower, jun. Henry William Hutton, and James Hall. They draw on Curries, Raikes, and Co. Cornhill, London. Here also are situate the buildings called

MAISON-DE-DIEU,

which accommodate twenty-two poor families and individuals, who are permitted by the corporation to occupy these tenements rent-free. They have no regular allowance or stipend, but are casually assisted out of the numerous funds of benevolence which have been bequeathed and appropriated by charitable individuals for the benefit of honest indigence in the town of Beverley.

Henry III.; and we possess the following information respecting transfers of property, &c. in it, which may possess sufficient interest to merit insertion here. It is extracted from the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum, 896 Part VIII. fo. 189; and is headed "An abstract of the charters in the Cartulary of Beverley, relating to the street called New Biggin.

Thomas Tyrwhite son of Richard de Tyrwhite merchant of Beverley grants to John de Kyllin and Agnes his wife his manentibus in Beverley in the street called Newbiggin at the annual rent of xij^d payable at the feast of Pentecost and Saint Martin in winter: dated at Beverley 1348. Witness Walter Frost, Adam de Tyrwhite Thom: Frost Richard de Lesed Thom: Leante Thos. Clerk and others.

In the year 1380, the above mentioned Agnes dyed, leaving her soul to Almighty God, Saint Mary and all Saints, and her body in the cloister of the convent of the Fryers Minor in Beverley; and left the following legacies.

	£.	s.	d.
To the fabric of Saint Peter's York.....	0	1	0
To the fabric of Saint John's Beverley	0	1	0
To the fabric of the chapell of Saint Maries in Beverley	0	1	0
To the same chapel for the expences of the funeral	0	5	0
To the Vicar of Saint Maries	0	1	0
To the parish Chaplain of the same chapell	0	1	0

To John her son a lead furnace with all her furniture; and to William de Scofer her house in Newbiggin near to the Barr Dyke, on the outer side thereof to the west.

Richard de Bryne and Agnes former wife of William Scofer, executor of the last will and testament of the said William, do give, and by this charter confirme to John Walde of Hedon, John de Benningholme Chaplaine, and Thomas de Lowthorpe of Beverley, one messuage lying on the north side the way called Newbiggin in the occupation of Catherine Humbercott, lying on the east of the lands of Thomas de Etton and the north of the gate and dytche called Barre Dyke, and on the out part to the west, to have and to hold the same of the fee of the chapter. Witness Rich. Fox, John de Walkyngton mercer Rob. de Colton Will. de Tilton Will. Maliarde and others. Dated at Beverley, in the second year of the reign of K. R. 2nd.

John Walde of Hedon, John de Bennyngholme chaplain Thos. de Lowthorpe of Beverley mercer and Margaret his heire, do assign one Messuage and its appurtenances on the north side of the way called Newbiggin, lying on the north side of the lands of Catharine Humbercott to the west of the lands of Thomas de Etton, and on the east part of the foss called Barr Dyke, to have and to hold the same of the Chapter fee. Witness Will^m Byrde and others, and dated at Beverley 2nd Sept^r. A. D. 1399.

Carta Robti Skipwith facti John Brydlington.

Leaving Saturday market-place on the right hand, we enter Wood-lane, which forms nearly a right angle with the end of Lair-gate. This street furnishes little either to admire or condemn. At the end of it however, in a secluded situation, stands the plain and neat

QUAKERS' MEETING-HOUSE,

which is a modern brick building, used by the society of Friends for the purpose of publick worship. It is now almost deserted, for the congregation, which was formerly kept together by the joint exertions of Joseph Dickinson and Christopher Geldart, two singularly upright and sincere men of this persuasion, dwindled away imperceptibly after their decease; and at present very few of this sect remain in Beverley or the neighbourhood.

Returning through Wood-lane in a direct line, we enter Hen-gate,³⁸ at the corner of which stands, in dignified majesty, the edifice of Saint Mary's church, which presents to our notice so many objects of interest and attention, that a subsequent chapter will be entirely devoted to its illustration.³⁹ At the end of Hen-gate,

Robt. Skipwith of Beverley grants to Dn John Brydlington vicar of Beverley and John Melton Barker, one Messuage and its appurtenances, lying on the north side of the way called Newbeggin, (bounded as before.) Dated at Beverley 12th day of March in the 4th year of the reign of K. Hen. 4th.

Carta Robti Skipwith fac. Ricō Crake &c.

Robert Skipwith of Beverley mercer Grants &c. to Richard Crake, Thomas Wyatt and William Ryall Clerks one messuage and its appurtenances being on the north side of the street called Newbegging, on the north side of the lands of Kate Humbercott, to the south of the West Barr, and east of the land of Adam Tyrwhite, to hold the same of the Fee of the chapter. Dated at Beverley 12th day of August 1450.

Obligacio Robti Skipwith, et Thomē Skipwith fact' relaxatio Emme Gainthorpe fact Rico Crake et alias.

Emma de Gainthorpe cozen and heir to John de Kyllin grants to Richard Crake, Thomas Wyatt and William Ryall chaplain, all her right to one messuage in Newbiggin formerly the property of John de Kyllin. Witness, William de Rolletston, Nicholas de Ryse, Stephen Copandale, Thos. son of John de Holm and others. Dated at Beverley 5th day of September, 1450.

Thomas Kelke fecit fidel't p' uno Mess' in que manet in Newbygging q^d quond' Rad'us de Clyffe et postea Rad'us de Hayfield p' reddit viij^d p' ann'. Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. l. p. 36.

³⁸ We find this street called *Thengait* in the 16th century; Vid. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 169; although at a much earlier period it was distinguished by its present correct appellation. Rentale Beverlaci. 1 Hen. IV. De hered Adæ Copendale p' uno Ten' in *Hengate* quond' Willi'm Goldsmith postea Ric'i Carvyle. iiij^s iiij^d. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. l. p. 26. et Vid. l. 2. p. 56. b.

³⁹ At the east end of this church was a lane formerly called Dead Lane, from the circumstance of its being the usual way of carrying a corpse to be interred, and is thus named in the inquisition respecting Saint Mary's property, taken in the reign of king Charles I.

in Norwood, is the seat of William Beverley, esquire, lord of the manor of Beverley chapter, which includes the hamlet of Molescroft and the adjoining parts within the liberties. From hence a road towards the north west leads to Arram; and at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, passes PICKHILL, the site of a moated building, which some have conjectured to be Stanley Place, the residence of the Copandales,⁴⁰ a distinguished family, which flourished at Beverley in the fourteenth century. It is indeed highly probable that this mansion was situated either here or at Norwood, and I am inclined to give the preference to the latter, because it is pronounced to be *in the town* of Beverley; and the following entry in the Provost's Register appears under the head of Hen-gate. De Joh'e Downham introiatu ab alta via usque Staineley Place, nup' Ade de Copindayle.⁴¹ And again in the same book,⁴² Nicholas Waller is said to have died seized of tribu' clausur' et un' magn' Camp' vocat *Staneleyfields* jacen' ex p'te boreal' cujusd' alte vie vocat' *Norwood Highway*. And still more pointedly under the head of "Norwood in Beverley," subsequently to the extinction of the Copandales, John Downham is brought into charge for Stanley Place and Stanley lands, with a garden, near the mill.⁴³

⁴⁰ It may not be uninteresting to insert here a brief account of this family, which gave a lustre to the town of Beverley in these early times. The first mention of them which I have been able to find, is in the person of Adam Copandale, who did suit and service at the Provost's Court, 3 Edw. III. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 8. l. 2. p. 32, though there is reason to believe that the family was resident in Beverley long before that period. On the 12 May, 1333, this individual was appointed a commissioner, by the king's writ, to raise 50 horse and 50 foot soldiers; fully armed and appointed, within the liberties of Beverley, to join the army against the Scots. Rot. Scot. 7 Edw. III. This commission being found difficult to execute, he resigned his office on the 2nd June following. On the 16th of the same month, John Copandale, merchant, of Beverley, obtained the king's exemption from the array, and a licence to go abroad for mercantile purposes. Ibid. 7 Edw. III. Adam Copandale was re-appointed on the 17th November, 1334, to the duty of arraying men for the Scottish wars; and again to the same effect on the 15th December and 23rd February following, *elisours de cynquant hom'es a pie en la fraunchise de Bev'le*. Ibid. 9 Edw. III. On the 18th December, 1336, John de Thornton de Copandale, the father of the above Adam, Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 22, was appointed a commissioner, by royal authority, to superintend the construction of a barge at Beverley, and other ships of a larger size at other seaports for the Scottish wars; Rot. Scot. 10 Ed. III. and on the 2nd May, 1338, the same person was entrusted with the duty of raising and training a body of archers in Beverley, and the East-riding, which he had a commission to lead against the Scots. Ibid. 12 Edw. III. These brief notices, which have been extended as far as my limits will allow, are sufficient to shew the consequence of the family, and the extent of confidence which was reposed in its members by their sovereign. A branch of the family resided at Beverley in the reign of Henry VI. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 60.

⁴¹ Ibid. l. 2. p. 56. b. ⁴² Ibid. p. 91.

⁴³ Ibid. p. 57. a. This windmill was in Norwood, and was at this time in the occupation of Richard Burton. Ibid. p. 57. a.

At Norwood is a spacious opening or square, where the annual fairs are held.⁴⁴ An improvement was projected in 1825, and the fairs, by a public ordinance of the corporation, were removed to the road side leading to Hull-Bridge, which was considered a more commodious situation, and better calculated to accommodate the agriculturist and the general dealer. The experiment however failed; and on symptoms of dissatisfaction being visibly displayed by all the parties from whom the fairs received their chief support, they were restored in the following year to the usual place. These fairs are in high reputation throughout the kingdom for cattle. They are held four times in the year; viz. on the Thursday before the 25th February; Holy Thursday; the 5th of July; and on the 5th of November. The principal markets for cattle are held on the 5th April, Wednesday before the 12th May; Wednesday before the 14th September; and Wednesday after the 25th December. At these fairs the corporation possess the privilege, by the charter of Charles II. of holding a court of pie-powder, to determine local disputes.⁴⁵ Besides these, there are several publick markets for cattle held fortnightly, which are much frequented. From Norwood the road leads to Bridlington.⁴⁶ Near to Mr. Beverley's house are the

ASSEMBLY-ROOMS,

which were erected by subscription and opened in the year 1763. In these rooms dancing assemblies are held six times during the winter season, and card meetings every Tuesday. The usual subscriptions are, for gentlemen, a guinea and a half; and for ladies, a guinea.

Having amused ourselves with viewing the elegancies and conveniences of these

⁴⁴ The fairs were originally under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, and are thus enumerated amongst his claims in the pleas of quo warranto, in the reign of Edw. I. *Et Archiep' clam' eciam ab antiquo feriam apud Beverlac' qual' p' annū semel videl't, in vigil' et die S'c'i Joh'es B'pt'i et p' tres dies s'quentes, et alias in vigilia et in dies S'c'i Joh'es de Beverlaco in yeme, et tertio in die S'c'i Joh'es de Beverloco in mayo, et quarto in vigil' et die Ascenc'o'es D'ni et p' septem dies sequentes. Placit. de quo War. Edw. I.*

⁴⁵ Corp. Rec. 5 Sep. 15 Ch. II. No. 22. To every fair is of right pertaining a court of pye-powder. Rot. Parl. 17 Edw. IV. This is a court held during the continuance of a fair, and no longer, to determine such disputes, and punish such misdemeanours as may have arisen on the spot; that merchants and others, coming from a distance, might have the advantage of summary justice, in case they should be defrauded by the country people who attended the fair. Such rustics being denominated in these times *pied-poudreux*, or dusty feet, to distinguish them from their superiors.

⁴⁶ This road is termed in the Provost's Register, l. 2. p. 91, "*alte via vocal' Norwood highway.*"

rooms, we pass into North-Bar-street within,⁴⁷ and visit the

NEWS-ROOM,

which is situated nearly opposite to Saint Mary's church. This establishment is supported by the subscriptions of about twenty-five members, who are elected by ballot, and pay each into the treasurer's hands the sum of twenty-five shillings annually. This entitles them to the privilege of the room, in which are the *Sun*, *Globe* and *Traveller*, and *Courier*, daily papers; and the *Observer*, *John Bull*, *Hull Advertiser*, and *Leeds Mercury*, weekly. Near to this is the *Tiger-inn*, a good establishment, and ably conducted by Mr. Charles Greenwood. In a spacious room in this house, the brethren of the

CONSTITUTIONAL LODGE

of Free and Accepted Masons, No. 554, hold their periodical meetings. This lodge was established on the 8th of March, 1793; and the brethren hold their meetings on the first Friday in every month. In the present extension of the masonic system, we find this lodge in a most flourishing state; and several persons of great respectability are enrolled amongst its members. To enlarge on the subject of freemasonry here, would be equally misplaced and unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that freemasonry is a beautiful system of morality, veiled in allegory, and illustrated by symbols; its disquisitions embrace, at the least, all the essential points of *natural* religion; and like the angelic messengers who announced to mankind the most important event the world ever beheld, it proclaims, "Glory to God; Peace on earth; Good-will to men."⁴⁸

On the opposite side of the way is the Beverley bank; the firm of Machell, Pease, & Liddell, who draw on sir R. C. Glynn, Mills, Halifax, Glynn, & Co. 67, Lombard-street. Adjoining Saint Mary's church are situated the extensive and

⁴⁷ In the month of August, 1827, as some workmen were digging in the foundations of an old house which had been taken down, belonging to H. Ellison, esquire, in this street, they found several human skeletons at the depth of about seven feet from the present surface, imbedded in gravel. It is supposed that the ground has been advanced three feet, therefore the bodies to which they belonged would have been interred originally at the depth of four feet beneath the floor of the house under which they lay. They were not found all together, but at a distance of three or four feet asunder; and some of the bones were uncommonly large.

⁴⁸ The curious reader who wishes for information on this interesting subject, may consult the *Antiquities of Freemasonry*; the *Star in the East*; and *Signs and Symbols*; all published by the author of this work.

valuable premises of Henry Ellison, esquire.⁴⁹ And at the termination of the street is the

NORTH-BAR,

an edifice which is undoubtedly of some antiquity, although few traces of early architecture are visible, except an incision under the archway, in which it appears probable that a portcullis has been suspended. Such marks may have formerly existed, but a coating of plaister and whitewash with which the whole erection has been covered, at no very distant period of time, has wholly defaced and obliterated every vestige by which its age might probably have been determined. The following arms, however, still remain upon the bar.

Or, a chevron, *az.* charged with a martlet between two pheons of the first *Warton.*

Impaled with

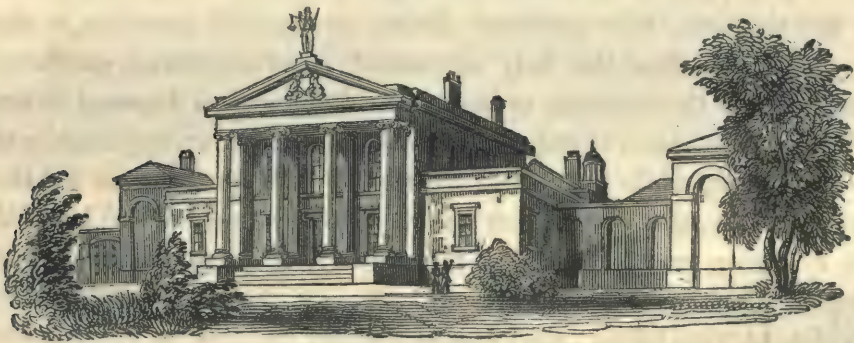
Sable, 3 swords in pile, points in base, pommel, *or.*—*Powlet*, with a squirrel as the crest of *Warton*.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ In the year 1800, Mr. Ellison, in order to enlarge his premises, and procure a site for erecting a splendid mansion, and laying out extensive gardens and pleasure grounds, entered into an agreement with the churchwardens of Saint Mary's parish for a lease of four tenements in North-Bar-street within, belonging to the church, at an annual rent, which stood in front of his land, and prevented a commodious access from that street to his intended premises. These tenements he was permitted to take down, and convert the space thus left vacant to his own use for the term of twenty-one years, with this express condition to prevent the church charities from sustaining any injury, that at the expiration of the lease, Mr. Ellison should erect tenements on the same site, which would produce an annual rent of £52. A private understanding, however, appears to have subsisted between the parties, although not specified in the lease, that Mr. Ellison would be allowed the privilege of renewal, on the same conditions, and so continue during his own pleasure. But public officers, who are exchanged periodically, do not possess the power of binding their successors to approve or confirm their unexecuted plans; and accordingly Mr. Ellison found the churchwardens of 1822 unwilling to sanction what their predecessors in office had indirectly pledged themselves to perform; and he was consequently subjected to the prospect of much inconvenience from the conditions of his contract; but at length an arrangement was effected in 1827, under the provisions of an act for exchanging charity lands, in which the above property has been confirmed to Mr. Ellison and his heirs and assigns for ever, in consideration of about thirty acres of land in Cherry-Burton field, which have been assigned to the church of Saint Mary, as a full and equally valuable equivalent.

⁵⁰ It should appear that in early times, these bars were not used exclusively for the purposes of strength and security, but served also for other convenient uses connected with the income of the corporation. At the end of almost every principal street leading into the common pastures, was placed a bar, at which tolls of pannage for the depasturing of cattle were periodically paid by the burgesses. This is clearly stated in the following extract from the *Compotus Roll* of 1437.

Passing through the bar we come to the North-bar dyke, in a lane formerly called Cockstulepit-lane, which was of old a pool of terror and evil omen to the termagant and shrew, for here stood the far-famed ducking-stool, erected originally by the archbishop of York,⁵¹ for the disgrace and punishment of dishonest tradesmen, but time out of mind applied to the more humiliating purpose of imposing a check on that unruly member, the tongue of a peevish wife.⁵² At the extremity of the town, on the Malton road, stand a mass of buildings which have been recently erected for a house of correction and

SESSIONS-HALL,



which are highly ornamental to that particular entrance into the town.⁵³ Here the quarter sessions of the peace for the East-riding are held, and justice is impartially administered by a highly respectable bench of magistrates, consisting of R. Bethell, esquire, chairman; lord Macdonald, sir H. M. M. Vavasour, bart. W. Beverley, R. M. Beverley, J. Brown, J. Broadley, H. Broadley, R. Denison,

R painagij

Etde viij^{li} xj^s iij^d p' de Ric' Richemond et Will' Marton Collect' painagij ad barr' bor' (North-Bar) hoc a^o infra comp' ut pz' p' p'cell inde p'bat.

Et de xj^s x^d p' de Will' Cave Collect' painagij in Norwood, hoc anno &c.

Et de xj^s iv^d p' de Joha' Carethorp Collect' painag' ad p' Newbiggyng bar hoc anno &c.

Et de ix^s viij^d p' de Rob' Kytchin Collect' painag' ad Keldegate bar hoc anno &c.

⁵¹ Archiep' &c. clam 'eciam ab antiquo furcas et gibettū, pilloriū et tumbrellū &c. Placit de quo. War. Edw. I.

⁵² Vid. ut supra. p. 110.

⁵³ At the quarter sessions for the East-riding, holden at Beverley, the 19th day of April, 1814, the following resolution was unanimously agreed to. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of the court, that Mr. Charles Watson the architect, has shewn great skill and attention in planning and superintending the building of the sessions-house and gaol for this riding; and that the treasurer be and he is hereby directed to present Mr. Watson, with the sum of one hundred guineas, as a mark of their approbation of his conduct."

R. Denison, jun. E. Denison, J. S. Egginton, M. Foulis, Y. Greame, C. Grimston, R. Hill, H. Hudson, A. Maister, S. W. Nicoll, G. Palmes, J. R. Pease, H. Preston, P. Saltmarshe, G. Strickland, G. Schonswar, D. Sykes, P. B. Thompson, J. Wharton, esquires; W. H. E. Bentinck, T. F. Foord Bowes, J. Coltman, C. Constable, R. Croft, W. Canning, D. Ferguson, J. Gilby, W. R. Gilby, F. Kendall, W. Parker, T. C. R. Read, G. Sampson, C. Sykes, and R. Sykes, clerks.

The house of correction is judiciously regulated. The prisoners enjoy the advantage of religious instruction, which in their unhappy situation, must be found of essential importance. The wards are furnished with religious books. Prayers are read every day by the governor, and the prisoners are visited three times a week by the chaplain, who performs divine service and preaches to them every Sunday. Added to this, the holy sacrament is administered quarterly, on the Sunday previous to the sessions, to such individuals as feel disposed to avail themselves of its blessings; thus affording the penitent offender an opportunity of making his peace with God, while his crimes are visited with punishment for the violated laws of man; those mild laws which he has renounced and defied by wilful depredation, or a wanton encroachment on the property or privileges of his neighbour.

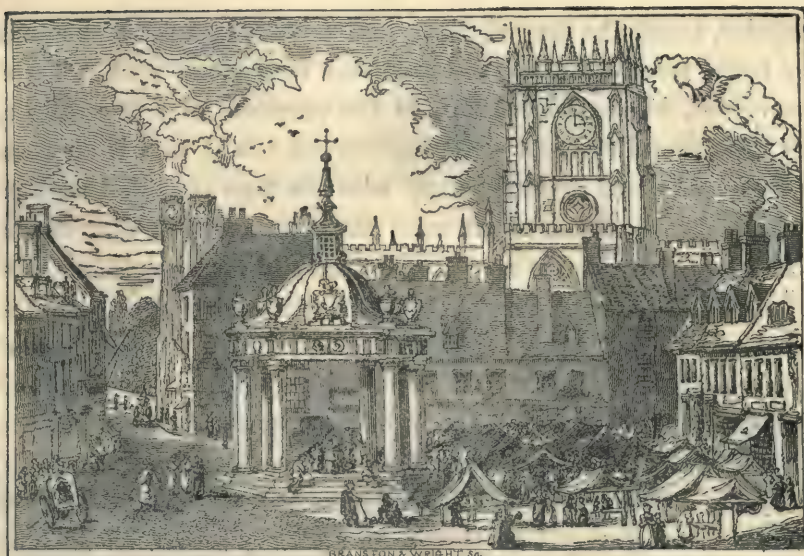
In the year 1810, the total number of prisoners committed within the year was 151; of which 14 were felons; the greatest number confined at any one time in that year was 39, of whom 5 were felons. Since that period, a regular and alarming increase has taken place. In 1827, the number of prisoners within the year was 405, of whom 49 were felons; and the greatest number confined at one time, 82. The greatest number ever confined at one time, including children, 121.

Opposite to the sessions-hall is a beautiful walk of chesnut trees, which form a shady promenade, used by the inhabitants on Sundays and other days of leisure. Returning thence, we enter the Saturday market-place,⁵⁴ which is a spacious opening in the street, containing an area of four acres. Near the north end stands

THE MARKET CROSS,

a massive erection, supported by eight columns, each consisting of one entire stone; and constructed at the expense of sir Michael Warton and sir Charles Hotham, in the year 1714. It was repaired in 1769, at the expense of the corporation,

⁵⁴ Archiep' &c. claim' eciam abantiquo m'catū apud Beverlacū sing'lis sept^a is p' dies M'curio & Sabb'to (Wednesday and Saturday.) Placit. de quo War. E. I.



William Leake, esq. being the mayor. A more ancient cross⁵⁵ formerly occupied this situation, which was built in a massive style of architecture, and so spacious that carriages passed through it. Being in a state of decay, and altogether inconvenient and unsafe, it was taken down by the two public spirited individuals already mentioned, and the present cross substituted in its place, ornamented with the following coats of arms.

1. England and France, quarterly.
2. *Arg.* 4 bars *az.* and a canton, *gules.* In the centre the bloody hand.. *Hotham.*
3. *Or,* a chevron *az.* charged with a martlet inter two pheons of the first.. *Warton.*
4. Barry wavee. A & B. on a chief B. a beaver statant regardant, or.... *Town of Beverley.*

The butchers' Shambles⁵⁶ stand in the north east angle of the Market-place.⁵⁷ They were rebuilt in the year 1752, at the expense of the corporation, Jonathan

⁵⁵ This cross occupied a conspicuous situation in the Market-place, where it was placed to remind the *vendor* that his religion recommended and enforced uprightness and fair dealing; and was thus intended as a visible restraint, to dissipate any secret intention which might arise in his bosom of taking an improper advantage of the weakness or inexperience of his customer.

⁵⁶ A narrow street runs from these Shambles into Walker-gate, called Silvester-lane, inhabited principally by persons in an inferior condition of life; it was sometimes denominated Silverless-lane; and by that name it is mentioned in the inquisition respecting Saint Mary's property, taken in the reign of king Charles I.

⁵⁷ Many years ago, before the Market-place was heightened and paved in its present form, it was subject to inundations, which occasioned much inconvenience and loss to those who supplied

Midgley, esquire, being the mayor. The buildings are roomy and commodious, but proving too large for the business which was transacted within them, the south end was converted, in the year 1825, to the purposes of a corn exchange. This measure has been found of great advantage to the town; and is an accommodation to the corn merchants and agriculturists, who are thus provided with suitable conveniences which enable them to transact their business in any extremity of the weather. The fish shambles is a commodious building, devoted exclusively to the sale of the finny tribe, and is situated at the north end of the shambles.⁵⁸

The market commences at mid-day by the signal of a small bell, which is rung by the deputy market keeper. Its principal staple is corn; but other articles which constitute the weekly consumption of the town are exposed for sale in great abundance. On the east side of the Market-place are the Butter-dings,⁵⁹ where the produce of the dairy is placed. A profusion of fruit, vegetables, farm-yard and other produce, &c. is arranged methodically on such a plan as affords free access to the purchasers; and the carriers' carts are placed together on one side of the Market-place.⁶⁰ The market is tolerably well supplied with fish, principally from the sea. Cod, haddock, ling, skate, turbot, crabs, lobsters, herrings, eels, smelts and shrimps, are the principal varieties; and fresh water fish are but seldom to be had. The quantity of corn transferred at Beverley market is usually prodigious, standing as the town does, in the midst of an extensive corn country, and possessing facilities for communication with every part of the kingdom; but during the stagnation of trade in this article consequent on the present state of

the market with articles of general consumption. At this period wool was produced for sale in packs, which sometimes were floated, and occasionally carried away by the rapidity of the current. At the bottom end of the Market-place was a deep ditch, which extended almost across it from east to west. On the south stood the pillory, and near it a public-house, in front of which was a handsome row of trees.

⁵⁸ A small passage near the fish Shambles was formerly denominated Burdet-midding-lane, and under that appellation it is frequently referred to in the inquisition already referred to about Saint Mary's property.

⁵⁹ This situation was anciently called *Byscopdynges*, and was originally granted to the burgesses by William Wykham, archbishop of York. Corp. Rec. 1279. 8 B. It is mentioned in a compotus of the twelve governors, dated 1437, a copy of which is in my possession, as chargeable with an annual rent.

⁶⁰ The numerous carriers who attend this market are a great convenience to the town, and offer facilities for an extended communication with every part of this and the adjoining counties. The number of common carriers who attend weekly is about fifty, besides four regular carriers to Hull and York. They arrive at Beverley every Saturday in time for the market, and depart at 3 o'clock in the afternoon in winter, and 4 o'clock in summer.

feeling which agitates the political world on that great question, the sales have been considerably reduced. On the 20th day of March, 1827, the quantities sold and average prices were as follows, according to the statute measure.

		£.	s.	d.
Wheat	1111 quarters, average price	2	17	3
Oats....	126 quarters	1	10	7
Barley	52 quarters	2	2	3
Beans	66 quarters	2	13	5

The tolls demanded by the corporation are as follows:—

For every waggon or cart entering the market, four-pence;—for every led horse, a penny;—for every beast, a halfpenny;—for every score of sheep, twopence;—for every pig, a farthing;—for every stall or stand, a halfpenny;—and for every bushel of corn brought into the market for sale, one pint. At markets and fairs the following tolls are paid by the purchaser; for every horse, three-pence;—for every beast, a penny;—for every pig, at fairs, a penny; and at market, a halfpenny;—for every score of sheep, four-pence; and for every stall or stand, a penny.

At the east end of the Market-place⁶¹ is the ancient street called Lady-gate,⁶² which extends from the southern extremity of the butchers' shambles to Hen-gate,⁶³ crossing the south west end of Silvester-lane at right angles. Having passed through the Market-place, and observed every thing worthy of notice, we enter the Toll-Gavel or toll ground, where formerly was a stump cross, against which tolls were taken, and butter, eggs, and poultry were exposed for sale. In this street is situated the

POST-OFFICE,

which is conducted by Mr. John Gardham, the post-master. The letters from London arrive at half after five in the evening, and the mail takes the return letters at half after five in the morning. The mails from York arrive at eleven in

⁶¹ In the month of April, 1826, some excavations being made under the floor of Mr. W. Stephenson's shop in the Market-place, six Rose nobles, and a gold coin of Edw. III. were discovered in good preservation. They are still in his possession.

⁶² Lady-gate is mentioned in 1592, in the Register of the Provostry, l. 3. p. 16 b. "Reg^{na} &c. conc' Ed'ro Downinge et Rogero Raut. claus' past' jac' in Bev'l, tenem^t in Lady-gate, &c."

⁶³ In Hen-gate, near the end of Lady-gate, was Stapleapple-garth, mentioned in the same register as belonging to the family of Copandales. Rental' p'positur' &c. Hengate. De Thom' Copindayle pro un ten'to jux^a Stapillappegarth &c. Ib. l. 2. p. 56 b.

the morning and eleven in the evening, and are despatched in return at half after one and half after four in the afternoon. From Hull there are also two daily mails; one arrives at half after one in the afternoon, and leaves at eleven in the morning; the other arrives at half after five in the evening, and departs at half after five in the morning.⁶⁴ In this street is a room used as a place of worship by the Sandemanians, and the Irish Church Methodists. The number of members in both is small. They each however, contrive to maintain one preacher, Mr. William Skinn; and Mr. M'Conckie.

Near this spot was an ancient lane called Friar-garth.⁶⁵ We now enter a spacious court called Register-square, where is situated the

GUILD-HALL,

in which the meetings of the corporation are held.⁶⁶ A court of record is also held in these chambers every Monday by charter, for the trial of civil causes; as are also the general quarter sessions of the peace for the town and liberties, at the

⁶⁴ Regular accommodations are furnished to the inhabitants of this town for an expeditious correspondence with any part of England; for, added to the London, York, and Hull mails, there are no less than nine coaches continually running from Beverley to Hull and Scarborough, whence the communication with any part of the United Kingdom is direct and uninterrupted.

TABLE OF MAILS.

PLACES.	HOUR OF DEPARTURE.	HOUR OF ARRIVAL.
First mail to York, Weighton, Pock- lington, and Boroughbridge.... }	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 1, P. M.	11, A. M.
Second mail to ditto ditto	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 4, P. M.	11, P. M.
First mail to Hull	11, A. M.	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 1, P. M.
Second mail to Hull and London..	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 5, A. M.	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 5, P. M.
Mail to Bridlington, Scarborough, Whitby, Malton, Driffild, and Sledmere..... }	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 5, P. M.	4, A. M.

⁶⁵ Amongst the Warburton MSS. in the British Museum, Lansd. Coll. 896. VIII. fo. 76, is a copy of a licence, empowering Richard Fairclough to alter a way in *Friar-Garth*.

⁶⁶ The ancient Guild-hall was a spacious building, open from end to end like a barn, and built with broad and thin bricks, without any ornament, except the archbishop's distinguishing symbol, the Cross-Keys, over the door. Here all the corporate meetings were held.

usual quarterly periods; and a court-leet and baron, and sheriff's tourne.⁶⁷ A court of requests is held here monthly, for the recovery of debts not exceeding five pounds. In this court-yard is also situated the office for registering wills and deeds within this division of the county, which was established in the year 1708;⁶⁸ and Beverley is the only borough in the kingdom which enjoys this privilege. H. W. Maister, esquire, registrar; Mr. A. Atkinson, deputy.

Travelling still towards the east we pass through Butcher-row, which will lead to the

TRINITIES,

where formerly stood a preceptory, or more properly, a commandery of knights of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, dedicated to the Holy Trinity.⁶⁹ The property belonging to this institution in Beverley, consisting of the inner and outer Trinities, the former of which is inclosed by an ancient moat, was granted at the dissolution to William Barkeley; and after passing through a few hands it became vested in the corporation of Beverley so early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Warburton. MSS. Vid. infra. cap. iv. for an account of these courts. ⁶⁸ Stat. 6 Anne. c. 35.

⁶⁹ Sybilla de Valoniis, A. D. 1201, gave to the knights-hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, the manor of the Holy Trinity, on the east side of this town, with many tenements, and the manor of North-Burton, &c. whereupon a preceptory of that order was established at Beverley; which had lands belonging to it, 26 Hen. VIII. valued at £164. 10s. 0d. according to Dugdale; £167. 10s. 0d. according to Speed; £211. 10s. 7d. according to Le Neve's MS. Valor. The site was granted to William Berkeley, 36 Hen. VIII. Tan. Notit. York. XII. 2.

⁷⁰ The documents in my possession which illustrate the transfer of this property, are in number twelve, and to the following purport.

1. A patent from king Henry VIII. assigning to William Barkeley the house, site, and property of the preceptory of the Holy Trinity in Beverley, lately belonging to the knights of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem in England; to hold the same *in capite*, by the service of one twentieth part of a knight's fee. 36 Hen. VIII. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 3. p. 21 a.
2. A licence from the crown, empowering William Barkeley to alienate the site and house of the Holy Trinity, and a close called Ashgarth, to Robert Heneage and his heirs. 36 Hen. VIII. p.^{te} 2^o. Ibid. l. 4. p. 9.
The deed from Heneage to Constable, as a connecting link, is wanting.
3. A licence authorizing dame Jane Constable to alienate the house and site of the preceptory at Beverley, to her son Ralph Constable and his heirs. 5 Edw. VI. p.^{te} secunda. Ibid. l. 4. p. 93. a.
4. A licence of alienation from the crown, to Ralph Constable, of Burton-Constable, esquire, to assign the house and site to William Pudsey. 2 Eliz. pte quint. Ibid. l. 4. p. 94. a.
5. Another licence to the same person, empowering him to dispose of his *pomarium* called the Great Orchard, belonging to the late preceptory of Saint John, to Robert Clerke and John Simpson. 3 Eliz. p.^{te} decimo tert. Ibid. l. 4. p. 94. b.
6. Another royal licence, authorizing the same person to sell to William Payler the site of the manor or preceptory. 18 Eliz. Corp. Rec. 20 F.

A lazaretto, or pest-house, was erected here during the plague of 1610, as a place of refuge for the sick; and the bodies of the dead were interred under tumuli of an enormous size, on the west side of the moat, called the outer Trinities. During the operation of digging and trenching the ground a few years ago, for the purpose of forming a nursery, many antiquities were discovered, from amongst which a few have been selected, that were considered of sufficient importance to merit an engraved illustration. These consist of some antique spurs,⁷¹ which were worn by the knights of this establishment; a leaden sigillum⁷² which had been appended to a papal bull; and an image of the virgin.⁷³ Several interments in single graves were discovered at the same time, and a stone sarcophagus, without any peculiarity of construction; all at a very considerable depth from the surface. The *inner*, and a considerable portion of the *outer* Trinities, at present comprise a part of the extensive gardens and nurseries of Messrs. George and William Tindall, which, with the adjoining grounds, form an amusing promenade to the respectable inhabitants of the town, who are privileged to walk there by special permission. The magnitude of these nurseries, as far as concerns spade cultivation, is perhaps not exceeded by any in the kingdom; and for neatness, management, and produce, cannot easily be surpassed. The varied and uninterrupted views of that solemn yet splendid edifice, the minster, form a very distinguishing feature in every part

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7. A licence to Robert Clerke and John Simpson, empowering them to sell the Great Orchard, and a piece of arable and pasture land called Ashgarth, lately belonging to the preceptory of the Holy Trinity. 21 Eliz. Corp. Rec. 20 K.
 8. A licence to William Payler, the recorder of Beverley, to alienate to Peter Harpham, mayor, and the twelve governors by name, the site of the manor or preceptory, with a messuage within the moat; and also the Great Orchard and Ashgarth close. 26 Eliz. 1 Sept. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 4. p. 33 b. Corp. Rec. 20 M.
 9. A deed of bargain and sale of the above property, from William Payler to Peter Harpham, mayor, and the governors and burgesses of Beverley. 27 Eliz. 5th May. Corp. Rec. 20 N.
 10. A chirograph of a fine levied between William Payler and the mayor and governors of the town of Beverley, of a messuage, garden and orchard, and five acres of meadow and five of pasture, as above conveyed. 29 Eliz. Corp. Rec. 20 P.
 11. A licence from queen Elizabeth, authorizing Ralph Freeman and others, to assign over all the above property to Robert Grey, the then mayor, and others, the governors and burgesses of Beverley. 44 Eliz. 1 Mar. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 4. p. 33. Corp. Rec. 20 R.
 12. A licence to Hugh Carr and others, enabling them to alienate to Robert and John Robinson, a close of meadow or pasture, called Great Trinity Close, containing ten acres. 44 Eliz. Ibid. l. 4. p. 33.

⁷¹ Vid. Fig. 1, 2, 3. From the peculiarities exhibited in the shape and construction of these spurs, and the difference in their form and size, they may be safely ascribed either to various eras, or to the different ranks of the knights who inhabited this mansion.

⁷² Vid. page 4. Fig. 5. ⁷³ Vid. page 4. Fig. 4.

of these grounds; and contribute, in no slight degree, to the attraction and enjoyment of the visitors.⁷⁴

This part of the lordship was called, before the Conquest, the manor of Rydinges, and was assigned by Saint John to the church.⁷⁵ It retained the same name in the fourteenth century,⁷⁶ and at present is denominated "The Riding Fields."⁷⁷

Still further to the east is Grove-hill, anciently called Grovall⁷⁸ or Groveale,⁷⁹ which is reputed to have been the landing place of the Romans, when they forced their vessels up the river Hull to penetrate into this part of the province of Deira.⁸⁰ A chantry was formerly in existence here, and the chaplain had a house and six acres of meadow land in Stork field.⁸¹ Subsequently a water-mill was erected here at a place called Mylne Beck, which belonged to the provost of Beverley;⁸² and at present the colour manufactory of Mr. Tigar stands at Grove-hill, which is worked by a powerful steam engine.

⁷⁴ On a part of these extensive and beautiful gardens stood the mansion of sir Charles Hotham, bart. erected about the middle of the last century. The following anecdote is related of the baronet, during his residence here. An itinerant preacher was holding forth in front of the house, and sir Charles being observed to throw up the sash and listen attentively to his discourse, was severely rebuked by an impudent fellow amongst the mob, who asked him how he could bear to listen to a man who turned his back, as the preacher did, of such a magnificent church as that? pointing to the minster. Sir Charles made no answer, but closed the window and retired. The house was subsequently sold to Thomas Wrightson, raff-merchant, who took it down and sold the materials.

⁷⁵ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 100.

⁷⁶ *Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. temp. Hen. IV.* l. 1. p. 26.

⁷⁷ Near this place is the site of two ancient mills, mentioned 38 Edw. III. one belonging to the knights of Saint John, and the other to Walter Frost. *Ibid.* l. 2. p. 57. a. Several ancient streets and places in this neighbourhood are wholly lost and buried amidst the rubbish of time. Pottergate, Palmer Croft, Ferry Croft, and others are named in the following record, the sites of which no person is at this time able to point out with absolute and unerring certainty. De her' Willi' Froste pro uno Crofto voc' *Palmer Crofte* cū un molend' quond' Avicie Froste antea Walter Palmer jux^a Ridings de Rob'to Tirwhitt pro quatuor selion' terr' modo prat' jacen' sup' orient de *Pott'gaite* usq; *Fossat* man' de Grovill que aliquando fuit Ric'i de Wrangill postea Roger de Faucōbridge de prior de Wartre sive magistr' domus Sci Egidij pro prat' voc' St. Gilnige p'tin dom' S'ci Egidij.—De magistro frater domus S'ci Nich'i pro Scit' dict' hospital' iij^d r' Mart' de Pentec' pro un crofto voc' *Ferry Crofte* ad fine orient Gardin' domus S'ci Trinitat's et jacet int' via qu'itur de dict' hospit' Sanct' Trinitat's usque Grovall de p'te austral' et un croft' dict' p'posit' p'tin' man'io Ss de Ridings de her' mag'r Spike pro no' dom ex opporto dom' Ss de fratribz predicatoribz pro uno ten'to ten'de dnō. *Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev.* l. 2. p. 57. a.

⁷⁸ *Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev.* l. 1. p. 26.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 28.

⁸⁰ As a confirmation of this tradition, some Roman coins and other antiquities have, at different times, been dug up at this place.

⁸¹ *Reg. Præp.* l. 2. p. 57. a.

⁸² *Ibid.* l. 1. p. 49.

Returning to the Wednesday Market,⁸³ we find a small cross, which was erected at the expense of Henry Jarratt, esquire, great uncle to the present mayor of Hull. And here also is the

RANTERS' MEETING-HOUSE,

which was built in the year 1825, at an expense of £700. The names of the present preachers are Mr. J. Nelson, Mr Cornforth, and Mr. Smith, and the society contains about 56 members. Proceeding through High-gate,⁸⁴ we again find ourselves in the front of the minster church; and turning towards the west we pass through Minster-Moorgate,⁸⁵ which is the very seat of charity, the fairest attribute of heaven, and contains no less than five beneficent foundations. First we encounter the

WORK-HOUSE,

which is situated on the south side of the street. In former times, the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind, had no settled means of subsistence; and were

⁸³ A branch of the family of Ellerker resided in Wednesday Market; uno messuag' vocat Ellerker's house situat' in vel p'pe le Wednesday m'kett. Ibid. l. 2. p. 91.

⁸⁴ This was formerly called Londoners' street, because here the London merchants exposed their goods for sale at the annual fairs.

⁸⁵ Moorgate, probably from the alluvion of *moor* earth on which the street was erected. Vid. Nicholson's Journal, vol. iii. p. 285. Only a very few years ago, a hedge fence was found firmly fixed in the moor earth at the depth of six feet from the present surface, and may have been hid in this place even from Saxon times, for these early possessors of the soil separated their estates by hedge fences and ditches; Wilk. Leg. Angl. Sax. p. 4.; and there is good reason to believe that this part of the town was inhabited before the Norman Conquest. This street was called a *venella*, so early as the reign of Edward II. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 1. p. 26; as was also that part of Lair-gate which adjoins the west end of it, as appears from the following record. Rentale Beverlaci, 1 Hen. IV. De capella'n Cant' S'ce Katherine provid' placea cū p'tin in Minster Mooregate in longitudine a com'un' via usq; ad com'un' gutter' ville et in latitudine com'un' *venelle* (Lair-gate) que it' a pred' via usque Eccl'ia S'ci Egidij ex p'te una et terr' Joh'es de Luda de p'te altera ut patet in quad' Charta Lawrence' de Clifford. Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 2. p. 56. b. In still earlier times the street now called Minster-Moorgate extending from Lair-gate to the minster, appears to have been known under three distinct appellations. That part adjoining the minster was alone distinguished by its present name. The remaining part of the street was a *venella*; the centre had the appellation of Fishmarket Moorgate, and the end adjoining Lair-gate that of Market-Moorgate. Thus 55 Hen. III. Roger de Northumberland and Elias Caretter were appointed constables for Minster-Moorgate and Fishmarket Moorgate. Ex. Reg. ut supra. l. 1. p. 34. And in the Provost's Rental, made in the early part of the ensuing century, we find both tenements and gardens brought into charge in Market-Moorgate, near Lair-gate. Ibid. l. 2. p. 56. b. Three contiguous streets are called *venellæ* in the old rentals and registers, Moorgate, Lair-gate, and Ringadd Lane, the latter of which is described as a "*venella voc' Ringaddlane de priorat' de Warter*"; Ibid. l. 2. p. 56. b. and was doubtless the same as that already mentioned in this note as leading from Lair-gate to the hospital of Saint Giles.

accordingly compelled to the only alternative of perishing for want, or soliciting the aid of their more opulent fellow Christians. The halls of the nobility were indeed seats of hospitality, but they were thinly strewed throughout the land; and the monasteries were the only certain source where indigence could be supplied with the necessaries of life. When this fountain of benevolence was closed by the dissolution, the poor were thrown on their own energies for support, and if their solicitations were ineffectual to supply the calls of nature; in the frenzy of disappointment they took with a violent hand those gifts which they could easily persuade themselves, were unjustly withheld. Hence robberies became so frequent that during the latter part of Henry the Eighth's reign, it is said that nearly a hundred thousand executions took place.⁸⁶ The loud and unceasing complaints of the suffering community at length reached the ears of the legislature; and in the reign of Elizabeth, the outline of those laws was framed by which every parish is bound to provide for its own poor. The strong and healthy beggar was thus compelled to maintain himself by labour; and those, who from infirmity or any other cause, did not possess powers for active employment were consigned to the care of their respective parishes, and overseers were appointed to discriminate between the *idle* and the *infirm*. The erection of appropriate buildings for the retreat of age and wretchedness followed, and in the year 1725, the inhabitants of Beverley, having become sensible of the great benefit of these institutions, came to the resolution, pursuant to the powers of an act of parliament, to build a house which might be capable of receiving their poor; and at a general meeting of the whole town, held in the Guild-hall, 24 April, 1726, a series of resolutions was agreed upon, and a house was built capable of containing a hundred persons, which was opened at midsummer 1727; notice having been given to the poor that the weekly allowances would cease at that period, and that such as were unable to maintain themselves and families, must apply to the governors of the workhouse, to be by them provided for.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Harrison. Descr. of Brit. b. ii. c. 11.

⁸⁷ This measure does not appear to have been popular amongst the poor; but it produced the very beneficial effect of distinguishing the *real* from *pretended* objects of charity. Before the house was opened, 116 paupers received parochial relief, and the number that entered it at first, was only eight persons, and never exceeded twenty-six during the whole of the succeeding winter, though all kinds of provisions were excessively dear, and the season very sickly; and the extraordinary expenses of the parishes, such as payments to bed-ridden persons, sick families, and other occasional demands of that nature, did not exceed twelve or thirteen shillings a week at any time,

The governor of the work-house containing the poor of the united parishes of Saint Martin and Saint John, has with the paupers, an allowance of eighteen-pence a head per week for their sustenance, and a salary of thirty pounds a year for his own time and labour; and the governor of the work-house of Saint Mary and Saint Nicholas receives half a crown a week with each pauper. The inmates of both these houses are constantly employed in works of industry adapted to their age, strength, and capacity; the children attend the national school till they attain the age of ten years, and are afterwards employed in labour, with the exception of two hours a day, which are regularly devoted to their instruction. They are then apprenticed to useful trades. The lazy and vicious are punished by confinement, or alteration of diet; and if this prove ineffectual, the interference of a magistrate will inflict a heavier punishment. The industrious, but unfortunate poor, on the contrary, are accommodated with the best apartments and superior attention. Thus good order and regularity are encouraged, and the establishments are kept in an uniform system of decency and subordination. Added to this, religious instruction is dispensed amongst the paupers with steady effect; prayers are read morning and evening by the governors, and the paupers are taken every Sunday to their respective parish churches. In a word, the general regulations are exceedingly judicious; and the conduct of these establishments is highly creditable to the town. On the other side of the way is

FOX'S HOSPITAL.

This benevolent foundation was established in the year 1636, by Mr. Thwaites Fox, an alderman of Beverley. He gave this house and the appurtenances, by deed of feoffment, together with a rent charge of ten pounds a year, arising out of lands in Arnold and Coniston in the county of York, to certain trustees, towards providing an asylum for four destitute, aged widows, who should be natives of Beverley, and have been resident in the town with an unblemished reputation for twenty years prior to the time of their appointment to the benefit of the charity; and have actually received a weekly allowance from the parish for, at least, the two preceding years. The widows thus qualified and appointed were to enjoy the

and frequently amounted to no more than six or seven; while it was thought, that if the house had not been opened the overseers would not have had less than 200 paupers on their hands; and in all probability the rates must, in that particular year, have doubled their usual amount. Vid. *An Account of Workhouses*; pub. by Downing, 1732. 2 Edit. p. 165.

privilege for life, except they should forfeit it by being convicted of drunkenness, scolding, felony, or any other notorious offence; in which case it is directed that expulsion shall immediately ensue, and a successor be elected within six days of such example. The present trustees are William Beverley, and T. Duesbery, esquires. The widows receive four shillings a week each, with a new gown every two years, and an annual allowance of coals. The next house of charity we arrive at, is

CHARLES WARTON'S HOSPITAL.

The funds of this establishment arise out of lands at Killingraves Grange. It was also instituted for the comfort of poor widows in their declining years; and is at present under the judicious management of the Rev. C. Constable, Rev. John Gilby, Rev. Joseph Coltman, H. W. Hutton, esquire, and the Rev. W. R. Gilby, and the number has been increased to fourteen, who receive a weekly stipend of five shillings each, an annual supply of coals, a gown and petticoat, and five shillings instead of a pair of stays. The widows are appointed to the benefit of this charity by the trustees at a general meeting. The annual income amounts to about £350. which enables the trustees to extend the limits of their charity by placing out every year several poor boys apprentice, with each of whom they give a premium of £4. which is paid to the respective masters by two instalments.⁸⁸ Adjoining this institution stands

SIR MICHAEL WARTON'S HOSPITAL,

which is under the able direction of the archbishop of York, and the mayor and recorder of Beverley. Within its walls are accommodations for the reception of six poor widows, who are each allowed three shillings a week, with an annual gown, and a supply of coals. In this street is situated

GRAVES'S FREE SCHOOL,

an establishment founded originally by the Rev. James Graves, who bequeathed in the year 1807, £2,400. in the 5 per cents, for the support of schools in the parish of Saint Martin. A temporary room was for a short time used under the

⁸⁸ The MS. which lies before me closes its notice of this establishment with the following remark on the conduct of the trustees, which I have much pleasure in transcribing. "The respectable trustees of this charity deserve well of the public for their unwearied attention to the management of its funds, and their continued exertions for the general improvement of the charity."

provisions of this will; but great inconveniences having arisen from a want of accommodation, the old theatre was purchased in 1814, and fitted up as a school room for the purposes of this charity; but the school was subsequently removed to Minster-Moorgate for boys, and to the minster-yard for girls. At the present time a hundred boys, and the same number of girls, receive gratuitous instruction daily, and enjoy the full benefit of the donor's munificent bequest. The annual income arising from the investment, is now about £120.

Returning to the Wednesday Market, we now pass through Butcher-row into Walker-gate,⁸⁹ where we meet with the

WESLEYAN METHODIST CHAPEL,

which was erected for the purpose of religious worship in 1825, at an expense of £1,270. It is calculated to contain 700 persons. The number of members, however, at present, amounts only to 182. Messrs. Hutton and Parker are the preachers. In the same street is the

BAPTIST CHAPEL.

This is a commodious building, erected in 1808, and cost £600. The present minister is Mr. J. Charlton, and the number of members about 70.⁹⁰ At the corner of Dog-and-Duck lane in this street stands

TYMPERON'S HOSPITAL,

an establishment for the support of poor persons, founded under the will of Mr.

⁸⁹ This street is mentioned in an ordinance made by the governors of Beverley in 1560, which provides that "whereas the sesters of *Walkergaite* and *Thengaite* have sundrie tymes sessed and taxed one close in old Newbigginge, and once a stable door openynge of Bowbrigge layne, both in the occupation of John Harrison, common clerke, therefore we Matthew Garbrey, Richard Fews, Richard Greenhop, Richard Bell, Thomas Stettrington, Edward Stoute, John Adamson, Adam Spence, Robert Farer, Thomas Green, and Robert Holmes, the governors and keepers of this town of Beverley, this Xth day of November, in the yere of our Lord 1560, after trew knowledge had and perceived in the premises, do by these presents cleverlye acqwyte, exonerate and discharge the said John and his successors and assignes, for ever, from paying any manner of tax or other demands for the sayde close and stable dore or any or either of them to and with the sayde wardes of *Walkergaite* and *Hengaite* at any time hereafter, and moreover we the said governors doo discharge all other grounds within Old Newbigginge from paying of any maner of taxes to or with the sayde wardes of *Walkergaite* and *Hengaite* at any time hereafter." Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 169.

⁹⁰ Near the end of Walker-gate was anciently situated the Cross Bridge, on which John de Ake built and endowed a chapel or chantry, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity. Warb. MSS. B. Mus. Lansd. Coll. ut supra. fo. 140.

William Tymperon of Beverley, which was proved 12th March, 1729. The income by which this institution is maintained arises out of estates in the parish of Aldborough, in Holderness, and amounts to about £250. a year. The ministers of Saint John and Saint Mary, in Beverley, and the minister of Aldborough, are the trustees. The hospital was endowed for the benefit of six poor persons of either sex; two of whom were originally chosen from the parish of Aldborough, two from the parish of Saint Mary, and two from that of Saint John; but by an order of the court of chancery, the benefit of the charity has been extended to four additional objects; hence there are at present ten poor persons who receive six shillings a week each, with coals, and a certain quantity of clothing. Seven of them reside in the hospital, at Beverley, and three in a house built for their accommodation at Aldborough. Five are appointed by the vicar of Saint Mary; three by the vicar of Aldborough; and two by the curate of the minster. The only qualification is that they be poor persons residing in his parish who has the privilege of appointing.

The inhabitants of Beverley enjoy the advantage of three extensive common pastures, containing together nearly 1200 acres; Westwood,⁹¹ including the Hurn; Figham, including a place called Lund; and Swinemoor.⁹² They had formerly the privilege of stocking another pasture called the Hag, which lay contiguous to Westwood and Queengate, but it has long been inclosed, and the right of the burgesses compensated for by a grant of some land which lies "ridge and furrow" upon Westwood-low-Green. Westwood was formerly part of the domain of the archbishop of York, who held with it an estate in Bishop-Burton, called Killingwoldgraves. The common of Westwood is therefore stocked jointly by the free burgesses of Beverley, and by the tenants of Killingwoldgraves. In Figham, none but free burgesses have a right to graze their cattle; but in Swinemoor certain copyhold tenants of Beverley Water-Towns enjoy the privilege of stocking to a prescribed extent, in common with the burgesses of Beverley.⁹³

⁹¹ Leland mentions the pretty rivulet which ran through Westwood. *Habent etiam ad voluptatem tenuem rivulum ex Westwodde defluentem.* *Lel. Collect.* vol. iii. p. 34.

⁹² In Swinemoor is a kind of spa, which was formerly reputed "to be a great dryer," as Camden's annotator expresses it, "if taken inwardly, and washed in, dries scorbutic scurf and all sorts of scabs; and also very much helps the king's evil." *Gibson, Camd. Col.* 744. Mr. Warburton says, that it is impregnated with steel; and to increase its virtues was dedicated to Saint John of Beverley. *Lansd. MSS.* 896. VIII. fo. 217; and Mr. Bursell adds with Camden, "that it is a spa three yards wide, and if taken inwardly is a great dryer, &c. though it cannot be judged by its taste whether it contains any mineral or not." *Ibid.* fo. 274. At present it has no celebrity for any such virtues; and is used only as a bath, possessing the property of extreme coldness.

⁹³ From an unanswered case amongst the Corporation Records.

Having thus completed a minute perambulation of the town; our reflections will naturally be directed to its moral, civil, and religious construction. Here we find a competent provision, not merely for personal protection, but for the absolute comfort and enjoyment of every rank into which society is divided and sub-divided by general courtesy or individual pride. First, two spacious edifices dedicated to the worship of the Creator stand pre-eminently conspicuous; in one of which the services of religion are daily performed; and in both, the practice of pure and fervent devotion elevates the soul to celestial contemplations. But tolerant in all its views, an attendance on the national worship is not coercively enforced by the established church, and every individual is left to the exercise of his own discretion, whether he will conform, or whether he will dissent. Hence we find in Beverley several structures, devoted exclusively to religious purposes, which are not in alliance with the establishment, each adapted to the strength and character of its own particular system of faith and practice. Next, the *civil* welfare of the inhabitants is strictly guarded by the existence of halls of justice, prisons, and a resident magistracy, armed with authority to punish the idle and dishonest members of the community, to reward the industrious, and to protect the innocent and unwary against the effects of violence, fraud or oppression. Establishments for the instruction of youth of every class exist here in full perfection. The sons of the more opulent and respectable inhabitants are prepared at the grammar school for the honours of our learned universities; and at the national and other charity schools the children of humbler parents are instructed in those duties so necessary for their station in life; honesty, sobriety, industry, and the fear of God. The grades of society are accurately defined, and each rank enjoys its own peculiar amusements and pursuits, without being subject to interruption from any other class; and while the wealthy members of the community indulge in gratifications which are inspired by a refined taste and enlightened judgment, the poor and indigent are liberally supplied with every comfort which their situation in life demands, from the munificent bequests and noble institutions with which the town abounds; and public as well as domestic happiness is distributed with an equal hand, each individual enjoying the quantum which his situation in life, whether humble or exalted, most particularly requires. On the whole, Beverley exhibits no inconsiderable specimen of a well-governed, independent, and improving provincial town.

Chap. II.

PERAMBULATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE MINSTER.

Superiority of style and decoration—Site—Materials—Dimensions—East end—North porch—West front—South transepts—Galilee—Sanctuary—General view of the interior—West door—Nave—Aisles—Sisters' tomb—Font—Contrast between the east and west windows—Transept—Tomb of George Percy, clerk—Ancient tomb and altar—Organ screen—Choir—East window—Stalls—Tabernacle work—Pulpit—Altar screen—Percy shrine—Colonnade—Lady-chapel—Hatchments—Reading desk—Vestry—FRIDSTOL—Percy chapel—Armorial bearings—Reflections.



THE minster at Beverley has been classed by many of our most learned and indefatigable architects and antiquaries in no inferior rank amongst those stupendous edifices¹ which have been devoted, by the pious munificence of our

¹ Drayton, in his *Poly-Olbion*, (song 28) calls it "a gorgeous fane," and makes the impersonated East-riding thus express herself:—

"Beverley whose beauties so delight
The fair enamour'd flood, (*river Hull*) as ravish'd with the sight,
That she could ever stay, that gorgeous fane (*the minster*) to view." &c.

forefathers, to the sacred purposes of religion. A middle station has not unaptly been assigned to it, between the chaste proportions and feminine splendour of Lincoln cathedral; and the massive grandeur, and masculine firmness and dignity of that at York. Intrinsically beautiful however, from its delicate simplicity of design, and masterly display of architectural decoration, Beverley minster will not suffer by any comparison, whether considered in the excellency of its parts, or the uniform harmony of the whole. Mr. Britton, an acute observer, and a competent judge, pronounces it "a most stately and complete structure, worthy to be a cathedral, and ranking amongst the finest of that class."² And another eminent architect, while speaking of its detached parts, says, that some of them are *unequalled*.³

Extended as this lofty edifice appears, with an expanse of wall capable of supporting the immense mass of building which is placed upon it; the grand and capacious design has been contrived and executed with such a display of superior science, that its appearance exhibits an elegant picture of lightness, united with unyielding firmness and imperishable durability. Nor is it destitute of appropriate decorations; though it must be confessed, that its ornaments have been scattered with a more sparing hand than is usual in buildings of the same class. In this respect, it is in perfect accordance with the purest style of the several ages in which it was erected. The whole of its component parts, relatively considered, exhibit a pleasing specimen of that wonderful art and contrivance by which Christian architects have manifested their great practical knowledge of geometry, in a style of building apparently fantastic, amusing the imagination of the spectator by its singular decorations, while the constituent parts are disposed to such advantage, as to form one beautiful, dignified, and harmonious whole. If we trace the variety of this singular application of geometrical properties throughout the complicated operations of this majestic edifice, the union of strength and beauty will be found complete. An ample base is first marked out, to secure the permanent stability of the fabric; and instead of a line of dead wall, massive and unsightly, all the parts of its elevation are subdivided into light branches and abutments, so contrived as to counteract the effect of its perforations; while an abundance of arch-work and tracery is so elegantly disposed and intersected, as to partake equally of the circle and the triangle in their powers and in their graces;

² Archit. Antiq. vol. v. p. 228.

³ Rickman. Engl. Archit. p. 106.

thus reciprocally uniting their aid to support and to decorate the intended building.

Even in the construction of the pillars, necessarily massive for conveying strength to sustain their vast altitude, the gloomy effect of an unvaried pile of stone is entirely avoided, by the clustered columns which adorn their prominent surface. No part of the edifice exhibits the ungraceful appearance of what is called *dead wall*. The spacious windows which occupy the greatest extent of the extremities and sides of the edifice, are constructed on a principle which affords a firmness and grandeur equal to the more solid parts; and the imagination is diverted from the disgusting effect which an unbroken surface would produce upon it, by the scientific and uniform disposal of niches, intersecting arches, projecting outlines, carved ornaments, and variegated mouldings. In these particulars, and others to be noticed, we may perceive a remarkable contrast to the whole principle and style of Grecian and Roman temples, which were generally massive and dark, oblong in form, with plain and solid walls; almost every part constructed on the principle of straight lines; and except some entablature, their chief beauty consisted of pillars with ornamental capitals, as supporters to the roof, while the demi-gloom of a cavern pervaded the whole interior.

There can exist no comparison between the science exhibited in the construction of religious edifices by Christian and by heathen architects. The semblance of a grove, with a noble avenue of lofty trees, has been rather fancifully, but not unaptly, traced throughout the "long drawn aisles" of majestic Christian churches and cathedrals; and when placed within the west door of Beverley minster, the idea will reign prevalent in the mind, and may be carried on even in the subordinate tracery of its magnificent windows; while in the appearance of most heathen temples, (always excepting the portico or colonnade) the mass conveys no idea in accordance with nature in any of her elegant productions. It would, however, be an indication of vicious taste to withhold a just tribute of praise to the grandeur and beauty displayed in some of the sacred edifices constructed by the Greeks and Romans; yet, if we except the Parthenon, the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the temple of Concord, the stupendous pantheon at Rome, and some others, the boasted magnificence of Italy and Greece united, could produce few entire temples which were comparable with Beverley minster.

Without entering more minutely into such a comparison than is consistent with a general illustration of the building under our notice, it may be observed, that notwithstanding the acknowledged splendour of the Grecian columns, pilasters,

and porticos, many of which were almost sublime, they could scarcely be repeated in the same building without impairing, if not destroying, the intended effect; a disadvantage for which they possessed no adequate remedy. But in the English style of architecture, as exhibited in the minster at Beverley, the ingenious artist may tastefully repeat his decorations with almost unlimited profusion. Here, all is variety, all is harmony. The dull and weary effect of a continuous line is avoided by the introduction of light arcades, composed of pointed arches, and ornamented with trefoils, quatrefoils, devices, and all the varieties of enriched mouldings repeated in different stories with new and increased effect, until the building is raised to a sublime height, equal, if not superior, to any work produced by a heathen architect. In its columns the style of Christian architecture infinitely surpasses every other, both in the qualities of dimensions and strength. The vast but requisite mass of stone placed at the principal points of English erections, and especially in the piers employed to sustain the central tower of Beverley minster, is so tastefully grooved and subdivided on its surface, as to form elegant groups of slender columns, rising to an inconceivable height; and from their upper termination, the vast design is continued by the ingenious expedient of springing new arches in various directions. This system at once conveys the united idea of lightness and stability, and affords a degree of strength equal to the intended pressure. In a word, the multiplicity of arch-work which forms and supports the roof, fills up, at the same time, the intervening spaces ornamentally; thus combining the most exquisite richness of decoration, with a strength and durability which time itself can scarcely shake or moulder to decay.

On the exterior of these venerable edifices, a variety of ornamental pinnacles, pannellings, niches, and mouldings are usually introduced by the expert architect, to break and destroy the injudicious effect of a continued sameness of straight line or blank wall; and a multiplicity of flying buttresses are so disposed, as to leave it apparently doubtful whether the artist had most in view, a fanciful ornament or real utility, when his actual design was to form a happy combination of both. It may be doubtful whether the same quantity of materials could, by any exertion of talent or genius, be combined within the same dimensions with equal grace and lightness in appearance, or permanent strength in real effect, as in the chaste construction of our minster. Let its age, the nature of its materials, and the graceful effect of its extraordinary combinations be considered; let it be examined with critical exactness in all its parts, and then viewed as a connected whole, and what early prejudices soever may have been imbibed in favour of Grecian archi-

ture, they must yield to a superior feeling of admiration and respect for the taste and execution of the Christian architect; and produce a conviction that this style, beyond all others, is the most suitable for the construction of temples appropriated to the worship of that Great Being, by whose all-powerful word the heavens themselves were made; who laid the foundations of the earth, and was the Supreme Architect who planned and constructed the spacious universe and all that it contains.⁴

Beverley minster is erected on a firm bed of indurated clay, which lies about five feet beneath the present surface of the ground. "The earliest parts of the building may be dated shortly after the year 1188. The architecture of these parts resembles that of Salisbury cathedral, exhibiting a plain and simple style; the plan is also similar, having a double transept, the roofs are also vaulted with stone; and the columns, like those in that cathedral, the standard example of the earliest variety of the pointed style, are neatly wrought with clustered shafts and capitals, composed of plain mouldings without foliage. The nave is more modern than the choir and transepts; and the western front, which was the work of the fifteenth

⁴ I am not insensible that the above observations, as well as others which will occasionally arise respecting the combinations of the heathen with the Christian styles of architecture, which are exhibited in some parts of this beautiful church, are mere matters of opinion and taste, and may therefore be called into question by those who differ from me on these points. Mr. Knight, in his analytical enquiry into the principles of Taste, pronounces such a sense of "propriety or congruity" to be entirely artificial, and acquired by an habitual association of ideas. "That style of architecture," says he, "which we call cathedral, or monastic-gothic, is manifestly a corruption of the sacred architecture of the Greeks and Romans, by a mixture of the Moorish and Saracenesque, which is formed out of a combination of the Egyptian, Persian, and Hindoo. It may easily be traced through all its variations, from the church of Santa Sophia, at Constantinople, and the cathedral of Montreale, near Palermo, the one of the sixth, and the other of the eighth century, down to King's Chapel at Cambridge, the last and most perfect of this kind of buildings." page 165. "In the pictures of Claude and Gaspar, we perpetually see a mixture of Grecian and Gothic architecture employed with the happiest effect in the same building, and no critic has ever yet objected to the incongruity of it; for as the temples, tombs, and palaces of the Greeks and Romans in Italy were fortified with towers and battlements by the Goths and Lombards in the middle ages, such combinations have been naturalized in that country; and are therefore perfectly in harmony with the scenery; and so far from interrupting the chain of ideas, that they lead it on and extend it in the pleasantest manner, through different ages and successive revolutions, in tastes, arts, and sciences. Perhaps we are becoming too rigid in rejecting such combinations in the buildings of our own country, &c.;" page 160. Still I contend for a consistent uniformity, which, in the hands of an expert Christian architect, will produce an effect unknown even amidst the splendid works of Greece and Rome. And the author above cited virtually makes this concession. "The ornaments of the monastic-gothic," says he, "consist of indiscriminate imitations of almost every kind of plant and animal, scattered with licentious profusion, and without any pre-established rule or general principle; but often with just taste and feeling as to the effect to be produced. No part of the interior of King's Chapel is unornamented; and though the ornaments, considered with reference to parts only, often appear crowded, capricious, and unmeaning, yet the effect of the whole together is more rich, grand, light, and airy, than that of any other building known, either ancient or modern." p. 167.

century, appears to have been scarcely completed when the change in religion put a period to ecclesiastical magnificence. The great baronial family of Percy, who had a castle near Beverley, were liberal benefactors to this church, which contains some beautiful tombs for persons of that house, and to them may be ascribed many of its enrichments."⁵

The materials of which the nave is built were procured from the quarries at Bramham-moor, near Tadcaster, and are supposed to have been presented to the church by the family of Vavasour; and Mr. Comins is now employed in restoring the decayed parts with the same stone, drawn from this inexhaustible source. It is a beautiful close-grained freestone, in colour nearly approaching to white; and composed of this material, highly decorated with the chisel, the nave, when first erected, must have been splendid beyond description; although the antiquary will prefer the fine russet hue in which time has clothed the whole exterior, as it conveys a more grave and venerable appearance to the fabric, and spreads the shade of antiquity over its battlements and towers. The choir and transepts are built of stone from the quarries of Newbald.⁶

The general dimensions of the building are as follows. Length from east to west, 334 feet 3 inches; breadth of the nave and side aisles, 64 feet 4 inches;

⁵ Britton. Arch. Ant. vol. v. p. 288.

⁶ In the year 1721, the building underwent a complete repair, and many new decorations were introduced from the designs of John Moyser, esquire, who had formerly represented the borough in parliament. The taste of this gentleman, to whom great praise is due for his indefatigable perseverance in restoring the decayed parts of the building, was not, unfortunately, in accordance with the general character of the edifice. Having imbibed a predilection for the Grecian style of architecture combined with early English, which, indeed, was the prevailing error of the age in which he lived, he erected the central tower of Beverley minster, and blended, with the legitimate decorations of pure English character, a profusion of ornaments copied from the designs of classical antiquity, chaste indeed, and elegant, but utterly anomalous and at variance with the primitive taste of those truly English architects, who, at different periods had contributed their aid towards the composition of this noble pile of building. On the summit of the tower he placed a cupola, or vast circular "leadon bonnet," crowned with a gilded ball:

"A leadon dome intrusive to the sight,
On sumptuous arches bears its oval height;
A gilded globe placed high with artful skill,
Seems to the distant view a golden Pill."—Dr. GARTH.

At this time also the nave was fitted up with pews, and new galleries were erected, supported by Grecian pillars of the Doric order, and adorned with triglyphs. A Grecian organ screen, and an altar screen of the same school were constructed at a prodigious expense, the latter consisting of a triumphal arch, supported by four pair of Corinthian pillars, and surmounted by an eagle, the emblem of Saint John, curiously carved and magnificently gilded. The reading-desk and the pulpit were of the same taste, and here the eagle was repeated. "Nothing can be more disgusting," says Murphy, in his History of Batalha Abbey, "to every admirer of antiquity, or indeed to any

length of the great transept, 169 feet; breadth of the transept and side aisles, 69 feet; length of the choir, 46 feet; breadth of the choir, 26 feet 7 inches; height of the nave, 66 feet 6 inches; height of the choir aisles, 33 feet 3 inches; height of the central tower, 107 feet; height of the west towers, 200 feet; height of the west window, 41 feet; breadth of the same, 21 feet 8 inches; height of the east window, 48 feet 8 inches; breadth of the same, 21 feet 10 inches.⁷

The stranger who approaches Beverley from Hull finds his curiosity strongly excited by the interesting appearance which the south-east view of the minster, flanked by its beautiful western towers, most strikingly displays.⁸ On entering the suburbs of the town, a close and distinct view of the east end attracts the eye, and by its unaffected grandeur and fine preservation, prepossesses the mind with ideas which are almost sublime. "The *original* elevation of this front may be supposed to have been lighted by tall narrow windows, similar to those of the transept; the buttresses and pinnacles at the angles retaining their original character in the same style. The principal window was evidently copied from that at York, which was built in the early part of the fifteenth century. The chief mullions are strengthened by parallel ones on the inside, which bear a small gallery, connected with the transom, which divides the lights into two portions. A similar expedient was practised at York, where the window has two transoms with interior galleries. The skill of the architects of these structures, in combining great durability and strength with the utmost lightness of effect, cannot but excite our

man of the least taste, than this jumble of Grecian work, patched up in the most striking parts of a Gothic (Christian) structure." The good taste of the present trustees for keeping the minster in repair, has recently removed all these offensive objects, except the organ screen; and it may be hoped that the period is not far distant when even that also shall be obliterated, and a more consistent decoration substituted in its place. When the cupola was taken down, an inscription in red chalk was found in the centre of the ball, containing the name of the artificer, and the date of the year when it was erected. The Grecian galleries, &c. are mostly taken down, and the choir and small south transept are fitted up with pews for the use of the congregation.

⁷ In the proportions of ecclesiastical buildings, the height was generally considered to be equal to the breadth of the body and side aisles; the height of the tower about the same as the length of the transept; that length corresponding with half the length of the whole fabric; the side aisles were half the breadth and height of the nave; Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. Pref. VIII. and the breadth was about one-fifth of the length. These comparative dimensions correspond very nearly with those of Beverley minster.

⁸ I quote from Evelyn's Memoirs a paragraph which will shew the stranger's opinion almost two centuries ago. "18th August, 1654. We went to Beverley, a large towne with 2 stately churches, Saint John's and Saint Maries, *not much inferior to the best of our cathedrals*. Here a very old woman shew'd us the monuments, and being above 100 years old, spake y^e language of queen Marie's daies, in whose time she was born; she was widow of a sexton who had belonged to y^e church an hundred yeares."

admiration; and their boldness in introducing new embellishments into the works of their predecessors, is astonishing.”⁹

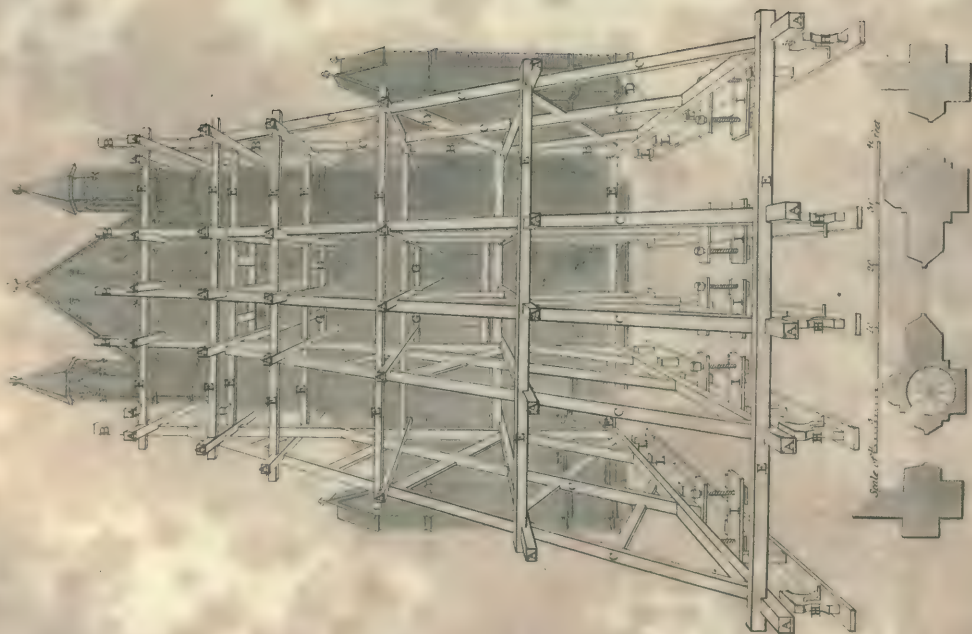
The principal window in this front is tall, and divided into two stages by an ornamented transom, above which is a profusion of rich perpendicular tracery; the whole surmounted by an elegant ogee, decorated with crockets, and terminating in a superb finial. The window has nine lights. The upper part of this front, including the gable, is lightened in its effect by an abundance of trefoil and quatrefoil panning, having a line of quatrefoil ornaments at the base, the panning being repeated on the turrets which boldly project from the angles; and these, crowned by lofty cones, rise above the terminating finial of the gable. On the two buttresses where the arch of the window springs its curve are figures of king Athelstan and Saint John of Beverley, placed under tabernacles, but from their diminutive size the effect intended to be produced by their introduction here, is much diminished by the distance.

Passing the north end of the transept, which is here represented;



⁹ Britton. Arch. Ant. vol. v. p. 230.





and which, at the beginning of the last century, had fallen away four feet beyond its base, and was replaced by the ingenuity of Mr. Thornton;¹⁰ not without noticing the beautiful parapet, decorated with a double row of rose ornaments, the stranger arrives at the great north porch, which, as a pannelled front, is described by Rickman to be unequalled. "The door has a double canopy, the inner an ogee, and the outer a triangle, with beautiful crockets and tracery; and is flanked by fine buttresses breaking into niches, and the space above the canopy to the cornice is pannelled; the battlement is composed of rich niches, and the buttresses crowned by a group of four pinnacles."¹¹ In one of the buttresses of the north tower is observed a standing figure with flowing drapery, which escaped the rage of puritanical predominancy, and remains as a specimen of the taste and execution of the sculptor. It is said to be a figure of some member of the Vavasour family, who is supposed to have given the free use of his stone quarries at Tadcaster, towards the building of this part of the church.

Passing forward through the minster yard,¹² which is rather spacious on the west, the visitor is struck with the extraordinary beauty of the west front, which is

¹⁰ Vid. ut supra, p. 241. The annexed copper-plate engravings, as well as the following explanations, have been taken from the designs and illustrations published by Mr. Thornton himself. The first plate contains a view of the north gable of the great transept, which had actually fallen away four feet from its perpendicular, and was replaced by means of the frame work here described. The second plate contains a section of the trusses and buildings. The method used to produce this herculean effect may be ascertained by a description of the machinery. A. A. The beams or bases of the trusses. B. B. The upright posts next the face of the building. C. C. Principals of the trusses. D. D. Braces. E. E. Binders let into the beams. F. F. Strutts from the binders to the building. G. G. Planks to receive the strutts. H. H. The jacks to raise the trusses. I. I. Screws to assist in moving the trusses. K. K. Bases for the jacks to work on. L. L. Punchins to support the lower beams. M. M. Timbers to stop the front from going beyond its place. N. N. A frame to stop the inner trusses when the front came to its place. O. O. Wedges to ease the trusses down with. P. P. The wall which was taken down to give room for getting the front back to its original situation. When the trusses were fixed on both sides, the wall was cut to the centre at Q. level with the base of the trusses, that it might give way upon raising the whole machinery, and so come into its place; being in the mean time supported by several wedges, which were gradually taken out as the building came back into its place.

¹¹ Rickman. *Engl. Archit.* p. 106.

¹² The following ridiculous story about the supernatural virtues of this consecrated cemetry, is very gravely recited by Cressy, in his *Church History*, p. 565, "I will onley adde what William of Malmesbury relates as a thing usually performed and generally acknowledged by the inhabitants of Beverley, in testimony of the sanctity of their glorious patron; which is, that the fiercest bulls being haled with many strong ropes by the force and sweat of severall lusty men, assoon as they are brought into his churchyard immediately lose all their fury and fierceness, and become gentle as lambes, so that they are there left to their freedom to sport themselves, whereas before with their feet and horns they endangered all that came near them."

esteemed by competent judges, to be one of the finest instances which this country can produce of the perpendicular style. "What the west front of York is to the decorated style, this is to the perpendicular, with this addition, that in this front nothing but one style is seen, all is harmonious. Like York minster, it consists of a very large west window to the nave, and two towers for the end of the aisles, the window is of nine lights, and the tower windows of three lights. The windows of the tower correspond in range nearly with those of the aisles and clerestory windows of the nave; the upper windows of the tower are belfry windows. Each tower has four large and eight small pinnacles, and a very beautiful battlement. The whole front is pannelled, and the buttresses, which have a very bold projection, are ornamented with various tiers of niche-work, of excellent composition, and most delicate execution. The doors are uncommonly rich, and have the hanging feathered ornament. The canopy of the great centre door runs up above the sill of the window, and stands free in the centre light with a very fine effect. The gable has a real tympanum which is filled with fine tracery."¹³

A pavement of smooth stones has been recently discovered in the minster yard, on the south side of the west end of the church, which is firmly placed on the solid clay, and appears to give some countenance to the supposition, that the ancient building, which was destroyed by fire, in 1188, was either of greater extent than the present church, or occupied a somewhat different site. This pavement might be a part of the floor of the crypt, on which it is probable the former edifice was built, for vestiges of a more ancient building remain on the south side of the adjoining tower, which are placed on a basis exhibiting the appearance of the dwarfish columns and ponderous arches which usually characterize these subterranean apartments.¹⁴

To describe minutely all the transcendent beauties which are constellated in this distinguished edifice, with all the technicality of architectural precision, would be tedious to the general reader; yet, a copious outline may be equally acceptable and useful; and this, added to the accompanying embellishments, will convey an adequate idea of its merits, as a superb specimen of the various styles of English

¹³ Rickman. *Engl. Archit.* p. 105.

¹⁴ Mr. Comins has taken the pains to excavate down to the base of these columns, and he pronounces them to be the pillars of a crypt. Mitchell, the sexton, seldom opens a grave in this quarter of the churchyard, but some of these smooth stones turn up. I have seen many specimens. They are square and thin, of a white colour, and close-grained; but the actual extent of the pavement has not been ascertained.

architecture. We will conduct the stranger therefore round the minster, and before we pass the sacred threshold to survey the beauties of the interior, we will point out to his notice, the peculiarities of the south end of the two transepts. "The completeness, the regularity, and the fine proportions of the elevation of the south front of the larger transept, make it worthy of minute examination; such an example of the style of the thirteenth century being very rarely to be met with."¹⁵ It consists of four stages besides the gable. The lower compartment has a double pointed door, surmounted by a semicircular arch, with lateral pointed arcades. The second stage has three tall and noble lancet windows, and the third the same, except that here the centre one is rather taller than its two lateral companions, and the upper stage has a fine ornamented rose window, of large dimensions, and containing ten lights, flanked by tall niches with oylets; and in the gable is a vertical slit window which penetrates to its highest angle. The buttresses which bound this central part of the transept are slender and elegant, the lower compartments, containing niches, which are trefoil headed and canopied by triangles, and the upper crowned with pannelled pinnacles, surmounted by cones, rising somewhat higher than the apex of the gable. The end of the aisles has each a corresponding lancet window, over which are circular lights, so judiciously disposed, as to display, in a most striking manner, the exquisite judgment and refined taste of the skilful architect, by whom this portion of the building was designed. The south end of the small transept is of three stages, each containing two lancet windows; the lower tier surmounted by an arcade of eight acute pointed arches, supported by cylinders; over the second tier is a circular window of four lights, surrounded by the toothed ornament, and flanked by quatrefoils, three on each side, two and one; and over the upper tier is a small lancet window, in the centre of the gable. On each side are strong buttresses, pannelled and crowned with cones. The parapet is open and trifoliated.

The visitor once more passes the east end, and enters the edifice by the north porch, over which he is shown a small chamber, where in ancient times, the porter of the convent had his bed, that he might be ready to attend to the call of claimants for the privilege of sanctuary, whose crimes deterred them from approaching the sacred chair of peace by the light of day. With trembling hand the refugee touched a small bell, which was suspended at the entrance of the porch, and

¹⁵ Britton. *Arch. Ant.* vol. v. p. 229.

anxiously awaited an answer to his summons. When admitted into the galilee,¹⁶ he might remain in safety for the night; and in the morning a chapter was assembled, to hear and record the details of his case.¹⁷ The sanctuary oath was then administered, and having deposited the customary fee for registering the circumstances of his crime, he was seated in the fridstol, and permitted to remain within the precincts, until he was favoured with an opportunity of compromising with his adversary;¹⁸ or, in case of murder, with the surviving relations and friends of the unhappy sufferer.¹⁹

¹⁶ The galilee was "a small gallery or balcony open towards the nave of a conventual church, from which visitors, or the family of the abbot, with whose residence it communicated, might view processions. Here also the female relatives of the monks were permitted to have interviews with them. From this last circumstance, Dr. Milner explains the origin and derivation of the appellation. On a woman's applying for leave to see a monk, her relation, she was answered in the words of scripture; "he goeth before you into Galilee, there you shall see him." Britton. *Archit. Ant.* vol. v. Append. xlii. "Every Sunday a sermon was preached in the galilee, from one to three in the afternoon; previous to which, at twelve, the great bell of the galilee tolled three quarters of an hour, and rung the fourth quarter till one o'clock, that the people might have warning to come and hear the word of God preached." Fosbr. *Monach.* vol. ii. p. 115.

¹⁷ The places of sanctuary, in process of time having been much abused and diverted from their original purpose, to serve as a protection to villany against the honest portion of the community, became objects of general scandal and complaint. "Debtors took refuge there," says Stowe, in his quaint style, "and bid their creditors go whistle; men's wives ran thither with their husband's plate, and said that they dare not abide with their husbands for beating them; thieves brought thither their stolen goods and lived thereon; there they devised robberies;" &c. &c. In the 21st year of the reign of Henry VIII. an act was passed to restrain this unbounded licence, which provided that any felon or murderer taking sanctuary subsequently to the passing of the act, "immediately after his confession and before his abjuracion shall be marked with an hote yron upon the brawne of the thombe of the right hande with the signe of an A, to the entent he may the better be knowen amonge the kinge's subjectes that he was abjured. And all mayres, &c. shall be attendant at the dew execution thereof as they will answer at the parils to the kynge, and than to gyv hym his abjuracion, &c." 21 Hen. VIII. c. 2. In the next year another statute ordained that abjured persons should remain in sanctuary on pain of death for quitting the same; and that sanctuary men committing offences shall forfeit the benefit of sanctuary. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14. This was followed up by an act which provided that sanctuary should not be allowed in cases of high treason; 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 13.; and another, which decreed that sanctuary men should not be allowed the use of weapons; that they should wear badges in the day time when abroad, and they were not allowed to be out of sanctuary at night. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 19. Soon were the number of these privileged places restricted to eight, of which York was one, and they did not afford protection to persons guilty of deadly crimes; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12. and in a few years the sanctuaries were entirely abolished.

¹⁸ By the laws of Ina, A. D. 693, any person guilty of a capital crime taking refuge in a church, his life shall be spared, on condition that he makes recompence to the friends of the deceased, according to justice and equity; and if one who had merely incurred the punishment of stripes should take such refuge, his punishment should be suspended.

¹⁹ At the commencement of the reign of Edward I. the archbishop of York claimed the privilege of sanctuary for his churches of Beverley and Ripon. *Die' q'd ip'e clam' ab antiq' q'd s'*

To take an advantageous view of the interior of this superb edifice, the stranger should seat himself in one of the niches, which are disposed to the south of the great west door, and near the western pilasters of the tower. Here he may deliberately survey the many noble and interesting objects which present themselves to his notice, in fine perspective. Here he may at leisure contemplate the multiplicity of its parts, and the sublimity of its construction. Here he may enjoy a commanding and satisfactory view of the pillars and arches, and internal scenery of the building. In this diagonal view, the disparity of the north arches and windows is lost in the perspective; and collectively the effect will be so striking, that pleasure and astonishment will contend for the superiority in his enraptured mind. Let it be considered, that the spectator now visits this noble edifice for the first time; that he is seated alone, on one of the stone seats in the situation already pointed out, and views with abstracted attention the scene before him. To describe the effect it would produce must unavoidably tend to do it injustice. It must be experienced to be felt and understood, for he is now within the sacred walls of one of those grand churches, which, as Warton observes, are of wonderful mechanism, constructed on principles of inexplicable architecture, and possessing a tendency to impress the soul with sensations of awe and religious veneration,

In contemplating the long perspective of the nave, with its slender columns, and ceiling groined and ribbed with stone, the spectator may fancy himself within a superb avenue of lofty trees, whose upper branches are elegantly intertwined in an endless variety of complicated combinations. He views the grand design with increasing attention, and soon becomes imbued with other sentiments than those of mere admiration of the building, as a superb specimen of the almost unlimited extent to which the exertions of human science may be carried. Worldly considerations are rapidly swept away, to make room for ideas of greater solemnity. The solemn echo which reverberates the lightest footstep, and with hollow murmurs repeats the softest sound; the dead and awful silence which succeeds; the unusual splendour of the extended prospect; the striking solemnity which surrounds him, all combine, with indescribable harmony, to melt his soul into that feeling of devotion, which irresistibly stamps on his excited mind the great idea of a present

aliquis homicidia venerit infra *banlucā* apud Beverlacū v'l apud Rypoun et cognov'it se commississe homicidiū &c. ball'i ip'ius Arch' accepto ab ip'o sacro sc'dm consuetudinem, &c. ip'm recipiūt &c. et remanebit infra lib'tatem p'd'cam set si suspic'o sit de eo de alio malef'co &c. fit de eo sicut sup'ius d'cm est aliis captis et imp' sonatis in p'dca lib'tate &c. et alios malef'tores n' alio modo clam' eos recettare &c.

God. His enraptured thoughts, thus spontaneously elevated to celestial contemplations, proceed from one conception to another of still increasing sublimity, till the spell is broken, perhaps, by the distant thunder of some closing door, and he starts from his pleasing trance, to pursue the more sensual amusement of examining the scenes before him.

There exists a pleasing analogy between certain appearances in nature, and the curious and complicated perspective in ecclesiastical architecture. We muse with sentiments of unmingled pleasure and satisfaction, on the effect of those grand avenues, which have been formed by art, amidst the stately groves that surround the ancient mansions of our nobility; and we are agreeably surprized, at observing the mimic resemblance of these scenes in the interior of magnificent Christian edifices, where, as if by magic power, an immensity of wrought stone assumes the likeness and venerable gloom of a vast and shaded avenue of trees.²⁰ This similarity is beautifully described by sir Walter Scott:—

“The moon on the east oriel shone,
Through slender shafts of shapely stone,
By foliated tracery combined;
Thou wouldst have thought some fairy’s hand,
’Twixt poplars straight the osier wand
In many a freakish knot had twined;
Then fram’d a spell when the work was done,
And chang’d the willow-wreaths to stone.”²¹

Such will be the spectator’s sentiments, while endeavouring to form an estimate of the admirable scene exhibited in the construction of Beverley minster; and he will soon be sensible, that in order to do justice to the undertaking, it would be necessary to possess, not only the plans, details, and elucidations, but also the scientific knowledge and vast conceptions of those superior architects who originally contrived to blend, without disorder or confusion, so many detached parts in one grand, magnificent, and beautiful assemblage.

The spacious entrance door, at the west end, is flanked on each side by an arcade, with canopies supported by cylinders. The door itself is of oak, and decorated with specimens of extremely bold and tasteful carving, apparently of the

²⁰ Vid. sir James Hall’s *Essay on the origin, history, and principles of Gothic architecture*.

²¹ Scott’s *Lay of the last Minstrel*, canto ii. v. 11.

same age as the Grecian work already mentioned. It is divided into eight compartments, surmounted by a profusion of elegant flower embroidery, carved in volutes, the centres terminating in well executed figures of angels blowing trumpets. In the four upper compartments, which are canopied by pointed arches, are placed the four evangelists, and the corresponding squares beneath, are decorated with their legitimate symbols, the cherubic figures of a man, an ox, a lion, and an eagle.²² The window above has nine lights, ornamented with perpendicular tracery, and headed with cinquefoil arches.

The nave consists of three stories, the lower containing pointed arches, with archivolt mouldings springing from lofty clustered columns. The second story, or triforium, is an extended arcade, composed of plain pointed arches, curiously placed behind higher arches trefoil, ornamented with rose mouldings; and above the capital of the lower pillars, and within the span of the trefoil arch, quatrefoils are introduced with pleasing effect, their points being flowered, while the toothed ornament is used in the recesses. The upper, or clerestory, has windows with pointed arches and tracery, supported on each side by small lancets, tastily disposed, and decorated with the ball flower ornament.²³ "The rich tracery and sculptured details which became fashionable in the 14th century, are here superadded to the simple outlines displayed in other parts. Many of these enriched members may find a parallel in the nave of the mother church at York, with which Beverley minster was always intimately connected; and the ruined choir of Howden collegiate church has also many details still more closely resembling these."²⁴

The aisles of the nave contain large windows, with acute pointed arches, and ornamented with flowing tracery. Beneath the windows is a tier of ogee arches, supported by small marble cylinders, the niches being tabernacled and surrounded by crockets, with grotesque figures, sculptured at the junction of the mouldings; but at present much dilapidated. These cylinders are ingeniously contrived to convey an idea of elegant lightness, where a vast bulk of solid material appears to be placed upon them. The capitals of most of these columns are corresponding

²² A copious elucidation of these sublime emblems may be found in a work called "SIGNS AND SYMBOLS," recently published by the author of this History.

²³ The bones of Saint John of Beverley have been deposited at the east end of the nave, immediately underneath that part of the pavement which is perpendicular with *the second rose* in the groining of the roof.

²⁴ Britton. Arch. Ant. vol. v. p. 230.

cariatides, representing choral musicians and angels devoutly playing on violins, bagpipes, hautboys, guitars, the rebec or crowd, and the serpent, for a deep and sonorous bass, which was used for accompanying and filling up the vocal parts of the choir service, before the use of the organ became general in our cathedral and collegiate churches. This kind of ornament appears to have been in high esteem amongst the architects at Beverley, for it is repeated above the capitals on either side of the body of the nave, near the west door; and also in the Lady-chapel immediately over the monuments of the Wartons and the Pennymans.²⁵

In the south aisle of the nave²⁶ are the remains of a sepulchral monument, which is said to perpetuate the memory of two maiden ladies, who are feigned to have made a voluntary grant of a large extent of pasture ground in Beverley, as common right to the burgesses at large. It is even added that these benevolent females were members of the family of earl Puch or Puca, who resided at Bishop-Burton, and in whose household Saint John of Beverley is said to have effected a miraculous cure.²⁷ This conjecture is not entitled to credit.²⁸ The altar tomb is in the early decorated style of architecture, and may have been erected about the

²⁵ The following arms were visible in the minster at the visitation of the norroy king at arms, in 1584, though I cannot ascertain in what particular part.

1. Quarterly. 1 and 4. *Sable* a Bend A. double collised floree.
2 and 3. Three Escallops. *Gules*.
Impaling. *Vert*. 3 Bends *Gules*. over all a chevron *Ermine*. KELKE.
2. A. 3 heads *Sable* in chief B. a lion passant A.

Harl. MSS. B. Mus. 1394-57.

²⁶ In the south aisle of the nave are two stone coffins, of very ancient date, which have been recently found at the east end of the south side of the building. One was taken up in the month of December, 1816, and contained the bones of a male and a female. Others have been found during the present year (1827) but the difficulty of extracting them entire is so great, that the sexton generally leaves them in the ground, or takes them out in broken fragments. From the specimens exhibited in the nave, it should appear that this mode of sepulture was used at Beverley for a considerable period of time, for the two sarcophagi are evidently the workmanship of different ages. These receptacles for the dead were used in Saxon times for kings, ecclesiastics, and opulent nobles. Bede. l. 4. c. iv. Kings were usually buried in linen, and the clergy in the habiliments of their office. Ibid. c. xix.

²⁷ Vid. infra. Par. IV. c. iii.

²⁸ Indeed there is no truth whatever in this tale. The pastures of Hurn and Westwood were conveyed to the burgesses by a grant from Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, in the reign of Richard II.; Corp. Rec. 11 D. reserving to himself and successors the right of a lime-kiln, with the privilege of drift and redrift, through the various ways and places heretofore used, and the payment of one hundred shillings per annum. These rights descended, by a subsequent grant from the crown to the lord of the manor for the time being, to whom the payment of one hundred shillings per annum is still made by the corporation.

commencement of the reign of Edward III. It is a chaste and highly finished specimen of that period, and contains the pointed arch, with square turrets or pinnacles rising from buttresses richly ornamented with crockets and finials. The canopy is groined. The flat stone which covers the tomb is a massive slab of purbeck marble, uninscribed.²⁹

The baptismal font is also in this aisle. The chief recommendation to the notice of the visitor which this font possesses, is, its antiquity; being, most probably, quite as old as the first building of the church. It is composed of a large bason, in shape the frustum of a sphere, hollowed out of an entire agate of a dark colour, and thickly charged with an intricate mass of shells and other petrified substances, the inside being protected by a coating of lead. Its diameter is 3 feet 8 inches; height of the bason 13 inches; height of the pedestal the same, and height of the base 8 inches.³⁰ Over it is suspended a massive cone of richly carved oak, highly decorated with a combination of figures and flowers tastefully disposed in wreaths and festoons, of the same age as the carvings on the west door.

The nave is supported by ten noble pillars on each side; and the central tower by four massive piers of fine construction, each being formed by four large and

²⁹ It may be here remarked, as applicable to many of these ancient monuments, that there were few, if any, inscribed tombs from the Conquest to the reign of Edward III. except for monarchs and the chief nobility. Lethullier, on Sepul. Mon. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 239. The classification of tombs and monumental effigies has been attempted by Maurice Johnson, the founder of the Spalding Literary Society, and after him by Mr. Gough, who have arranged them under eight different heads:—

1. Coffin-shaped stones, prismatic and *plain* at top.
2. Prismatic and carved at the top, with crosses plain and fleury;—A. D. 1160.
3. Tables, on which are effigies or sculpture;—to A. D. 1226.
4. Tombs with festoons or arches over them. This class was succeeded by more lofty tombs, with arches, crockets, finials, pinnacles, &c.
5. Tombs in chapel burial places. These consisted mostly of open screens with doors, altar monuments, piscinas, niches, &c.
6. Tombs inlaid with brass, both representing figures of the deceased, and inscriptions either in cameo or intaglio. These are mostly of the 14th century.
7. Against the wall; chiefly since the Reformation.
8. Detached buildings; as domes, obelisks, columns, and equestrian statues.

Vid. Britton. Arch. Ant. vol. v. Append. xxiii.

³⁰ There are two distinct and hostile opinions respecting the antiquity of this font. One gentleman, in a letter to me, expresses himself as follows. "I very much doubt whether this font is of any great antiquity. The pedestal on which it stands is the only part which to my eye possesses the appearance of antiquity, and that by no means decidedly so. It is to be observed likewise, that till lately, there was in the workshop a font evidently of ancient workmanship, which probably was displaced when the present font was substituted. The old font was sold to Mr. Croft, and is, I believe, in Rowley church." Another friend says, "I consider the font all of a piece, and very ancient. I am inclined to believe that it is certainly Saxon."

four small shafts placed alternately, and erected on an octagonal base 2 feet 2½ inches in altitude.³¹

The curious visitor should now place himself on the central black stone in the middle space beneath the tower; and in this situation he will enjoy a still more general and commanding prospect of the interior, embracing alternately the whole extent of the nave, the greater transept, and the choir. In taking a deliberate view of this extensive scene of admirable workmanship, he is forcibly struck with the very perceptible contrast between the beauty and attraction exhibited in the *east* and the painful glare of the *west* window. The former by its mild beams of intercepted light soothes his soul to rapture, and infuses into his bosom an indescribable sensation of pleasure and delight; while the stately west window in all the pride of architectural decoration, overwhelms him by its shadowy lustre and unvaried whiteness. But turning by an involuntary motion to the east, his eye reposes with satisfaction on the exuberant colours and enriched featherings of this superb specimen of Christian workmanship.³²

The transept is composed of three stories like the nave, and the plainness of its windows, devoid of the rich tracery exhibited in the nave, marks decisively the difference of style which prevailed in the ages when the parts of this church were respectively erected. The irregularity which may be traced in the size and proportions of the north transept windows, may be attributed to the repairs, which, at different periods, this part of the fabric has undergone. Those in the south are of greater regularity. The transept is supported by eight arches on each side; and the aisles contain some valuable specimens of ancient sculpture which ought to be carefully preserved. In the east aisle of the north transept stands an altar tomb on which is placed a recumbent figure in the attitude of prayer. The sides of the tomb are pannelled, the pannels being canopied with pointed arches and tracery, and the buttresses decorated with crockets and finials. The pediment is plain, and the slab purfled with rose ornaments. The figure is clothed in a flowing robe embellished profusely with shields. His alb is fringed as well as his maniple; and

³¹ The monuments in the nave are two; one in the south aisle to the memory of the Rev. F. Gwynne, head master of the grammar school, 1816; and the other to Margaret Stow, 1815, against the north porch door.

³² I should strongly recommend to the trustees of this magnificent fabric, if funds could be raised for the purpose, to introduce stained glass into this noble west window, which, if disposed with taste and elegance, would add much to the beauty of the interior, and convey to it a new and lasting claim on the admiration of the beholders.

over his chesible, in front, falls a rich scarf or pall. The head is placed on a double cushion and supported by cherubs; the feet on a lion. It is the effigies of George Percy, a clergyman and canon of Beverley;³³ and had a place originally amongst the other monuments of this noble family; but has been removed by some accident to its present situation, during the repairs of the church. It is supposed to have been dignified by a canopy. The arms on this monument are as follows.

Under the left ear of the figure.

1. A bend inter two roses.
2. Three lions passant guardant.

On the wrist.

3. A chevron, with a bird in base.
4. A bend.³⁴

Down the middle of the robe.

5. Three legs armed proper conjoined in fess at the upper part of the thigh; flexed in the triangle, garnished and spurred.³⁵

6. A maunch.³⁶

7. A bend engrailed cottised, with a crescent, or something too much defaced to be distinguished with any certainty.

8. Cheque.—*Warren*.³⁷

9. Three lions passant guardant—over all a label of three points.³⁸

³³ "George Percy, sixth son of Henry, second earl of Northumberland, was born at Leckonfield, on Saint Sampson's day, anno 1424. He was a clergyman, yet he does not appear to have attained any other preferment but to a prebend in the collegiate church of Beverley. Collins. by Brydges, vol. ii. p. 282.

³⁴ Anciently, Peter de Malo Lacu or Mauley, bore, *Or*, a bend *Sable*. He was summoned to parliament, temp. Edw. III. In Drake's Eboracum, this coat is on a son of Poynings, A. D. 1461, quartered with Fitz-Payne, and impaled with Brabant and Lucy.

³⁵ On the accession of Henry IV. Henry Percy had a grant of the Isle of Man, to hold by carrying the Lancaster sword, worn by the king when he landed at Ravenspurne, before him at the coronation. Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. m 35.

³⁶ Topaz, a maunch ruby, belonged to the family of Hastings, and is quartered by the right honourable the earl of Kent. "Katharine Percy, second daughter of Henry, second earl of Northumberland, was born at Leckonfield, May 18, 1423. She married Edmund, lord Grey, of Ruthin, who was advanced to the dignity of *earl of Kent*, in the fourth year of king Edward IV." Collins. ut supra.

³⁷ Henry de Percy married Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of John, earl of Warren and Surrey; circa, 1250. He died in 1272, leaving three sons. Ex. Reg. de Lewes.

³⁸ The lady Mary Plantagenet, daughter of the earl of Lancaster, married Henry, third lord Percy, of Alnwick, at her father's castle of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, A. D. 1334, when she was only 14 years of age. She died 1st September, 1362, leaving issue two sons, one of whom was Henry, first earl of Northumberland.

On the bottom of the robe.

10. A lion rampant.—*Brabant*.³⁹

11. A fess inter three Boar's heads coupé.

Between the legs.

12. A chevron between three escallops.⁴⁰

13. Fretty, the field charged with fleur-de-lis, impaled with three lions passant guardant, in chief three fleur-de-lis.⁴¹

On the right side.

14. Barry of three, chief charged with three roundels.⁴²

15. Defaced.

16. A coronal in bend with three mourns.⁴³

17. Defaced.

18. A fess between three inverted chevrons.

In the same aisle is another tomb, also uninscribed, with an ancient figure laid supine upon it, having a venerable beard, its hands elevated towards heaven, and supported by two recumbent angels much defaced. Near this stands the ruins of a votive altar, formerly inlaid with brass or some more precious metal; but now,

³⁹ Agnes de Percy, in whom were vested the honours of the family, was married to Josceline of Louvain, brother of queen Adelicia, second wife of king Henry I.; who were both the issue of Godfrey Barbatus, duke of Nether-Lorraine, and count of Brabant and Louvain, descended lineally from the ancient dukes or counts of Hainault, and from the second race of kings of France sprung from the emperor Charlemagne. All the ancient writers have delivered, that the lady Agnes, being heiress to so great an estate, would only consent to marry Josceline, upon condition that he should either adopt the name or arms of Percy; and that he, consulting with the queen, his sister, chose to assume the name of PERCY, which was ever after borne by his descendants; but retained his own paternal arms, *or*, a lion rampant *azure*; which are generally styled by our English heralds, the old arms of Brabant, which they say were afterwards changed for those now borne for that duchy, *viz. sable*, a lion rampant, *or*." Collins. by Brydges, vol. ii. p. 226.

⁴⁰ *Gules* a chevron *argent* inter three escallops. I find this coat in Guillim's Heraldry, impaled for D'Acres, with Broad Lumceford.

⁴¹ The first is found in the fifth place of the arms of the right honourable Thomas Leonard, earl of Sussex, and lord D'Acres of Gilesland. Guillim's Heraldry, fo. 39. Coat. 66. Achievement of Earls.

⁴² The arms of lord Wake, which are also on stone in the nave of York cathedral.—Lord John Wake was summoned at the meeting of the northern barons with lord Henry Percy, 1298. Edw. I. At the confirmation of the Magna Charta and the Charta de Foresta, he had his castle at Cottingham. His successor destroyed this castle, to prevent the visit of Henry VIII. to his wife. Vid. *infra*. Par. IV. c. 1. Arms of Wake. *Or*, two bars *gules*, in chief 3 *torteauxes*. On a figure in Drake's Ebor. p. 306. Margaretta Percy has Percy and Lucy quarterly impaled with the above.

⁴³ The robe falls over and covers half this coat.

alas! exhibiting the marks of revolutionary avarice;⁴⁴ for the ornamental work has all been torn away, and nothing remains to tell the tale of its former magnificence.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ During the unhappy dissensions which deformed the reign of our first Charles, the puritanical party having resolved to carry their superiority to extremities, as a preliminary step they moved a resolution in 1641, to send commissioners throughout the country, for the purpose of defacing and removing all images, pictures, and relics of idolatry from places of public worship. This was carried; Journals of the Commons, Jan. 23, 1641; and a bill was brought in and passed; Journals of the Lords, August 26, 1643; but with this proviso, that all such removals should be carefully made, and the breaches thereby occasioned should be repaired at the same time; and that no such demolition should be extended to the monuments of the dead. No notice, however, was taken of this saving clause, but with misguided zeal the sacred structures of religion were violated, the magnificent painted windows destroyed, the tombs and altars defaced, by being divested of their rich ornaments of brass and still more precious metal; and in the prevailing transport of religious zeal, the fabrics themselves were dilapidated, and subjected to the barbarian outrages of reforming bigotry and fanatical superstition. During these unholy ravages, the minster at Beverley suffered severely, its rich decorations were taken away, and the injury inflicted by blind zealots, under the sacred pretext of religion, can never be repaired.

⁴⁵ The monuments and inscribed stones in the transept are very numerous. On the east side of the door of the north transept is the following inscription:—

To the memory of LANCELOT MACHELL, lieutenant in the Royal Engineers; the third son of Christopher and Ann Machell. He was killed in the trenches at St. Sebastian, in Spain, after the unsuccessful attack upon that place on the 25th of July, 1813, in the 21st year of his age; esteemed and respected in his public and private character.

“The three officers of the engineers employed to conduct the different parts of the columns of attack, behaved admirably, but suffered severely. Captain Lewis lost his leg; lieutenant Jones was wounded and taken, and lieutenant Machell, on his return, was killed in the trenches.”

Lieut.-Gen. Sir T. Graham's Report, 26th July.

Another in the east aisle of the north transept deserves notice.

In memory of FRANCIS BEST, esquire, whose exemplary conduct in private life, in the several domestic and social duties of husband, father, friend, and benefactor; and whose faithful and upright discharge of the public and useful duties of a magistrate, having acted in the commission of the peace more than forty years in the East-riding of this county; have endeared his memory; and rendered his death a public and much lamented loss, though at the advanced age of fourscore years.

Form'd as he was on nature's purest plan,
 Grac'd with each virtue that ennobles man,
 When genuine truth, simplicity, and ease,
 Displayed their every charm and power to please:
 Who tempering justice by the laws of heav'n,
 Sav'd where he could to be himself forgiven.
 Lent sure to teach and to delight mankind,
 He's gone his real home and bliss to find.
 Spare then the falling tear and needless sigh;
 When life is goodness, 'tis a gain to die.

He died at Beverley, in this county, Feb. 21, 1779, and was interred in a private vault on his estate at Emswell, near Little-Driffield.

Within the same vault are deposited the remains of Rosamund his wife, who died at Bath, 6th March, 1787, aged 86 years.

Over the door of the south transept is an emblematical painting on wood, not particularly creditable to the taste, ingenuity or antiquarian knowledge of the artist; representing two figures, a king and a priest, the former being intended for Athelstan, who is in the act of presenting a charter to the church of Saint John, personified in the figure of the great saint himself; and containing these words:

**Als Pre make I The
As hert may thynke or Egh may see.**

The organ screen is a beautiful specimen of the Grecian style of architecture with English decorations; but lamentably misplaced amidst such a profusion of pure English ornament as is here presented to the view. It was built under the direction of Mr. Moyser, in 1731. The entrance into the choir is made to consist of a Corinthian archway supported by pillars of the same order, the inner part of the arch being decorated with roses. On the north side of this archway is a niche with an ornamented and embattled canopy, flanked by two pinnacles with crockets and finials springing from buttresses, and placed above the niche as a second stage. Within the niche, upon a pedestal stands a warrior as large as life, armed after the fashion of a Roman knight, with a drawn sword in his right hand, and a charter in his left. This figure, which is another representation of Athelstan, is entirely a creature of the artist's fancy, formed without taste, judgment, or consistent effect. But it is finely contrasted by an excellent cast of an ecclesiastical personage, which is placed in a niche on the south side, having a book and a crosier, and appearing to be in the act of bestowing the episcopal benediction with much solemnity and dignity of expression. This figure is intended to represent the

Other monuments there are in the transept to the following persons. NORTH TRANSEPT, *East aisle*.—Joseph Cam, 1825, and Priscilla his wife, 1817; James Edmonds, esq. 1776; Rev. G. J. Edmonds, 1804; Maria Edmonds, 1797; Elizabeth Lowthorp, 1811; Oliver de Lancy, 1785; Henry Watkins, 1777, and Ann his wife, 1787; John Silversides, 1807, and Nancy his wife, 1819; Nicholas Wight, 1773; Rev. W. Morrell, 1749. *West aisle*.—Ebenezer Robertson, 1825; John Ditmas, 1825; captain John Green, 1823; Francis Iveson, 1825; Richard Farrant, on brass; William Taylor, 1706, and Margaret his wife, 1744; Robert Norris, 1816; Robert Jennings, esq. 1804. SOUTH TRANSEPT, *East aisle*.—Major-Gen. Foord Bowes; William Wilson, 1816; Richard Fox, esq. 1823; Richard Milner, gent. 1776, and Elizabeth his wife, 1757; Elizabeth Hewitt, 1824; Robert Burton, 1737; John Jarratt, esq. 1754, and Sarah his wife, 1757; Thomas Harrison, 1772; Alexander Shaw, M. D. 1820; John Bowman, esq. 1799; Anne Atkinson, 1819; William Gee, 1790; Mrs. Anne Routh, 1722. *West aisle*.—Yarburg Constable, of Wassand, esq. 1731, Faith his daughter, 1732, and Rosamund his wife, 1756; Marmaduke Constable, esq. 1762, and Mary his wife, 1752; Leonard Bellamy, esq. 1766; Thomas Oxtoby, 1817; Mary Luck, 1727; Charles Robinson and Sarah his wife, 1794.

patron saint of the minster; and is supposed to have been taken from a graceful and admirably expressed model, representing pope Gregory at the moment of regarding an angelic messenger which was said to have appeared to him from the summit of Adrian's tomb, during a sorrowful procession of the much afflicted people of Rome, who sought by acts of humility and mortification to appease the wrath of heaven, and avert a heavy calamity with which they had been visited. The whole of this figure, whether in air, expression, or drapery, would form an excellent study for grace and solemn dignity. But when we observe the figure of a Roman pontiff with a venerable beard, substituted for a Saxon archbishop, whose order obliged him to be closely shaven, however we may admire the execution, we cannot but condemn the false taste of the artist, under whose superintendence so much absurdity has been accomplished.⁴⁶

The archway is surmounted by a high central cluster of three cherubs, supported by two sitting angels, the one handling a harp, and the other blowing a trumpet. Upon this foundation an organ was erected, by Snetzler, in the year 1767, at an expense of nearly £800.;⁴⁷ which was improved in 1824, by the addition of pedals and a new bellows, under the direction of Ward, of York. On each side of the organ screen are prominent pointed archways, which form an entrance into the aisles of the choir behind the elevated pews which have been erected at the back of the ancient stalls.

The choir is deservedly admired for its superb carved and perforated ornaments, in the best style of the grandest of our English cathedrals; for its stately monuments, its variegated marble floor, its stalls and altar screen, and its magnificent east window, on which was beautifully delineated the Saviour, his twelve apostles, and several eminent saints; and under the central battlement, on the south side,

⁴⁶ And yet Mr. Collins, the artist who produced these figures, was a clever man. His models of animals were well managed, and his rural subjects, which he was fond of introducing, were generally executed with much taste and feeling. He was a native, either of Driffield or of some village in its immediate neighbourhood; but for want of patronage, he passed his days in obscurity and wretchedness, and was frequently reduced to absolute indigence. The two statues above described, were cast by him in moulds, said to be formed for the purpose from two ancient figures of Athelstan and Saint John, which were removed to France at the dissolution. The moulds were afterwards destroyed. They are composed of a mixed metal, covered with a coating of plaister. The tale of the two originals, however, is without authority, and may safely be pronounced fabulous.

⁴⁷ Snetzler's estimate, exclusive of the case, was £650; but like all other estimates, it fell short of the real charge, although he stipulated that for this sum it should be "executed, completed, and erected in the best workmanlike manner." His bill was £716. 15s. 10½d.

were two spaces filled the legendary history of Saint Martin.⁴⁸ There are at present many deficiencies in these paintings, but the venerable effect of the window has been preserved, by placing a general collection of the fragments in an uniform manner, so as to give it the appearance, at least, of a connected subject.

The stalls are forty-two in number, and do not exhibit any difference in point of elevation or embellishment to distinguish the superior dignitaries, except in a single instance. The first stall on the right hand of the entrance from the nave exhibits marks of superior decoration, as if intended for the chief person in the establishment; and when we recollect that the archbishop of York had "the first" stall in this choir,⁴⁹ we immediately pronounce that this was the primate's seat. The canopy is finished with turrets instead of pinnacles; the tracery of the back pannels is of infinitely greater richness and more minute execution; and the buttresses are ornamented with the well sculptured heads of a king and a bishop. The seats are of an equal altitude, and turn on a moveable pivot, so that they may be raised or let down at pleasure like the leaf of a table; and the under part of each, which is visible when the seat is turned up, contains some allegorical design, curiously carved, and forming altogether a record, the key to which is irrecoverably lost. These carvings are unequal in point of merit, both as regards design and execution, yet some of them are above contempt. They may perhaps have been the work of some of the residentaries,⁵⁰ as an artist describes himself on the 17th stall from the east end on the north side, as *Clericus et Faber*; and if this conjecture be correct, each design might contain some sly allusion either direct or implied, to the habits or propensities of the person then in possession of the stall on which it was placed. The ornaments with which this stall is decorated, consist of a central group representing a gentleman in the hunting dress of a person of distinction, with a hawk upon his fist, and attended by servants and dogs. On each side is a circle containing a single figure; the one, a dog gnawing a bone; the other, a cock of the true game breed, trimmed ready for battle. Hence we may conclude, that the Rev. John Wake was a branch of a noble family, and attached to the sports of the field and

⁴⁸ These absurd fables may be found in Gent. Ripon, p. 90.

⁴⁹ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. i. l. p. 57. Dugd. Monast. Epit. p. 305. Rot Pat. 21 Rich. II. The archbishop, after Thurstan's time, was always one of the canons, and presided when present. Extract from the archdeacon's book. East-riding.

⁵⁰ It was no degradation, in these early times, for a clergyman to practise the mechanical arts. A law of Edgar ordained, that "every priest, to increase knowledge, shall diligently learn some handicraft." Wilk. Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 83.

other domestic recreations, as well as the more sedentary pursuits, either of his sacred profession, or the amusement of decorating oaken benches with caricature embellishments.

The dresses of some of the figures under these seats serve to exemplify the fashions of the times, and may thus afford employment to those who possess leisure and inclination to investigate this ample subject. The rural designs appear to have had the greatest pains bestowed on them, and are therefore the most tastefully executed. Some are grotesque and even ridiculous; amongst these may be instanced, the exhibition of a shrew who has merited *distinction* by her superior powers of eloquence, and the facility she possesses of adapting tropes and figures of rhetoric to every occasion and circumstance of common life. Her husband has placed her in a wheelbarrow, and appears to be conveying her post haste to the ducking-stool.⁶¹

⁶¹ In viewing all the decorations of this church, generally magnificent and sublime, but sometimes, as is the case with these ornaments, puerile and trifling, our ideas naturally revert to the establishment which was devoted to the daily services of religion within its walls, during the period of its greatest splendour. This establishment was numerous and important, and consisted of a provost, who did not however possess a stall in the choir, eight prebendaries, a chancellor, a precentor, seven rectors choral, nine vicars choral, with the usual retinue of clerks, choristers, officers, and servants; besides the chantry priests, who did not form an indispensable part of the general establishment, but constituted casual appendages to the church; and their several duties were confined to one exclusive object, the solemnization of masses for the souls of the founder and his relatives; for which service they held a life estate in the lands and other property with which their charities were respectively endowed. They were bound, however, to pay canonical obedience to the provost, in common with the established residentiaries. *Obedientia licitæ et canonicæ mandatz omni p'sonar' vicar' capellanor' cantiar' po'chional' annual diurn' celeb'nt infra o's Ecclesias capellas cantias orator, infra dict' feod' et lib'tat' prepositur' infra vill' Bev'lac' et ext' ac omni Cl'icos po'chional' &c.* Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 2. The number of chantry priests attached to the minster church cannot now be ascertained with absolute precision. We possess records which mention fifteen of these institutions, and there were probably many others of which no account remains; and it is remarkable that some of them had more than one priest appointed to officiate at each altar. Nor were the chantries confined to the mother church; they abounded in chapels, monasteries, and private houses; and in the whole, the liberties of Beverley contained, at the least, thirty endowed altars, at which masses were daily performed.

The chantries in the collegiate church were *fifteen*.

1. Saint Michael's chantry. Gent. Ripon, p. 78.
2. Corpus Christi chantry. Ibid.
3. Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. Ibid.
4. Saint Peter's chantry. Compotus of Simon Sprotley. 24 Hen. VI.
5. Saint James's chantry. Gent. Ripon, p. 78.
6. Grant's chantry. Ibid.
7. Saint Catherine's chantry. Rot. Pat. 9 Henry IV. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 26. At the dissolution, William Cowarde, the incumbent of this chantry, had a pension for life of £4. 4s. 0d. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 290. In the same record, five other chantry priests are mentioned as having had pensions allowed them at the same time, in lieu of their endowments in the collegiate church, but the respective altars are not named. George Haslewood, £5. 0s. 0d. Edmund Hogeson,

She appears disinclined to receive the threatened elevation with patience, for rage and fury are not only strongly depicted in her countenance, but strikingly illustrated by the act of tearing off her husband's wig. A more tranquil figure of a woman milking her cow is particularly simple, natural, and well designed. Underneath the twelfth stall from the entrance into the choir on the north side, in the centre is a shield with a bar radiated between three martlets, two and one, and supported by a falcon on the dexter side, and a fox on the sinister; and within one of the accompanying circles is placed a falcon with its bells, in the act of striking its prey, and within the other, a dove with this inscription, *Arma Willielme Tate Doctoris Thesaurarii huius Ecclesiae*. 1520. This date shews the time when the stalls were erected. Several other coats are here found, particularly the fourth and seventh on the south, for Whyte, a fess between three weights, with this

£6. 0s. 0d. Geoffery Jefferson, £5. 0s. 0d. Henry Bilton, £4. 0s. 11d. and Christopher Walton, £2. 18s. 8d. Ibid. p. 268. Others are described as *ministers*, who might probably be found officiating at the remaining altars, as they also had pensions allowed them.

8. Chantry of Saint John the Baptist. Rot. Pat. 28 Hen. VI.

9. Saint Trinities, founded by William Tyrwhytt. Rot. Pat. 20 Hen. VI.

10. Saint Anne's chantry. Rot. Pat. 9 Hen. IV. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 26.

11. Chantry of Saint John of Beverley. Excheq. Decree. Corp. Rec. 18 C.

12. Chantry of Saint William. Ibid. The above two chantries were granted to the mayor and burgesses, 21 Eliz. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 3. p. 18 b.

13. Chantry founded by Stephen Wilton. Rot. Pat. 33 Hen. VI.

14. Chantry of Saint Christopher. Compotus of Simon Sprotley. 24 Hen. VI.

15. Queen's chantry, founded by Isabella, wife of Edw. II. Pet. in Parl. 7 Rich. II.

The chantries in the chapel of Saint Mary were *three*, and I introduce them here in preference to any other place, that the article may be complete in itself, and exhibit at one view the number of these institutions which the town of Beverley contained.

16. Chantry of Saint Michael. Gent. Ripon, p. 78.

17. Gervus's chantry. Ex. Reg. Archiep. Ebor. part II. p. 185.

18. Saint Catherine's chantry. Granted to the mayor and burgesses, 21 Eliz. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 3. p. 18 b. on condition that a pension of £4. 13s. 4d. should be paid to William Cawood, the present incumbent. Corp. Rec. 20 L.

Distributed throughout the liberties were *twelve* chantries.

19. The chantry of the Blessed Virgin in the chapel of Molescroft. Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. V. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 2. p. 78. b. At the dissolution, Robert Mote, the incumbent, had an annuity of £4. 11s. 8d. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 289.

20. Chantry of the Blessed Virgin in the chapel of Thearne. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 2. p. 57 a.

21. Chantry of the Blessed Virgin in Saint Nicholas's church. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 290. At the dissolution, John Thompson, the incumbent, had a pension of £6. 0s. 0d. Ibid.

22. Saint James's chantry at Hull-Bridge. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 2. p. 57 a. Robert Busbye, the incumbent, had a pension of £4. 11s. 0d. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 292.

23. Chapel of Saint Ellen, near the Grey Friars. Tan. Notit. York. XII. 8.

24. Kelk's chantry. Ex. Reg. H. Bowet, Arch. Ebor. p. 184. Corp. Rec. 3 July, 1421. Richard Benson and John Talbote, the incumbents, were allowed a pension of £5. 0s. 0d. each at the dissolution. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 290.

25. Rosse's chantry. Inq. ad quod dam. 2 Hen. V.

inscription, *Willmi tempore cancellarii Wyght hujus Ecclesie*, and having two supporters carrying weights; and the twelfth for Donington quarterly, 1 and 4, three pales in pale coupé in chief with three roundlets in chief. 2 and 3, a chevron between mullets; and supported on the dexter side by an eagle, and on the sinister by a stag collared, seated on a cask to which he is chained; with this inscription, *Arma Magistri Thome Donyngton cantarii hujus ecclesie*. Some of the grotesque figures and ornaments appear to be satirical, while others evidently convey a serious moral. One represents a boar hunt, a man disciplining a monkey, and a muzzled bear teaching a monkey to play on the bagpipes; another is a satirical representation of a bear playing on the same instrument to a choir of young pigs as singers; and on a third is depicted a bird like a goose, with the head of a man appearing at its breast.⁵²

26. Corpus Christi chantry, founded A. D. 1323, by Robert de Scorburch, in his own house in Beverley. Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. II.

27. Saint Nicholas or La Frere chantry. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 268. Granted 3 Edw. VI. to Michael Stanhope and John Bellowe. Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 3. p. 17 a.

28. Of Saint Egidius, in the hospital of Saint Giles. Tan. Notit. York. XII. 3.

29. Chantry of Saint Trinities, founded A. D. 1398, by John de Ake, on the Cross-Bridge, at Beverley. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 140.

30. Willis gives a chantry, dedicated to the Virgin, in the manor of the *Hall-Garth*, which was probably at Beverley. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 293. The incumbent, John Lightfoot, had a pension of £2. 3s. 2d. Ibid.

There was also in Beverley a chapel dedicated to Saint Thomas; Archdeacon's Book, East-riding; which was erected during the reign of Athelstan; Lel. Itin. vol. iii. p. 102, but I am inclined to think that it was demolished long before the Reformation.

The priests of these chantries, together with the establishment of the collegiate church, the rector of Saint Nicholas, and the vicar of Saint Mary, if they were not prebendaries, would form an aggregate of more than sixty persons who were set apart for the services of religion, for it has been already observed that several of the chantries had more than one priest to each. The clergy belonging to the collegiate establishment mostly resided in the prebendal houses, the rectories, and other dwellings, which were placed for that purpose within the precincts of the church, and performed the customary religious services in hebdomadal rotation, assisted by the choristers, and attended by the inferior officers of the church.

⁵² These figures are, many of them, copied from the tricks of the ancient jugglers. "One great part of this profession was the teaching of bears, apes, horses, dogs, and other animals to imitate the actions of men; to tumble, to dance, and to perform a variety of tricks contrary to their nature; and sometimes the juggler learned himself to counterfeit the gestures and articulations of brutes." Strutt's Sports, p. 182. A variety of these delineations may be found in MS. books of prayers and religious tracts in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the King's library, and other places. In a MS. book in the Bodleian library, dated 1344, is a figure similar to our double faced goose. It is the resemblance of a stag which was produced at some public place of amusement, with a human face seen through an aperture at the breast. "I doubt not," says Strutt, Sports, p. 190; but a person was chosen to play this part with a face susceptible of much grimace, which he had an opportunity of setting forth to great advantage, with a certainty of commanding the plaudits of his beholders. It was also possible to heighten the whimsical appearance of

The tabernacle work over the stalls is a very happy specimen of the excellence to which the perpendicular style of architecture may be carried. The canopies are supported by slender and delicate pillars springing from the projecting elbows of the uppermost row of stalls. These canopies consist of an intricate mass of carved work representing highly finished models of projecting windows, intermixed with a clustered grove of pinnacles, and adorned with a profusion of crockets and finials, all in the chastest style of the age. Even the carvings which are placed behind, and almost out of sight, have neither been neglected nor finished in a slovenly manner, but every part will bear the test of the most minute inspection. The innumerable perforations are judiciously designed, and executed with taste and exactness, and the tracery is as accurately described behind the pinnacles as in those parts which are most exposed to the view. "Till very lately, a back ran behind the whole length of the tabernacle work, and a canopy, extending in one continued line from east to west, overhung the pinnacles. They were both original parts of the work. In the progress of the alterations now going on, the removal of the former became necessary; and the effect has been very good, in exhibiting more clearly the elegant and delicate tabernacle work. Something, however, still is wanting to relieve the plainness of the back part of the work, which was never intended for exposure; and some persons, perhaps, will be disposed to regret the canopy, as an ornament not common in such a situation, and giving to the choir a peculiar and distinctive character."⁵³

The choir is now fitted up with seats for the congregation; and with the addition of the south small transept,⁵⁴ and the aisles of the choir, affords ample room for the

this disguise by a motion communicated to the head, a trick the man might easily enough perform by putting one of his arms into the hollow of its neck, which probably was made pliable for that purpose."

⁵³ Coltman's Short History, p. 51.

⁵⁴ On one of the pillars of the choir, leading to the south small transept, is a brass plate, with the following beautiful epitaph, which it would be inexcusable to omit.

In obitum sanctissimæ, integerrimæ, ac verenobilis Feminæ Thomasinæ Geæ, uxoris nuper Gulielmi Geij, Armigeri Epitaphium.

Mole sub hac lapidum recubanti carmina libo
 Maluit heu vivæ reddere musa vicem,
 Quæ hospitij inopes sacrasque amplexa cohortes
 Jam bibit æternas nobilis hospes aquas.
 Hac triplici superûm rector mercede beavit
 Justitia, vita non pereunte, throno.
 Prætulerat pietate facem quæ matribus omneis
 Nunc sibi perpetuam præferat aura facem.

accommodation of all the parishioners. A new pulpit designed and executed by Mr. Fowler, of Winterton, has been recently introduced. It is an octagon of two stages; the lower being pannelled with cinquefoil pointed arches, the upper with crocketed pediments, each triangle having a superb purfled finial, inclosing a pannelled imitation of pointed windows with flowing tracery, the spandrills being filled in with the rose ornament in square compartments to correspond with the altar screen. The buttresses terminate in pinnacles with crockets and finials; and the canopy is ornamented with an ogee battlement, similar to that which surmounts the altar screen. The whole has an imposing appearance, but the effect would probably be increased if it were placed at a greater elevation. It is disposed at present at the east end of the centre aisle, immediately fronting the principal entrance from the nave. The altar table⁵⁵ is a plain slab of veined marble, supported by three trefoil arches in front, and two on each side; the spandrills plain and the points of the arches terminating in roses.

The altar screen is a most beautiful specimen of the decorated style of architecture, recently erected under the superintendence of Mr. Comins, and is an exact renewal of the old screen which was constructed in the reign of Edward III. and defaced by the reforming zeal of the puritanical faction under Cromwell, which regarded statues and ornamental decorations as so many idols to wean the heart from God. "It is so full of ornament, and that ornament so minute, that few

Membra licet placidum carpant in pulvere somnum
 Attamen æterni spiritus ora videt
 Expectatq; diem dum commutatio fiat
 Corruptum et granum sit recidiva seges.

Aliud de eadem hexasticon.

Siccine filiolas privant genetrice maritum
 Coniuge, sic matrem sors inopina ferit?
 Siccine caniciem tristi mors dira parenti
 Fert, aufert vitam dum truculenta suam?
 Siccine cognatos, sic charos, ludit amicos
 Præproperè, vitam non miserata breuem?

Aliud de eadem.

Ταμιανὰς α ἔιν si jungas verbula græce
 Dispensatricem vox sonat innocuam.

Fida viro conjux dilecto hera blanda ministris
 Hæc quicumq; legis, nomen et omen habes.

Obijt vicesimo tertio die mensis Decembris, Anno
 Verbi incarnati millesimo quin-gentesimo
 Nonagesimo nono, Anno vero ætatis suæ
 vicesimo nono.

⁵⁵ The altar table was presented to the church by John Moyser, esquire, about the year 1717:

modern chimney pieces would require equal delicacy of execution.”⁵⁶ The design contains two stages, each flanked by clustered buttresses, the lower compartment being divided into twenty-four niches, the twelve centre ones narrower in dimension than the six on either side. The pediments are crocketed, and the spandrills embossed with lozenge, having an open battlement flanked by pinnacles springing from buttresses ornamented with foliage and grotesque figures. The pedestals have similar ornaments. In the second stage the niches are canopies, the points terminating with devices, and crowned with an open battlement. “The back part of this screen is approachable from the Lady Chapel, and exhibits a most excellent piece of rich groining with very fine bosses; and there has been some remarkably fine and intricate tracery in the arches, but it has been cut away to put in some poor, modern monumental tables, fifty years ago and upwards. The whole of this screen is so excellent and so near the eye, that it forms, perhaps, the best school in England for decorated details.”⁵⁷ Over it is the ancient rood loft to which the stranger is conducted by a stone stair case, much worn.

To the north of the altar table stands that superbly ornamented monument, commonly called **THE PERCY SHRINE**,⁵⁸ which appears, by the uniform consent of the most part of those who have investigated the subject, to have been erected in honour of the lady Idonea, daughter of Robert, lord Clifford, and the wife of

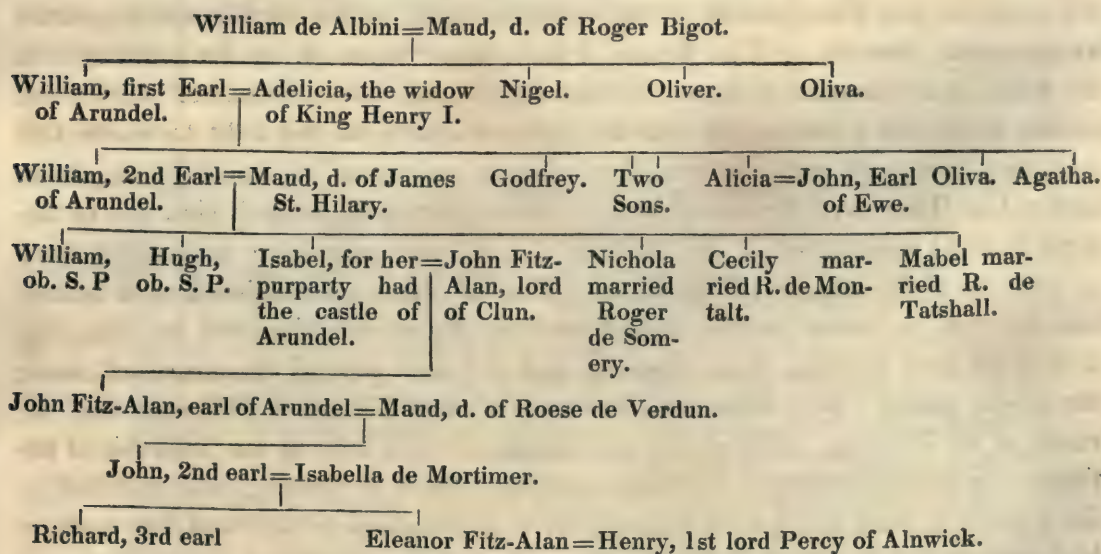
⁵⁶ Rickman. *Engl. Arch.* p. 171. ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ In this part of the church, as we are told by Leland, was another monument, erected at a somewhat more early period than the one under our consideration, to the memory of the lady Eleanor Percy. Conjecture has been busy to ascertain which of the lady Percys this was. Mr. Coltman, whose opinions are entitled to respect, thinks that she was the wife of Henry, first lord Percy of Alnwick, who died A. D. 1315. *Short Hist.* p. 64. The following document, dated 1336, makes this conjecture extremely probable. *Hec indentura testatur q'd nos vicarie chori eccl'ie. S'ci Joh'is Bev'laci tenemur & p' p'ntes efficaciter obligamur executoribz dn'e Alianore de p'cy nup' defuncte ad celebrandū in p'ptuū obitum d'ce d'ne semel in anno singlis annis die vizt. quo dc'a dna viam vniu'sis carnis fuerat ingressa, n'non ad soluend' cuilibz cano'ico d'ce eccl'ie, in obitu dc'e dne cū fieri contigerit p'senti duodecim denar'. It'm cuilibz vicario chori memorati, si p'sens fuerit in pleno servitio d'ci obitus duodecim denar'. It'm cuilibz cli'co de sex cli'cis de Bersillo, qui capettus fuerit & missam p' ai'a d'ce dne die obitus sui celebrauerit in toto seruicio d'ci obitus interfuerit sex denar' ac ceteris cli'cis &c. dat. Kal. Maū. 1336. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Dodsw. 74. fo. 14 b. “This lady was lineally descended from queen Adelicia, sister of Josceline de Louvain; Vid. *infra* Pars. IV. ch. ii. for queen Adelicia married to her second husband William de Albaney, I. earl of Arundel, and had by him issue, William de Albaney, second earl of Arundel; who had a daughter Isabel, wife of John Fitzallan, lord of Clun. The offspring of this marriage, John Fitzallan, who was in right of his mother earl of Arundel, left a son John, who also was earl of Arundel, and he was father of this Eleanor, lady Percy. Collin's Peerage, by Brydges, vol. ii. p. 240. in notā. o.*

Henry, second lord Percy, of Alnwick. This shrine has been termed "the first of models of ancient monuments, wherein every effort that sculpture and masonry could combine, are displayed in one great excellence. Here the divine forms of heavenly beings shine resplendent before us. The excessive admiration excited by this national honour cannot be described; and we have only to observe, that it was executed in the zenith of our pointed arched style's highest glory, the glorious days of Edward III."⁵⁹

It consists of a most magnificent groined canopy of freestone, containing a pediment with a double feathered ogee arch, terminating in a finial composed of vine leaf ornaments. The spandrills of the pediment are charged with angels bearing censers. Within the pediment is a rich arch bordered and terminating in a bouquet, and formed of three demiquatrefoils; the spandrills contain the figures of a king and queen, supposed to represent Edward III,⁶⁰ and Philippa; and that of

The following table marks the descent.



In a compotus of Bolton abbey, dated 1317, an entry appears of £6. received by the canons from this Eleanor Percy for celebrating masses for the soul of her brother. Recept' d'na de Percy ad celebrand. pro a'i'a Ric' de Arundel, £VI.

⁵⁹ Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1799.

⁶⁰ The tomb has been recently inspected in the presence of two magistrates, and amongst other things, a small silver coin of Edward III. was found, which is a collateral proof that the shrine was erected during his reign.

a lady habited in a most splendid manner. On the north side of the arch are four knights with shields,

Or, a lion rampant, *az.* *Percy*. Three times repeated.

The field diapered, cheque *or* and *az*, a fess *gules*.—*Clifford*.⁶¹ And on the south side of the arch, are three knights with shields,

Cheque *or* and *az*.—*Warren*.

Gules, a lion rampant, *or*.—*Fitzallan*.

Quarterly, *England* and *France*, the fields diapered.

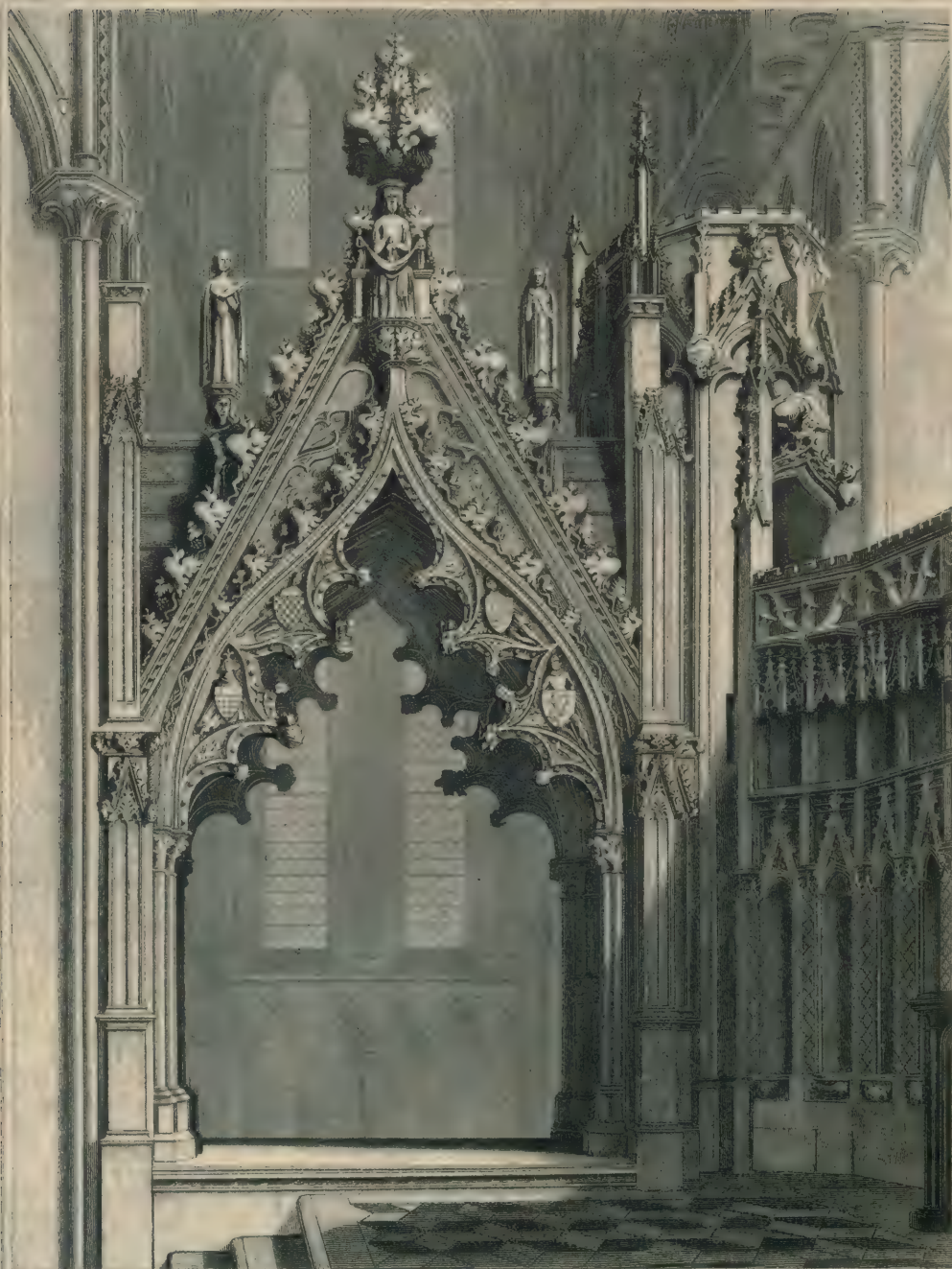
Sable, a chief, *Azure*.

In the inside of these spandrills are carved angels, hovering; and in the lesser spandrills are seraphim with six wings playing on instruments, and four others at the points of the demiquatrefoils. Both canopies are richly crocketed; the finial of the upper is tall and magnificent; the lower is a corbel, on which is placed a fine figure of the Redeemer in the attitude of benediction, having his head encircled with a wreath to represent the crown of thorns. Towards this figure a lady appears to be rising from a sheet suspended by two angels placed on corbels behind the crockets, about the middle of the upper canopy; which corbels are supported by grotesque devices. "The figure of the Deity,"⁶² repeated on the south side of the finial or terminating bouquet, has the right hand in the attitude of benediction on the head, and holds in his left the elevated hands of the lady to whom this monument belongs, and who is held in a sheet resting on his knees by angels on each side. The seven figures of knights in the spandrills on each side are of the most finished workmanship, the attitude elegant and expressive, and might serve as patterns of the armour of the times. Two of them are furnished with lances, and one with a drawn sword; the others have the swords sheathed and hanging down; all have gorgets, shoes, sleeves, and the back part of the cuisses of mail; the fronts plated. The form and furniture of each helmet is different, and the vizors of all lifted up. The eighth of these figures is a lady in the full habit of the times, her coiffeure open at the sides, but the veil of it flowing, and gathered at the top of the head into a high fleur-de-lis, a neckerchief close round her neck, a high breasted gown, with long light sleeves, and close gathered at her feet, and

⁶¹ The presence of these arms makes it clear that the tomb was erected for the lady Idonea, daughter of lord Clifford, and not for Eleanor, who died before any connexion subsisted with the Clifford family.

⁶² Gough uses this expression, but the figure is evidently intended to represent the Second Person of the sacred Trinity.

THE GREAT CHURCH OF REVERLEY



W.R. Bartlett del.

W. Deeble sc.

THE GREAT CHURCH OF REVERLEY.
USUALLY CALLED THE PERCY SHRINE.—BEVERLEY MINSTER

Beverly. Published by M. Turner May 1. 1856.

over it a mantle fastened with strings to a jewel on the breast. The shield in her hand is mere diaper work, with a cheque and a chief, az."⁶³ All the small mouldings are filled with the ball ornament, and the whole is in tolerable preservation. A tomb, which formerly had a place assigned to it under this superb canopy, contained the effigies of a lady extended at length, under a single canopy with finials, and round it fourteen shields of brass, which had been stolen before the tomb was removed.⁶⁴ It is worthy of observation, that in all the variety of figures and characters represented in the ornamental parts of this elegant specimen of ancient sculpture, a varied expression of sorrow and concern is depicted on every countenance;

⁶³ Gough. Sepul. Mon. vol. ii. p. 310.

⁶⁴ I have received the following communication from Dr. Hull on this tomb, who was one of the magistrates in whose presence it was opened in the year 1825, and it is too valuable to be lost. "The tomb which has been removed was a tomb upon a tomb; the original tomb is that which now appears, and it is more than probable that the first interment, if any, is below the floor, and immediately under the tomb, and the black marble tomb was introduced at a subsequent period, in consequence of a second interment. The probable truth of this opinion seems strongly supported by the two following facts. *First*, it appears admitted by all writers on this subject, that the Percy Shrine was erected either to the memory of the lady Idonea, wife of the second lord Percy, of Alnwick, or of Eleanor, wife of Henry the first lord Percy. Now it is evident, that the body found under the tomb which has been removed could not have been that of either, unless, indeed, she had been married at an unusually early part of her life, the skull, the arm and leg bones not exceeding in magnitude those of a person of 12 or 14 years of age. *Secondly*, it is quite clear that the original tomb was an altar tomb, the appendages still remaining in a mutilated state which were used for the purposes required in the performance of those ceremonies necessary in praying for the soul of the deceased. Had the upper tomb been considered indispensable to give a true character to the shrine, it is scarcely possible that it could have been made subservient to such a purpose; it is therefore much more probable that it was an introduction rendered necessary by a subsequent interment, and formed no part of the original design. Besides, when the shrine is viewed from the north transept, it appears in its true character, and every part seems perfect; the upper tomb being, as I suppose it was, placed there to protect the ashes contained in the shallow habitation beneath. The coffin was not hollowed out of a single stone, but formed by the hands of a mason, and jointed with mortar. It was 6 feet 6 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, and only 16 inches deep. The body had been closely enveloped from head to foot in sheet lead, so intimately indeed as to convey the impression of every inequality of surface, and was inclosed in a wood coffin decorated with ornaments probably of some value. The cemetery had been previously violated, and in the work of plunder the body had been disturbed from its first position, and was found thrown carelessly together in the middle of the coffin, the head and shoulders remaining in their case of lead." Collins, *Peerage*, by Brydges, vol. ii. p. 300, pronounces this tomb to be the burial place of Maud, daughter of William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke, the wife of Henry, fourth earl of Northumberland, who was slain in a popular insurrection at Cockledge, *Vid. ut supra.* p. 172; and says, justly, that it is "one of the most beautiful sepulchral monuments in the kingdom." Dugdale has a memorandum, that the grave of this lady in the said church of Beverley being on some occasion opened, 15th September, 1678, near two hundred years after her death, "her body was found in a fair coffin of stone, embalmed, and covered with cloth of gold; and on her feet slippers embroidered with silke, and therewith a wax lampe, a candle, and plate candlestick." *MS.* Additions to his Baronage, in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Worcester.

that while the fine taste of the spectator is furnished with ample scope for full and complete gratification, his feelings may be melted into the softer emotions of tenderness and grief.

A well preserved domestic character has been conspicuously introduced at the end of the upper part of the canopy, on which it may be necessary to offer a few remarks. He was named the Disdain; (Sax. Dish-Thane, the master of the dish,) and was properly the house steward; an officer of great importance in ancient noble families and religious communities; and sometimes, as in the present instance, he was honoured with some distinguishing mark of posthumous remembrance, as a reward for his fidelity and attachment to his lord. The dress of this figure forms a record of the domestic habit of those times; and his large knife, partly a badge of his office, reminds us of the *Sheffield thwittle*, which was worn generally in England at that period by almost the whole population, and was considered, both with respect to use and ornament, as an indispensable appendage.⁶⁵

In the north aisle of the choir⁶⁶ is a small colonnade of black marble pillars, between which and the wall are a number of lateral stone steps ascending and

⁶⁵ Even ladies in ancient times wore, suspended from the waist, a knife with an ornamented sheath. During the nuptial ceremony, it was customary for the bridegroom, before he departed from the altar, to present the bride with a purse, as a token that their interests were now indissolubly united; and to this was frequently added a *knife* in an embroidered sheath; for the lady considered the knife and wedding ring as equally significant emblems of her union.

⁶⁶ The following monuments are in the choir. On one of the columns in the north aisle is a hatchment, *vairee argent and azure*; a chief *gules*; adjoining which is a mural tablet with this inscription; the word RESURGAM being inscribed on a flag stone beneath.

Whate'er I did believe, whate'er I taught,
Whate'er he did for me who mankind bought;
Whate'er I purchas'd by the good fight fought,
In faith, in life, in word, in deed, and thought,
Whate'er remains now I am hither brought,
Resurgam of them all is the full draught;
Whate'er is preach'd, and is not this, is nought;
Who preaches this, receive him as you ought.
Reader, learn well but this short text of me;
Tho' I be dead yet still I preach to thee.

In the same aisle.—Thomas Gorwood, 1801; William Gorwood, 1794, and Mary his wife, 1796; Thomas Bentley, 1810; Ann Harrison, 1805; John Craven, 1795, and Mary his wife, 1802; Jeremiah Shadwell, 1780; Thomas Thompson Wainwright, 1817; Captain Henry Law, 1787; John Hoggard, esq. 1807; Ann Hoggard, 1805; Bridget Robarts, 1795; Thomas Leuthwaite, 1779; Rev. Robert Ramsay, 1817; Robert Ramsay, esq. 1822; Thomas Muggles, 1810; William Roxby, 1744. *North end of small transept.*—Sir Charles Hotham, 1722; Rev. John Jackson, 1813, and Mary Caroline his wife, 1811; Walter Strickland, esq. 1780; William Strickland, esq. 1788; Martha, widow of the Rev. G. Sinclair, 1820; Jane Mackerell. *In the south aisle.*—Thomas Halitreholme, 1484; William White, 1497; Rev. G. Ferreman, 1823; Mary

descending, which communicated with some buildings which have entirely vanished before the ravages of time.⁶⁷ On the north and south side of the choir, adjoining the stalls, and opening into the aisles, two ornamented screens of oak with well carved arches and pinnacles, have been recently placed by direction of the trustees,⁶⁸ who judiciously removed them from their former situation at the entrance of the south small transept, and at the south opening into the Lady Chapel. They may probably be of the same date with the tabernacle work over the stalls, and perhaps somewhat more ancient. They are however highly ornamental in their present situation, and contribute their aid to the general richness of appearance exhibited in the choir.⁶⁹

Ferreman, 1803; W. Hunter, esq. 1797; Mary Anne Hunter, 1819; Rev. Robert Dobson, 1811, and Betty his wife, 1814; William Dawson, 1804, and Margaret his wife, 1810; Richard Eccles, 1801; Sarah the wife of the Rev. Bethell Robinson, 1810; Elizabeth Smith, 1785; Rev. James Graves, 1807; Mary Barber, 1795; Leonard Footty, 1791; Ann Footty, 1777; Rebecca Newton, 1768; Thomas Wrightson, 1781. On a stone in the floor, near the entrance of the south small transept the following. *ih̄s, of y^{or} charitie pray for y^e soule of Willim^e somtyme bysshop of Daricus and prebendary of this Church.* In the south small transept.—William Child, esq. 1803.

⁶⁷ It is traditionally asserted that these steps communicated with the shrine of Saint John of Beverley, which was erected by archbishop Puttoc. Vid. ut supra, p. 60. This conjecture can have no foundation in fact, for the shrine would certainly be destroyed with the rest of the building in the fire of 1188; and had it been subsequently rebuilt, it would either have been in existence at the present day, or its demolition at the reformation would have been of sufficient importance to have attracted the notice of Leland, who, however, mentions no shrine as being in existence in his day; though he gives a copious account of its first erection. Besides, the bones of Saint John were not deposited here, but in the nave; it is therefore scarcely probable that the shrine was renewed at the re-edification of the church. It was the presence of these bones in the times of superstition, that exalted the shrine of Saint John to eminence; for they were regarded as holy relics, and were endowed with the reputed power of working miracles. For instance; "as Athelstan was on his way to Scotland," says the author of his life in the Biogr. Brit. vol. i. p. 61; "the king, meeting with many pilgrims who had been at the shrine of Saint John of Beverley, and had there, as they said, been cured of lameness, blindness, and other diseases, he thereupon, ordering his army to march on, went himself in pilgrimage to the same shrine;" *procumbensque in oratione in ecclesiâ coram altari in præsentia reliquiarum venerandi confessoris, devoto animo, prolixius orabat, &c. &c.* Rym. Fæd. tom. ii. p. 566. After this, it is well known, he beat the Scots, and performed other wondrous feats. The steps above mentioned probably led to dormitories for the use of the sanctuary men, and were pulled down when the privilege of sanctuary was abolished. A circular doorway beneath the centre of this colonnade leads to a room which is now used as a tool house by the workmen employed about the church.

⁶⁸ I cannot resist the impulse of expressing my perfect conviction, that the acknowledgments of the town of Beverley are justly due to the trustees for their laudable zeal, jointly and severally, not merely to promote the welfare of the town as members of the corporation, but for the uniform exertions they have used to restore and maintain this noble fabric, of which they are the legal and attentive guardians.

⁶⁹ Mr. Coltman thinks that these oak screens are much older than the tabernacle work. They were removed at the recommendation of Dr. Hull, and there is reason to believe that their present situation is the one in which they were *originally* placed.

In the Lady Chapel are two hatchments which are thus emblazoned, the former for Heron, the latter for Hildyard.

Gules a chevron between three herons, *arg.*..... *Heron.*

Impaling

Or a fess inter three crescents *gules*..... *Boynton.*

With this inscription. "Here lies the body of John Heron, esq. who departed this life, the 18th Aug. Anno Domini, 1678."⁷⁰

Sable three mullets *or* pierced of the field..... *Hildyard.*

Impaling

Arg. a chevron inter three hammers *sable*..... *Hammerton.*

With this inscription. "The escutcheon of captain Robert Hildyard, second son of sir Robert Hildyard of Patrington, com. York. He married one of the coheirs of Gervase Hammerton of Aurbrough, in the county of Lincoln, esquire. He was buried here on the 9th day of June, Anno Domini, 1685."

The south entrance into the Lady Chapel is decorated with stalls and a canopy, in front of which is placed a reading desk, facing the south small transept, which is used for the daily services of the church. These stalls, which are of the same date with those in the choir, were originally five in number, and placed at the south east extremity of this transept, but their former use is not certainly known.⁷¹ The present recess being too confined to admit the whole, one of them has been

⁷⁰ The connexion of Heron of Bookenfield with the Beverley families may be thus exhibited, from a pedigree taken at the visitation of Northumberland, by sir William Dugdale.

Elizabeth, 3rd. d. of Sir Matt. = John Heron, Esq. of Bookinfield = Jane, d. of William Spink
Boynton, Bart. Vid. hatchm^t. æt. 52. 1666. ob. 18 Aug. 1678. of Great Driffield.

Sir John Hotham = Cath. Heron = Jno. Moyser of = Mary Eyre	Geo. Dawney = Elizabeth
Bart. 1st husband	Beverley, Esq. 1st wife
S. P.	2nd husband
	eld. son of Vis- æt. 6 Aug. 27
	count Downe 1665. S. P.

Constantia Moyser = James Gee of	Elizabeth	Catherine = William Burton
ob. 1740. Monu- ment in Saint Mary's church	Bishop Burton	Frances

Rev. Richard Gee, of Hotham House. — Monument in Saint Mary's church, Be- verley.	= Hannah Waines, sis. of Mrs. Sterne of Beverley. Bu- ried in St. Mary's 1826. ob. 85.	Robert Burton, = Miss Fawcitt, of Hotham hall. sister of Mrs. S. P. Best.	Wm. Burton, who built Ho- tham hall. ob. cælebs.
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⁷¹ These stalls were probably intended for the mayor and some members of the corporation, as there was a place for the mace. I am persuaded that they were formerly in the nave, and

cut away, and four only remain. The Lady Chapel is a roomy apartment, in length 37 feet 9 inches, and 28 feet 4 inches in breadth.⁷²

A portion of the north small transept has been converted into a vestry. Here the records of the parish are preserved, and also the communion plate⁷³ and vestments under the care of the ministers and churchwardens. In this vestry are six shields painted on the ceiling, containing the following arms.

1. *Az.* a bend *arg.* over all a label of three points.
2. An eagle displayed. (No tinctures given.)
3. Parted persaltire, *az.* and *gules.* over all a cross botonee *arg.* enlarged in base.
4. Quarterly. 1 and 4. quarterly. 1 and 4. *arg.* 3 lozenges in fess *gul.* 2 and 3. *or*, an eagle displayed, *az.*
- 2 and 3. *Gules* a saltire *arg.* over all a label gobonated *arg.* and *az.*
5. Quarterly. 1 and 4. *Az.* 3 fleur-de-lis, *arg.*
- 2 and 3. *Gules* 3 pass. lions guardant. (The colours faded.)
6. Quarterly. 1 and 4. *Gules*, a fess inter 6 cross crosslets *arg.*
- 2 and 3. Chequee *arg.* and *az.* over all a chevron in base, *ermine.*

At the entrance of the vestry stands a chair with a semicircular back, shaped out of a single stone, which is said to have been the primitive *Fridstol*. This conjecture

removed into the situation they lately occupied in the south chapel when the nave was pewed; at which time also this part of the small transept was fitted up with pews, and used for prayers during the week.

⁷² The Lady Chapel contains several monuments to the memory of the Wartons and Pennymans; besides the two escutcheons for John Heron, esq. and captain Robert Hildyard. The monuments as follows. Michael Warton, 1655, aged 82; John Warton, 1656, aged 6; honourable Susanna Warton, 1682, aged ; Michael Warton, 1688, aged 65; sir Michael Warton, 1725, aged 23; Thomas Pennyman, esq. 1759, aged 60; sir Warton Pennyman Warton, 1770, aged 69.

These monuments have made a sad wreck of the ornamental details of this part of the building; sufficient indeed to call for the interference of the trustees, and to justify the regulations recently made to prevent future dilapidations. On the 15 November, 1813, some regulations were made respecting burials; in the following year it was determined that no monument in the minster should be inclosed with palisades, or any similar protection. Corp. Rec. 1 Aug. 1814.

⁷³ The plate belonging to the minster church at present consists of a silver flagon which will hold a gallon, presented by Susanna, the daughter of Stephen Clarke, who died 19 February, 1702, aged 66. A chalice containing about a pint in measure, supposed to have been presented to the church so early as the beginning of the 14th century. Another silver chalice, holding about a pint and a half; and a very large silver paten, both given by Ann, the daughter of Robert Cartwright, alderman of Beverley, and wife of Richard Wilson, late mayor of Kingstone-upon-Hull, 1666. Another chalice of silver holding about half a pint.—Circa. 1300. Another antique and very curiously embossed silver-gilt chalice, measuring not more than a quarter of a pint, for the use of the priests, when the cup was withheld from the laity.

however is without foundation.⁷⁴ The primitive chair was *inscribed*, but this exhibits little appearance of having ever been subjected to the engraver's tool. It has been placed here, most probably, since the dissolution; for the abolition of the privilege of sanctuary would doubtless involve the destruction of its protecting emblem.

The north part of the small transept was formerly appropriated as a place of interment for the noble family of Percy, and an altar is said to have been erected in a chapel there, at which masses of requiem were performed for deceased members of that house. During the reign of Henry VII. another chapel was erected as a mausoleum for the unfortunate Percy, fourth earl of Northumberland, who was murdered by the populace at Cockledge. It has been described by Leland and others as singularly splendid, and adorned with a multiplicity of noble carved work, and canopied arches. Nothing now remains of its former magnificence but an altar tomb, the sides of which are divided into compartments; the buttresses being ornamented with crests and armorial devices. The niches formerly contained pieces of statuary, which are now wholly removed. The word *ESPERANCE*, the motto of the family, is inscribed on the wall above, and a date (1494) on the floor below. The armorial bearings with which the tomb is decorated are as follows.

On the west end.

1. Five fusils in fess. *Percy*.
2. Two buckles conjoined in fess.
Percy.

3. A crescent on a square field.⁷⁵
4. Three fishes hauriant. *Lucy*.
5. A lion rampant. *Brabant*.

⁷⁴ An old book on topography in my possession, without a title page, says, "the freed stool at Beverley has a well of water behind it; and it was brought from Dunbar in Scotland;" evidently alluding to the legend of Athelstan's cutting the stone with his sword, and thus confusing two distinct incidents. This legend has been already mentioned; it may therefore be curious to have the legitimate account which was published under the sanction of the court at Rome. I subjoin it verbatim without comment. "Jamque revertens per loca marina, juxta Dombar, vidit scopulos prominere. Astitit, taliaque suspirans, eloquia protulit, dicens. 'Si Deus, *interveniente beato Johanne*, michi aliquod signum evidens facere permitteret, quatinus tam succedentes, quàm præsentem cognoscere possent Scotos Anglorum Regno jure subjugari (utpote devictam ab Adalstano Rege, sibi, suisque successoribus, tributum omni tempore debere persolvere) non inmerito illi devotè gratias agerem'; et extrahens gladium de vaginâ, percussit in cilicem, quæ adeo penetrabilis, Dei virtute agente, fuit gladio, quasi eâdem horâ lapis butirum esset, vel mollis glarea; qui lapis, ad ictum gladii, ita cavatur, ut mensura ulnæ longitudini possit coaptari; et usque ad præsentem diem, evidens signum patet, quod Scotti, ab Anglis devicti ac subjugati, monimento tali evidenter cunctis adeuntibus demonstrante." Rym. Fœd. tom. ii. p. 566.

⁷⁵ On a seal of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, 1397, he is represented with his shield placed before him, and holding in his left hand a lance with a pennon affixed to it, charged with a *crescent*.

On the south side.

6. A crescent. *Percy.*
7. Three bars. over all a bend.⁷⁶
8. Three piles in pile. *Guy Bryan.*⁷⁷
9. Defaced.
10. The buckles or shackle bolts.
Percy.
11. The crescent. *Percy.*
12. Three fishes hauriant. *Lucy.*
13. A lion rampant. *Brabant.*

On the east end.

14. Three piles in pile. *Guy Bryan.*
15. Barry of 3. over all a bend.
Poynings.

The following arms are carved in stone round the window.

- 1.
2. Three piles in pile. *Bryan.*⁷⁸
3. A lion rampant. *Brabant.*
4. Illegible.
5. A lion rampant. *Brabant.*
6. Quarterly. 1 and 4. a lion rampant.
2 and 3. Three fishes hauriant.⁷⁹

16. Five fusils in fess. *Percy.*
17. Three fishes hauriant. *Lucy.*
18. A lion rampant. *Brabant.*

On the north side.

19. Shacklebelts in fess. *Percy.*
20. Barry of 3. over all a bend.
Poynings.
21. Three piles in pile. *Guy Bryan.*
22. Five fusils in fess. *Percy.*
23. Shacklebolts in fess. *Percy.*
24. A crescent. *Percy.*
25. Three fishes hauriant. *Lucy.*
26. A lion rampant. *Brabant.*
27. A crescent. *Percy.*

7. A lion rampant. *Brabant.*
8. Quarterly. *Percy and Lucy.*
9. Five fusils in fess. *Percy.*
10. A crescent on a square shield.
Percy.
11. Quarterly. *Percy and Lucy.*

And the following arms are painted in the window.

- Quarterly. 1 quarter, quarterly. 1 and 4. *Or*, a lion rampant *azure*. *Brabant.*
2 and 3. *Gul.* 3 pikes hauriant, *Arg.* *Lucy.*
4 Quarter. *Azure.* 5 fusils in fess, *Or*. *Percy.*
2 Quarter. Barry of 6, *Or* and *vert.* over all a bend. *Gul.* *Poynings.*
3 Quarter. *Argent*, a bend *azure* *Mawley.*

⁷⁶ Henry Percy, third earl of Northumberland, was summoned to parliament as baron *Poynings*, 14 December, 1446.

⁷⁷ And also as baron *Bryan*, 1446. This coat came in 1444.

⁷⁸ *Or*, three piles *azure*, was worn by sir Guy Bryan, knight, one of the most noble knights of the most honourable order of the garter, in the time of king Edw. III.

⁷⁹ "About 8 Rich. II. Henry, first earl of Northumberland, having married to his second wife Maud, sister and heir to Anthony lord Lucy, he joined with her in settling the castle and honour

Over all a scutcheon of pretence. *Az.* 5 fusils in fess, *Or.* *Percy.*

Impaling. Parted per pale *Gul.* and *Az.* 3 lions rampant, *Ar.* *Pembroke.*

Such are the memorials which have been industriously erected to enshrine the ashes and consecrate the memory of the illustrious dead; and they are indeed a just and honourable tribute to departed worth. Surely their tombs have been hallowed by posterity; marked out as the symbols of peace, and protected as the shrines of virtue. Alas, no! After a long succession of unaccountable and indecent ravages had almost cancelled the magnificence of this costly and sumptuous burial place, the sepulchre itself was violated so recently as the year 1793.⁸⁰ How painful is the sensation, when we reflect that no character, no dignity or rank, even in the highest gradations of civil society, is of sufficient weight to awe the callous mind of ignorance and brutality, or to protect the sacred ashes of the great and good from the rude invasion of licentious insolence.⁸¹ And it is a degrading fact, that gorgeous mausoleums and splendid sepulchres have often served as beacons to excite the cupidity and provoke the ravages of sordid avarice intent on plunder; hoarding for a while the embalmed ashes of the dead, to become the future objects of indignity and violation.

of Cockermouth, with a large proportion besides, of her great inheritance, upon himself and her, and the heirs male of their two bodies, upon condition that he the said Henry, and the heirs male of his body, should bear the arms of PERCY, viz. *Or.* a lion rampant, azure, quarterly with the arms of LUCY, viz. *Gules*, three *Lucies*, argent, in all shields, banners, ensigns, and coats of arms whatsoever, where, and whensoever there should be occasion of bearing, and showing forth their own paternal arms." Collins. vol. ii. p. 256.

⁸⁰ In the above year, the sexton, assisted by other persons, had the audacity to open and ransack this sacred vault, together with that of the lady Idonea Percy, in the hope, doubtless, of finding a hoard of concealed treasure. Being disappointed in their expectations, they scattered the contents with savage rudeness, and wantonly bowled the skulls along the floor. It is even said that some of the bones were carried off, and that one man, more daring than the rest, obtained a finger joint from earl Percy's hand, which he procured to be tipped with silver and used for a tobacco stopper!!!

⁸¹ By the laws of Plato, it was decreed, that persons guilty of violating the sepulchres of the dead, should be punished by banishment, condemnation to the mines, loss of members, or even death, according to the atrocity of the act, or the character of the place where the crime was committed.



THE TOWER OF ST. MARY, ENYALIN.



W. H. B. del.

S. WEST VIEW OF

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, ENYALIN.

Engraved and Published by H. Turner, May 1854.

W. H. B. del.

Chap. III.

ACCOUNT OF SAINT MARY'S CHURCH.

Origin—Endowment—Church of Saint Nicholas—Union of the two parishes—Value of the living—Services—Description of the fabric—Exterior—Interior—Nave—Inscriptions—Font—Organ—Galleries—Transept—Decayed Chapel—Chancel—Monuments—Ceiling—Hatchments—Stalls—Crypt—Church-yard—Income of the parish—Perambulation—Population—Plate, vestments, &c. List of vicars.

THIS venerable structure is supposed to have owed its first existence to archbishop Thurstan, who renewed a ruined chapel, which, it is said, had been built in Saxon times,¹ and erected this edifice as an oratory or chapel of ease, that the increasing population of the town might be furnished with the means of celebrating with becoming decency and regularity the holy services of religion. Several chantries were subsequently founded at its altar;² and a corrody was conveyed to it by William de Buttler, in 1297.³ In this state it remained till the year 1325,⁴ when the archbishop of York granted by charter to the vicar of the altar of Saint Martin, and the chapel of Saint Mary, all such tithes as were due to the prebend of Saint Martin, within the town of Beverley; that is to say, the tithes of crofts, orchards and gardens, fees at marriages, churchings and burials, eggs, geese, ducks, chickens, dove-cotes, pigs, wool, and lamb, white goats, calves, and all oblations; and also an annual stipend of five marks, payable half-yearly, by equal portions out of the said prebend; on condition that the said vicar did laudable service at the altar of Saint Martin in the church of Saint John, and also in the chapel of Saint

¹ Registry of the Archdeaconry of the East-riding. Leland. Itin. vol. iii. p. 102.

² Vid. ut supra. p. 329. ³ Inquis. post. mort. 25 Edw. I. ⁴ Vid. p. 127. supra.

Mary, at all times hereafter.⁵ Four years afterwards the "Custodes fabricæ et luminaris" made a fine of four marks with the king for a confirmation of this charter, and it received the royal approbation accordingly.⁶ And in 1357, a dwelling-house was assigned to it for the residence of the vicar.⁷ This arrangement continued until the dissolution in the reign of Edward VI. at which time the said prebend, with all its profits and privileges, in common with the remaining prebends of the same church, and the chapel of Saint Mary, became vested in the crown; and hence the vicarage of Saint Mary hath become a regular crown living, and the presentation is in the king. The profits were restored to the vicar for an annual rent of £11. 0s. 0d. which is now paid to lord Somers; but the vicar does not receive the tithes of closes, garths, pigs, cows, and Easter offerings in the parish of Saint Martin, but has in lieu thereof a pension from the crown of £3. 6s. 0d. annually.⁸

The church of Saint Nicholas was erected by John of Beverley before the Norman Conquest, and continued a parochial establishment, though in a regularly declining state, until the building fell, or was demolished during the rage of revolutionary war in the unhappy reign of Charles the martyr. Few were the donations to this church in comparison with the magnificent endowments with which even some of the chapels and chantries were honoured; and it should appear that the establishment did not enjoy the reputation by which many other religious institutions were distinguished and enriched. At a visitation so early as the reign of Henry IV. it appears that not only the fabric was dilapidated, but the vestments and decorations were in a disreputable state;⁹ and it continued on the decline until the parishioners were left without an established place of worship. In the 17th Charles II. it was provided by an act of the legislature, that any city or town

⁵ Ex. Reg. W. Melton. Archiep. Ebor. i. p. 66.

⁶ Rot. Orig. 3 Edw. III. Ro. 21.

⁷ Rob'tus de Ashton vicar' eccl'ie b'e Marie de Bevl' dat 12^o. p' lic' h'nd q'd Will'us de la Set capellanus et Will'us de Rys unū mess' in Bev'l' dare possint p'fato Rob'to h'end sibi et success' suis vicar' Eccl' p'dce inh'itac'oe sua imp'p'm. Rot. Orig. 30 Edw. III. Ro. 28.

⁸ Terrier in Saint Mary's Registry. The following entry occurs in the Provost's book, but it is expressed in too general terms for us to determine whether it refers to this or either of the other parishes. Rg^{na} xx^{to} Januar' conc.' Jo. Farnham inter alia *decim'* in div'ss Claus' in Beverlaci tenend' de Eastgrenewich soccag' anno. xvij. Eliz. pt. viij. E. Reg. Præp. l. 3. p. 18. a.

⁹ Visitaco' f'ca in eccl'ia Sc'i Nich'i Bev'lac' vicesimo die Jul' A^o Dom' M.CCCC. cap^t. infra script' Will'us Crofte, Joh'es Whyte, Thomas Whyte, Will'us Tyler, Ad'de Rypon, Joh'es Dowsyng, Joh'es Northfolk, Peter Whyte, Marmaduc' Duket, Willm Batfeld, Joh'em del Cole, Joh'em Cookwebster, Qui dicunt q'd deficit principale Vestimentū i calix, i capa, ij Surpelic', unū

corporate, having a mayor, aldermen, and justices of the peace by charter or commission, desirous of the union of two or more churches or parishes which lay contiguous to each other, should be empowered, with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, and the patrons of the churches, to unite them in one foundation; the bishop appointing at which of them divine service should be performed, and which should be the church presentative; and after such an order made according to law, the said parishes should remain for ever united. Under this act, the rectory of Saint Nicholas, formerly in the patronage of the archbishop,¹⁰ was united to the vicarage of Saint Mary in 1667,¹¹ under the sanction of archbishop Sterne, with royal licence, and by consent of the corporation and inhabitants; and the parishioners were directed to repair henceforward to the church of Saint Mary, and be considered under the pastoral care of the vicar.¹²

g'dale in defect' p'och'. Item dicunt q'd reddit in Minstermorgate in quo Joh'es Tykhill inh'itat, p'tinet ad p'och' S'ci Nich'i. It'm dic' q'd reddit in Minstermorgate in quibus inhabitant p'centor & Sacrista cū t'entis eorund' in ead' via p'tinent ad eand' p'och' S'ci Nich'i unde pet' inhabitant in eisd' tentis compellis ad rat' porci'es emendat' eccl'ie & ornament Sc'i Nich'i. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. l. p. 53.

¹⁰ Ex. Reg. 8 Mar.

¹¹ The following catalogue of rectors, up to the period of this union, has been extracted from Torre's Peculiars, p. 195. in the library of the cathedral at York.

TEMP. INSTIT.	RECTORES ECCL'Æ.	PATRONI.	VACAT.
Mentioned 1410.	Dns John	Archiep. Ebor.	
3 Nov. 1474...	Dns Will. Hundesley P ^{br}	ijdem	p' Resig.
	Dns Sym. Baxter P ^{br}	ijdem	p' Resig.
	Dns Alexander Bradshawe P ^{br}		p' Mort.
14 Aug. 1574 ..	Dns Xtpher Fewell Cl. M. A.	Eliz. Reg ^a	p' Resig.
16 Mar. 1581 ..	Xtpher Parkinson Cl.	Eadem	p' Mort.
24 May, 1591 ..	Joh. Bardon Cl.....	Eadem	p' Mort.
27 May, 1613 ..	Hugo Denner Cl.	Jac. Rex	p' Resig.
14 Dec ^{br} 1616 ..	Edw. Todd Cl. M. A.	Idem	
12 Mar. 1617...	Edw. Todd Cl. M. A.	Idem	p' Mort.
1 Mar. 1639...	Nic. Osgodby Cl.	C. I. Rex	

The first name in the above list is not mentioned by Torre, but occurs in the record of Inquis. ad quod dam. 11 Hen. IV. as receiving a donation of 8s. annual rent from Richard Beverley of Beverley.

¹² The act of union contains the following clause. "And the parishioners of Saint Nicholas shall thereunto pay all their tithes, oblations, obventions, and other ecclesiastical rights yearly, to the rector or minister of this church of Saint Maries, and also contribute to the needful repairs

The present value of the living of Saint Mary in the king's books is £14. 2s. 8d.¹³ and the rev. W. R. Gilby is the incumbent, who was instituted to the vicarage in the year 1823. This gentleman resides in the vicarage-house, and is assisted in the performance of his duties by the rev. G. B. Blythe, the curate. The regular services of the church are, a full duty every Sunday morning, and prayers only in the afternoon, with a monthly sacrament,¹⁴ but the parishes being too populous to be satisfied with the second imperfect service, have appointed a lecturer to preach a sermon every Sunday afternoon, who is remunerated principally by voluntary subscription. The rev. J. Eyre, L. L. B. at present holds this office. An evening

of the same with the rest of its parishioners. Ordaining, notwithstanding, that these rectories or parish churches of Saint Nicholas and Saint Mary, as to all other contributions, burdens, privileges, liberties, parochial rights, and also to the nomination and election of churchwardens do remain separately in the same state as before this union." Warb. MSS. Lansd. Coll. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 47.

¹³ Cler. Guide, p. 17.

¹⁴ The following comparative table of the number of communicants in this church in 1698 and 1826, is curious.

In 1698 and 1699.					In 1826.				
DATE.	NO. OF COM- MUNICANTS	AMOUNT OF OFFERINGS.			DATE.	NO. OF COM- MUNICANTS	AMOUNT OF OFFERINGS.		
		£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
June 12.	90	1	10	6	Jan. 1	75	2	19	0
July 3	24	0	7	6	Jan. 29	56	0	9	7
Aug. 7	43	0	14	5½	Feb. 26	69	0	10	1
Sept. 4	48	1	1	5	Mar. 24. G. F.	97	3	4	3
Oct. 2	46	0	12	5¾	Mar. 26. E. S.	132	3	4	0
Dec. 6	57	0	17	3	Apr. 30	78	1	16	8
Dec. 25	148	3	9	2	May 21	82	1	15	4
Feb. 5	47	1	0	4¼	June 25	72	1	1	8
Mar. 5	48	0	14	5	July 30	79	0	11	1½
Apr. 7. G. F.	72	2	0	6½	Aug. 27	68	0	12	5
Apr. 9. E. S.	130	2	4	8¾	Sept. 24	78	1	0	4
					Oct. 29	84	0	17	6½
					Nov. 26	62	1	3	4
					Dec. 25	102	4	9	8
					Dec. 31	105	2	0	0
AMOUNT OF 11 SACRAMENTS.	753	14	12	9¾	AMOUNT OF 15 SACRAMENTS.	1239	25	15	0
AVERAGE.	69	1	6	7½	AVERAGE.	83	1	14	4

lecture is also delivered, and divine service is performed on Wednesdays, Fridays, and certain saint's days, but no sermon is preached on these occasions.

The fabric consists of a spacious nave, with two aisles fitted up with pews and galleries for divine service, a transept, and a choir or chancel with aisles. Its dimensions are, length of the nave, 100 feet; breadth of the nave and side aisles, 61 feet 3 inches; length of the chancel from the gates to the altar, 76 feet; breadth of the central aisle of the chancel, 25 feet; breadth of the south aisle of the chancel, 14 feet 10 inches, and of the north aisle, 17 feet 10 inches; height of the nave, from the pavement to the underside of the roof, 48 feet; height of the tower, 99 feet; square of the tower, 32 feet.

In attempting a formal description of this massive edifice, we must premise that it is much to be regretted that time, aided by neglect, has committed great depredations on its exterior; many of its parts are become so much dilapidated that it is difficult to trace their distinctive character. The building consists of a mixture of styles,¹⁵ which together produce some curious combinations; part of its members are Saxon or Norman, and part early, decorated, and perpendicular English; and these so strangely mixed and blended by successive repairs and restorations, as to occasion a series of most unique appearances in the architecture of the fabric.

The west front is composed of a Norman and early English doorway, which has been richly moulded, and the hanging feathering; over which is a very fine window divided into seven lights by elegant mullions, and consisting of three stories, the upper breaking into a rich profusion of perpendicular tracery. The buttresses are surmounted by two lofty octagonal turrets, beautifully pierced and embattled, which give a singularly grand and picturesque character to the building. The western extremities of the nave aisles are ornamented with crocketed pinnacles.

The porch at the west end of the south front opens with an ogee arch ornamented with masks and flowers and quatrefoils alternately, but all miserably decayed. Over it is a defaced sun-dial, a sad memento, which seems to indicate that the *time is past* for its restoration. The parts however of this once magnificent doorway may yet be distinguished; but if suffered to remain much longer without repair, they will assuredly become a final prey to the ravages of that ruthless destroyer. Here the buttresses terminate in crocketed pinnacles, which are continued

¹⁵ The general plan of the church is however decidedly in the Norman style, which was "a long cross with two turrets at the west end." Vid. Britton's *Ant.* vol. v. p. 144.

throughout the whole length of the nave, the upper story of which consists of six windows and six pinnacles placed alternately; and this arrangement yields a richness to the general appearance which cannot fail to strike the most superficial observer. The aisle of the nave is curiously finished, the one part having an open and the other a plain battlement. The entrance into the south transept has a door with an ogee, surmounting an archway, which is a mixture of Norman with early English, ornamented originally with masks and flowers, but all now defaced and gone to ruin and decay; even the mullions of the windows are much dilapidated. The transept has an open battlement;—not so the aisles, which are surmounted by a plain parapet. The battlements of the chancel are in good preservation; and here, as in the transept, the parapet of the aisles is without ornament.

The east end contains a noble window, divided into four lights, and consisting of three stages, with perpendicular tracery and good featherings. The buttresses of this front are very massive, and terminate in crocketed cones. The east end of the north aisle has two stories, the upper is supposed to have been a dormitory, but is now used as a room for the Sunday school. The south aisle has but one story.

In the north front, the transept door is an ogee, decorated with trefoils, and a quatrefoil in the centre; the ogee is in good preservation, but the pointed arch displays an appearance of broken masks and shapeless flowers. The east side or aisle of the transept, is now converted into a vestry, with a double window.

The tower is very massive, and placed in the centre of the building. It has pointed arch windows, with tracery, and is surmounted by sixteen picturesque pinnacles with crockets and finials. It contains six harmonious bells, with a clock and chimes; the latter announce the hours of four, eight, and twelve.

The interior of the fabric displays some more decided marks of preservation. On entering the nave the spectator is struck with the imposing appearance of the west window, its fine mullions and transoms, and rich hanging feathering; its seven compartments and three stories, with the grotesque figures of the corbels which support its arches. The nave has two stories, and is supported by six arches on each side, the recess being filled in by a noble quatrefoil, large enough to occupy the vacancy, and together afford to the upper story a light and elegant appearance.¹⁶ The windows in this story consist of two divisions, each containing

¹⁶ The following coats of arms were found in this church at the visitation of 1584, by the Norroy king-at-arms.

1. Quarterly. 1 Quarter destroyed. 4. A. 2 bends Masculy sable.

2 and 3. Sable, a rose inter an orle of cross Florees, Or.

three lights, separated by slender mullions, and the tracery sparingly introduced. The corbels on the pillars which support the north side of the nave, are angels with scrolls in their hands, charged with inscriptions, which are repeated at the back of the columns, some of which are too much defaced to be legible. On the first half pillar in front is inscribed **May**; and behind the same, **Et Johanne vxoris eius**; on the second, in front, **And hes wyfe made thes**; and behind, **Johis Croslay Mercatoris**; on the front of the third, **To Pyllors and a Halffe**; and behind, **Orate pro animabus**. This is the complete inscription, and will read thus when properly connected.

In front,

MAY and hes Wyfe made thes To Pyllors and a Halffe.

Behind,

Johis Croslay Mecatoris et Johanne uxor eius

Orate pro animabus.

The fourth pillar in front bears this inscription, **Thes to Pyllors made gud**; on the back, **Histarum . . . arum . . . m**; on the front of the fifth, **Wyffys God reward thaym**. The inscription on the back of this pillar is wholly illegible; the following letters only can be distinctly traced, and these may probably have been mistaken, **ite P myale** These pillars, however, appear to contain a complete inscription, which runs thus;

These to Pyllors made Gud Wyffys

God Reward thaym.

The sixth pillar is charged with the following notification; **Thys Pyllor made the Mynstrells**; and behind, **Orate pro animabus Histeriorum**; and the upper front or capital is ornamented with the effigies of five minstrels, bearing in their hands instruments of music, and characteristically drest in the fashion of the times, with short blue coats, red stockings, and yellow girdles and stocks. Their instruments are a treble flute, a gutttern, a bass flute, a crowth, and a tabor or side drum, which together produced a sonorous and pleasant harmony. There is little doubt but these figures are correct portraits of the five brethren of the guild,¹⁷ which had incurred the expense of constructing this pillar.

2. Vert, a cross, or, in the first quarter. A lady robed and crowned, or, seiant on a seat with four legs, with a child in her arms. Probably the Virgin Mary.

3. A chevron Gules inter 3 trefoils erased. B.—Visitation Books, B. Mus. Harl. 1394. 55.

¹⁷ Vid. infra. cap. 7. et App. M. (p. 559)

On some old carved wood work, which is placed at the south east end of the nave, is the remains of an inscription, which is so much defaced that its purport cannot now be made out, and we are obliged to be indebted to the industry of others for its preservation. **God have marce of the Soulys of the Men and Women and Cheldreyn whos Bodys was slayne at the faulynge of thys Cherche the XXIX day of Aperil in the yere of our Lord a M. VC. and XIII and for the soulys of them which haws byn good Benefactors and helpers of the sayd Cherche up agayne and for all Christian Soules that God wold have prayed for, and for the Soules of Sir Richard Bokby Knyght and Daym Ione his wife which gave two Hundreth Poundes to the building of this Churche, and for the soules of Willm. Hall Cooper and his wife.**¹⁸

At the west end of the nave is placed a FONT of ornamental workmanship, which is better illustrated by an embellishment on page 161, than by the most elaborate description. Around its rim is the following petitionary inscription. **Pray for the soules of Wyllm. Perestaxe Draper and his Wyvis whiche made thys Font of his pper Costes the Day of Marce V. Yere of our Lord MDXXX.** At the east end of the nave is the spacious old rood loft, and now contains the organ, which was built by Donaldson, of York, and placed there in the year 1792; Mr. Lambert being the first organist by the appointment of the subscribers. The cost of the organ was £311. 8s. 0d. which was raised by voluntary subscription.¹⁹

The church enjoys the convenience of roomy and substantial galleries, which are capable of containing a great number of people. The first erection of a gallery for the accommodation of the parishioners took place in 1616;²⁰ and this was placed over the north aisle of the nave. The seats were repaired, and the church generally adorned about the year 1636;²¹ and again in 1726, when an addition was made to the loft by a general vestry order.²² In 1754, this erection being found incommodious, was ordered to be entirely removed, and two new galleries erected over the north and south aisles of the nave, which might be distinguished by an equal regard to uniformity, and to the general style of architecture which prevails throughout the fabric.²³ A little more than thirty years afterwards, these erections

¹⁸ Ex. MS. penes me. ¹⁹ Vestry Min. Book, 28 Mar. 1792.

²⁰ Ibid. 6 Oct. 1754. ²¹ Chancery Decree, 11 Ch. I.

²² Vestry Min. Book, no date. ²³ Ibid. 6 Oct. 1754.

were again found inadequate to the increasing necessities of the congregation; and a faculty passed the seal of the archbishop's court, empowering the churchwardens to enlarge both the lofts, and to remunerate themselves by letting the pews; appropriating the annual income thus in future obtained, to the general purposes of the parish.²⁴

The ceiling of the nave is panelled with square compartments, which are uniformly painted of an azure colour, and ornamented with stars of gold.²⁵

Proceeding forwards to the south transept, we find a decayed chapel with a painted ceiling somewhat defaced. This sacred oratory, as we are assured by Gent,²⁶ was once converted into a blacksmith's shop; and the spot dedicated by the pious zeal of our forefathers to repose and silent contemplation, was desecrated by the sound of hammers and anvils, and polluted with the forging of instruments of iron.²⁷ An accident which had almost proved fatal to the church, soon put a period to this profane use of a consecrated house of prayer; for the flames of the forge communicating with some wood work which had been unnoticed, set the church on fire and threatened to consume the fabric. The fire-places and chimneys still remain, but the room is used only as a depository for all the useless lumber of the church. The ceiling is divided into eight compartments, in which portraits are painted bearing scrolls with the following invocations. The portrait of Saint John has this inscription on his scroll. *Sancte Johannis Baptiste ora pro nobis.* A figure of the virgin bears, *Virgo Marie; Ave Maria, Gratia plena, Dominus tecum. Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum Verbum tuum.* The scroll about the figure of Saint John the Evangelist is charged with this inscription, *Sancte Johannes Evangelista, ora pro nobis. Pacem vobis de beata,* is affixed to the portrait of a king; and *Laude Cæla collocata,* to that of a queen. The figure of Saint John of Beverley has *Sancte Johannes,*

²⁴ The annual income arising from the lofts is now about £30.

²⁵ The roof of the grand temple at Luxore in upper Egypt, was, according to Pococke, ornamented in like manner, with gold stars on a sky coloured ground; as was also the ceiling of the stately portico of Achmounain in the Thebais. Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. i. p. 451. The monuments which ornament the nave are few, and commemorate the following persons. John Staincliffe, alderman, 1661; Charles Warton, 1714; Wilfrey Constable, esquire, 1720; Richard Grayburn, 1720; Richard Grayburn, 1724; and James Grayburn, 1725. On the floor at the east end is this inscription. *Pray for y^e sowle of Robarte burton tanner whiche dyed y^e XX day of july a' dui M^o CCCC^o XXXV^o and for y^e solles of C:ateryne his wife and y^er childer.*

²⁶ Hist. Ripon, p. 81.

²⁷ Vid. Exod. 20 c. 25 v. 1 Kings, 6 c. 7 v. Ps. 74. 6 v.

ora pro nobis. And the eighth is probably the portrait of archbishop Thurstan in his provost's habit; because there are reasons for believing that this church was founded or re-endowed at his instigation, and by his assistance; and consequently the relation which he bears to it is the same as that of archbishop John to the minster.²⁸

The chancel is spacious and full of monuments, the most imposing of which are those of the Wartons, and that erected to the memory of sir Edward Barnard, the recorder of Beverley.²⁹

The tall and massive mural monuments of the Wartons are placed in the south aisle and protected by an iron palisade. The inscriptions are as follows. Here lieth the body of sir Ralph Warton, of this parish, knight, younger son of Miles Warton, esquire, and grandson of sir Michael Warton, of Beverley-Park, who departed this life Dec. 6, 1700. The adjoining monument bears this legend. Here lieth the body of Ralph Warton, of Beverley, esquire, third son of Michael Warton, late of Beverley, esquire, by the honourable Susannah his wife, daughter of the right honourable lord Paulet. He was born on the 11th day of July, in

²⁸ In the transept we find tablets erected to the memory of Thomas Acklom, of Dringhoe, esq. 1764; Joseph Armistead, esquire, 1794; Joseph Bell, esquire, 1782; William and Ann Ellis; Margaret Ewbank, 1770; Dr. John Johnson, 1739; John Lockwood, esquire, 1827; Eliza Mason, 1762; Rev. Charles Myers, 1780; Henry Myers, 1792; Margaret Midgley; Jonathan Midgley; 1746; Robert Nelson, 1734; Marmaduke Nelson, 1776; Robert Robinson, esquire, 1816; Rev. Robert Rigby, 1823; Suckling Spendlove, 1777; Thomas Terry, 1804; Ann Wilberforce, 1720; and William Wilson, 1816; but no inscriptions remarkable for their singularity or elegance.

²⁹ The inscription on the tablet of the latter is so truly descriptive of his eminent qualifications both as a lawyer and a Christian, that its omission would be inexcusable.

Memoria justi in benedictionibus. Prov. Cap. 10. v. 7.

Sub hoc Mar more tumulatur,

Edvardvs Barnard Miles,

Kingstoniæ super Hull Decus;

Beverlaci Amor;

Legis ornamentum;

Maritus charissimus

Pater indulgentissimus;

Filius humilimus;

Frater amantissimus;

Amicus maxime fidelis;

Vicinus magnifice benignus;

Consiliarius eximie peritus;

Cujus virtutem Doctrinam Eloquentiam, et

Sagacitatem dictis metiri non liceat.

Dicat posteritas

Obiit die 19^o Novemb. Anno Salutis 1686. Ætatis, 55.

the year of our Lord 1656, and dy'd on the 22nd of March, in the year of our Lord 1708-9.³⁰

The ceiling of the chancel is decorated with paintings which represent the portraits of forty kings of England, beginning with the fabulous Brutus, and ending with Edward IV.; at the end of whose reign therefore it may be reasonably conjectured that these designs were made. The order in which they are placed is confused and irregular; the inscriptions however are subjoined in chronological order.

1. Rex Brutus, regnavit 15 annis, apud Westmonasterium jacet.
2. Rex Logrim, regnavit 57 annis, apud Westmonasterium jacet.
3. Rex Ebranke, regnavit 25 annis, apud Malmesbury jacet.
4. Rex Regbard, regnavit 25 an. 5 mens. apud Litchfieldiam jacet.

³⁰ Let the spectator recline himself against one of the pillars at the entrance of this spacious chancel, dedicated to the highest and most sublime service which the creature can render to his Creator; let him cast his eyes on the altar of commemoration which stands before him; let him review the numerous emblems of mortality which are arranged in such profusion on every side; let him consider in what a vast assembly of the dead he stands, and he will need no monitor to direct the course of his reflections. But let him cherish the ideas as they arise, and in what temper of mind soever he may have entered this sacred repository, there is little doubt but he will leave it with impressions calculated to make him wiser and better. The following numerous company of both sexes is here deposited, who sleep together in peace, however they may have been agitated while living with any of the evil passions to which our degenerate nature is subject. Nothing will now rouse them from "their lowly bed" but the shout of the archangel, and the sound of the eternal trumpet summoning them to judgment. *Mural monuments.*—Mary Anlaby, 1719; Sir E. Barnard, 1686; Henry Barnard, M. D. 1769; Levyns Boldero Barnard, 1783; Mary Boldero, 1753; Adriana Boynton, 1785; Frances Boynton, 1720; Robert Cheney, esquire, 1820, John Fleming, 1815; George Garth, 1819; Rev. R. Gee, 1815; Capt. Lovelace Gylby, 1745; Margt. Gylby, 1720; George Holgate, esquire, 1728; Catherine Holgate, 1731; Elizabeth Hudson, 1798; Rev. Joseph Kellet, 1653; Constantia Moysor, 1749; Ralph Pennyman, esquire, 1768; Bridget Pennyman, 1744; Joseph Smith, esquire, 1782; Mary Sterne, 1818; Walter Strickland, 1730; Mary Territt, 1805; William Tesseyman, 1819; John Tindall, 1799; Jane Tindall, 1822; Rev. W. Ward, 1768; Sir Ralph Warton, 1700; Ralph Warton, esquire, 1708-9; Thomas Woods, 1711. *On the floor.*—Peter Acklom, esquire, 1804; Mary Beverley, 1805; Ann Bethell, 1823; Ellis Boyes, 1784; Cornelius Courtney, 1773; Margaret Jesse Courtney, 1813; John Courtney, esquire, 1756; Elizabeth Courtney, 1770; John Courtney, esquire, 1806; Mary Courtney, 1805; William Creyk, esquire, 1762; Bridget Creyk, 1737; Elizabeth Dickson, 1803; Ann Featherstone, 1789; Ralph Featherstone, 1764; John Foster, M. D. 1805; Margaret Gylby, 1790; Constance Gee, 1749; Augusta Hart, 1799; Ann Kirkus, 1815; John Kirkus, 1822; Rev. William Key, 1744; Benjamin Lambert, 1731; Ann Lambert, 1741; William Lister, esquire, 1761; Sutton Lister, esquire, 1719; William Leeson, esquire, 1766; John Myers, 1794; Christopher Northend, 1730; Robert Robertson, 1801; James Stourton, esquire, 1780; Joshua Sampson, 1781; Joshua Sampson, M. D. 1792; Abraham Sperin, esquire, 1775; Mary Truby, 1770; William Tesseyman, 1811; Eleanor Tesseyman, 1819; Ann Wride, 1779; Anthony Wells, 1715; William Wilson, 1816; Thomas Woods, 1781; Elizabeth Ward, and Elizabeth Young, 1801.

5. Rex Eglarus, regnavit 24 annis, apud Wintoniam jacet.
6. Rex Achbelardus, regnavit 7 annis, apud Winburne jacet.
7. Rex Knowdus, regnavit 6 annis, apud Londinum jacet.
8. Rex Ludbrac, regnavit 31 annis, apud Elbsford jacet.
9. Rex Ethelwulf, regnavit 20 annis, apud Eboracum jacet.
10. Rex Ethelred, regnavit 9 annis, apud Winburne jacet.
11. Rex Edmund, regnavit 3 annis, apud Edmundi Burgum jacet.
12. Rex Alfredus, regnavit 29 annis, apud Londinum jacet.
13. Rex Edwardus, regnavit 24 annis, apud Wintoniam jacet.
14. Rex Athelstan, regnavit 15 annis, apud Malmsbury jacet.
15. Rex Edmundus, regnavit 6 annis, apud Glasconiam jacet.
16. Rex Edredus, regnavit 10 annis, apud Cantuariam jacet.
17. Rex Edgar, regnavit 19 annis, apud Glasconiam jacet.
18. Rex Edwardus, regnavit 16 annis, apud Wintoniam jacet.
19. Rex Edwardus sec. regnavit 23 annis, apud Westmonaster' jacet.
20. Rex Canute regnavit 15 annis, apud Dunelmensem jacet.
21. Rex Harold regnavit 4 annis, apud Londinum jacet.
22. Rex Hardecanute, regnavit 2 an. 4 mens. apud Westmonasterium jacet.
23. Rex Edwardus regnavit 23 annis, apud Westmonasterium jacet.
24. Rex Harold sec. regnavit 9 menses, apud Waltham jacet.
25. Rex Will. Conquestor, regnavit 21 annis, obiit Roan, apud Caen jacet.
26. Rex Willielmus Ruphus, regnavit 13 annis, apud Wintoniam jacet.
27. Rex Henricus pri. regnavit 35 annis, apud Readingum jacet.
28. Rex Stephanus, regnavit 19 annis, apud Feversham jacet.
29. Rex Henricus sec. regnavit 35 annis, apud Fount Evrad' jacet.
30. Ecce Ricardus pri. Rex Anglorum, miles regis angelorum.
31. Rex Johannes, regnavit 18 annis, apud Vigorniam sepelitur.
32. Rex Henricus tert. regnavit 56 annis, apud Westmonasterium jacet.
33. Rex Edwardus pri. regnavit 35 annis, apud Westmonasterium jacet.
34. Rex Edwardus sec. regnavit 19 annis, apud Glocestriam jacet.
35. Rex Edwardus tert. regnavit 51 annis, apud Westmonasterium jacet.
36. Rex Ricardus sec. regnavit 22 annis, apud Westmonasterium jacet.
37. Rex Henricus quart. regnavit 14 annis, apud Cantuariam jacet.
38. Rex Henricus quint. regnavit 9 annis, apud Westmonasterium jacet.
39. Rex Henricus sext. regnavit 38 annis, apud Windsoriam jacet.
40. Rex Edwardus quart. regnavit 22 annis, apud Windsoriam jacet.

These hatchments, &c. still remain in the chancel.

CHENEY. { *Azure*, 6 lions rampant, *arg.* a canton, *ermine*. Impaled with *arg.*
a bend *sable*, charged with 3 boar's heads caboshed, *or*, inter
3 martlets *sable*.

{ *Sable*, a chevron, *arg.* charged with 3 talbot's heads erased *sable*
coll^d. *or*. inter 3 birds *arg.* membered and beaked *or*. Impaled with
parted per fess embattled *gules* and *az.* 3 suns in glory *or*.

HOLGATE. { *Or*, a bend inter 2 bull's heads passant, coupé *sable*. Over all an
escutcheon of pretence. *Sable* 6 escallops *or*. which is his wife's
coat; Catherine, daughter of John Estofte, of Estofte, esq.

GEE. { *Gules*, a sword in bend, pomel in base, *or*. blade proper.
Over all an escutcheon of pretence.
Gules a lion passant. *or*.—*Waines*.

GARTH. *Or*, 2 lions passant amongst 4 crosses fitchée *sable*.

{ 1 and 4 quarterly. 1 and 4 *arg.* a bear rampant, *sable*.
2 and 3 parted per pale a saltier *or* and *az*.

BARNARD. { counterchanged.
2 and 3. *Arg.* a bend *sable* charged with 3 Escallops *arg.*
Impaled with, *Or*, a chevron *az.* charged with 3 horses heads
erased, *arg.* inter 3 pears *gules*.

{ Quarterly. 1. *Arg.* a stag's head caboshed *sable*, in chief a cross, *sable*.
2. *Arg.* a sword in bend proper, pomel in base, *or*.
3. *Arg.* a chevron inter 3 estoils *sable*.
4. *Az.* a lion passant guardant *or*, a chief *arg*.

Over all an escutcheon of pretence.

1. *Ruby* on a bend between 6 cross crosslets fitchée. *Pearl* an
escutcheon *topaz*, charged with a demi-lion pierced through the
mouth with an arrow within a double tressure counter flossée of
the first.
2. *Ruby* 3 lions passant guardant *topaz*, a label of 3 pts.
3. Cheque *topaz* and *sapphire*.
4. *Ruby* a lion rampant *topaz*.

The whole impaled with

{ *Az.* a chevron *ermine* inter 3 spear heads, *arg*.

On each side of the chancel aisles adjoining the wall at the east end, are four-
teen oaken stalls without canopies, the seats being ornamented with carved shields

and grotesque figures and devices similar to those in the minster. The ceiling above these stalls in the north aisle is groined; but at the west end of the same aisle the ceiling is divided into square compartments, and painted blue with golden stars; whilst along one of the centre oaken divisions runs the following admonition.

**Mayn in thy lyfing lowse God a bowen all Thyng
And euer Thynke at the begynnynge what schall comwe off the endynge.**

On the north side of the chancel is a small chapel which contains three monuments; one to the memory of John Greathead, 1765; another for Ann Greathead, 1739; and a third for Sarah Greathead, 1792.

Underneath the church is a crypt,³¹ simply groined with circular arches, and originally supported, as is conjectured, by nine pillars or more; but a part of it has been evidently walled up in times comparatively modern, so that only three pillars are now distinctly visible. It has two windows, one of which is closed up. It contains a good deal of old lumber, amongst which are many detached skulls and human bones.

To what base uses may we return, Horatio.³²

³¹ Crypts were probably designed for sanctuaries; and perhaps in troublesome periods used for hiding places. But the true design is involved in some obscurity. Fosbrooke asserts, that crypts were used "for clandestine drinking, feasting, and things of that kind" during the prevalence of monachism. *Monach.* vol. ii. p. 109. For this purpose however they would prove but inconvenient and uncomfortable places. It is certain that in a very early period of the world, a thousand years before the Christian era, such subterraneous excavations were made beneath the altars of religious edifices, commencing probably with the temple at Jerusalem. And Mr. Faber, *Pag. Idol.* vol. iii. p. 295. says that crypts appear to be no unambiguous imitations of these sacred caverns."

³² *Hamlet*, Act v.



Crypt of Saint Mary's, Beverley.

The situation of the church-yard³³ is scarcely so much elevated as the adjoining ground; and hence it was formerly exposed to encroachments, and liable to inundations which impeded the progress of interment, and its utility as a public cemetery was almost superseded. About the middle of the last century these inconveniences had become so highly distressing as to render some improvements absolutely necessary; and several meetings were held to devise a remedy. At length it was ordered at a public vestry, that "the church-yard on the east side of the church be repaired, improved, and fenced, to make the same more convenient for burying the dead, and to preserve it from such nuisances as it was too much exposed to."³⁴ Another heavy calamity was at this time consequent on the present state of the church-yard. The floor of the church itself, being situated beneath the level of the church-yard, was visited with frequent inundations; for the surplus of water penetrating into the fabric, occasioned a perpetual dampness equally injurious to the building and to the health of the parishioners. A committee was therefore appointed to superintend the improvements, with full powers to borrow money, if necessary, to carry the intended alterations into full effect, and to prevent

³³ The area of the church-yard inclosure is about an acre; the church occupies about 1 rood 25 perches, and the actual church-yard, 2 roods 15 perches.

³⁴ Vestry Min. Book, 14 May, 1758.

the consequences which appeared to threaten the very existence of the edifice.³⁵ The reparations thus commenced, have been continued with various degrees of energy down to a recent period; and in the present century an order has been made for the construction of a sufficient drain and spouting to carry off the water "which injures the floor of the church."³⁶ Much has been done to preserve this valuable fabric from dilapidation; but it is only just to add that much remains to do; and from the rapid improvement in the parish funds, we may reasonably anticipate that at no far distant period, the venerable structure will be restored to its former magnificence, and stand proudly pre-eminent in all its primitive richness of decoration.

The income of Saint Mary's parish, arising from the noble benefactions and bequests of queen Elizabeth³⁷ and other benevolent individuals, consisting of lands, tenements, and other property, is directed by a decree under the hands and seals of the commissioners appointed in the year 1634, to be appropriated, after paying all quit rents and reprises attached to any part of the property, to the purposes of adorning the fabric and keeping it in repair; paying the salaries due to the servants

³⁵ Vestry Min. Book, 29 Feb. 1764.

³⁶ Ibid. 22 Feb. 1809.

³⁷ Queen Elizabeth, by letters-patent under the great seal of England, bearing date 23rd Feb. in the 27th year of her reign, did, among other things, give and grant to the mayor, governors, and burgesses of Beverley and their successors, divers lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Beverley and elsewhere, for the common use and benefit of the parish church of Saint Mary. The property in Beverley, which had principally belonged to the dissolved chantries, consisted of two tenements and two garths in Wood-lane; three tenements, two garths, and two free rents in North-bar-without; five tenements, four garths, and one free rent in North-bar-within; three free rents in Burdett-midding-lane; five tenements, five garths, and one free rent in Vicar-lane; three tenements, three garths, and five closes in Keld-gate; eleven tenements and chambers, one garth, and one free rent in Saint Mary's church-yard; one tenement, one garth, and one free rent in High-gate; two tenements and one garth in Lady-gate; two tenements and two garths in Toll-gavel; six tenements and three garths in Hen-gate; two tenements in Waltham-lane; one tenement and one garth in Walker-gate; one tenement and one garth in the Shambles; four tenements, one garth, and one close in Norwood; one tenement in Smithill; three tenements, two garths, and one close in Butcher-row; one garth in Silverless-lane; two tenements and two garths in Fleming-gate; four tenements, three garths, and one close in Newbiggin; two tenements, two garths, and two closes in Lair-gate; two tenements and two garths, with no specified situation; a garden in Pickhill-lane, and three acres of land in Molescroft field; making a general total of sixty tenements, forty-three garths, ten small closes, nine free rents, one garden and three acres of land; besides property in other places, if the following document, dated in the same month and year, but on a different day, refer to the same transaction. *R^{na} tercio Febr' Conc' Maior' Gubernator' et Bergen' vill' de Beverley diu'ss ter' clauss' et tenem^{ts} in Beverley, Woodmansey, Thurne, Hullbrigge, Sandholm, Storke, Wyne, Tictionwold et Norwood, ac decim' de Ledston et cxi^o acr' ter' et xl^o acr' prat' que fuer' p'cell' Priorat' S'ci Jo: Appl'i et Evangelist' in Pontefraete tenend' ce Eastgrenew^{ch} soccag' Anno xxvij^o Elizabetho p^{te} prima. Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 3. p. 20 a.*

of the church, and providing bread and wine for the communion; and the churchwardens are therein directed to pay over the annual surplus to the mayor and corporation for the time being.³⁸ The rents have hitherto been totally inadequate to these purposes, as the parishes have no church rate; and the two-fold consequence has therefore arisen, that the church has fallen to decay, and the parishes have become involved in debt. In 1823, Mr. Lockwood proposed a scheme for liquidating these debts, and at the same time making such a permanent provision for the future as should secure to the church a certain annual income, which would effectually prevent a recurrence of the evil.³⁹ The project was rejected, because the leases were now rapidly falling in, and the income of the parish promised within a short period to become very considerable, without resorting to an artificial remedy. Previously to the year 1813, the yearly receipts did not amount to £60.; they have already increased to £650.; and after Martinmas, 1828, the annual income of the

³⁸ Chancery Decree.

³⁹ Mr. Lockwood proposed to obtain an act of parliament, enabling the parish to raise a permanent fund by disposing of the whole property; and his reasoning was as follows. "The estate granted by the crown consists chiefly of buildings, intermixed with the freehold property of many of the inhabitants; and as the lessees of the church can only hold for twenty-one years certain, and at the full and fair annual value, there is no prospect of any improvement in property so circumstanced; but was it to be sold, the owners of the buildings connected with it, would in general be willing purchasers; in which case they would be induced to improve it, and that ultimately would be an advantage to the town. And in order to obtain the full value on a sale, a previous valuation might be made by some competent person, from which there should not be any deduction.

	£.	s.	d.
The annual value of the property may be taken at £736. which } at 20 years' purchase would be	14,720	0	0
Suppose the act of parliament to cost.....	525	0	0
To pay the debts now owing	779	0	0
Mr. Bennison's estimate of the repairs of the church in 1809, was } about £1,200. but to make every thing complete, say.....	2,000	0	0
A sum to be laid out in the purchase and consecration of an addi- } tional burying ground, which is become absolutely necessary }	400	0	0
	<hr/>	3,704	0 0
Then there would remain	£ 11,016	0	0

This sum of £11,016. if laid out in the purchase of freehold lands, or in the funds, till an eligible purchase could be met with, might produce an income, without deduction, of £440. which might be regularly received by the churchwardens, and appropriated by them from time to time as occasion might require."

parish devoted to the church of Saint Mary will be increased to £800.⁴⁰ This will enable the churchwardens to carry on the repairs with spirit, and give effect and permanency to the original designs of those expert architects who placed the edifice in its present imposing situation, adorned it with elegance and grandeur as one of the most striking ornaments which graced and decorated the town.

The custom of perambulating the boundaries of this parish is annually observed with all due solemnity. It is of very high antiquity, and supposed to have been derived from the heathen, who held an annual feast in the month of February, which was denominated Terminalia, because at this period the boundary stones which marked the local division of land were crowned with garlands, and a solemn offering made thereon in honour of the god Terminus,⁴¹ who was feigned to pre-side over these boundaries, punishing with his severest vengeance all unjust aggressions on each other's property. The custom of perambulation was strenuously enforced in Roman Catholic times; and the priest of every parish was enjoined annually to assemble the congregation in Rogation week, and passing from one boundary stone to another, to read over each the formal litanies and services prescribed for that purpose; and the same practice was continued after the Reformation, only the language was changed from Latin to English.⁴²

⁴⁰ The annual increase from 1813 is stated as follows.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1813	55	12	6	1821	445	2	6
1814	82	12	6	1822	495	2	6
1815	102	12	6	1823	569	2	6
1816	116	12	6	1824	569	2	6
1817	167	12	6	1825	637	2	6
1818	225	2	6	1826	653	2	6
1819	229	2	6	1827	725	2	6
1820	308	2	6	1828	800	2	6

Out of this income the following annual fee-farm and other rents are payable.

	£.	s.	d.
To the trustees of Beverley minster.....	4	13	4
To the heirs of John Hookman, esq.	0	6	8
To John Tempest, esq. and others.....	4	5	8
To the lord of the manor of Beverley Water-Towns..	1	3	0

⁴¹ Termine, sive lapis, sive eo desertus in agro
Stipes ab antiquis tu quoque nomen habes.

Ovid. Fast. 2.

⁴² In the articles of enquiry for the diocese of Chichester, 1637, is the following query. "Doth your minister yeerely in Rogation weeke, for the knowing and distinguishing of the bounds of

In the due observance of this ceremony, the churchwardens of Saint Mary's parish, accompanied by many of the inhabitants, proceed on Rogation Monday formally round the confines of the parish, pausing a short time at each boundary mark, as a renewed and undisputed evidence of possession; and to impress particular points on the recollection of the junior part of the assembly, some small coin is thrown up for a scramble amongst the boys at the most important boundary stones; and as an additional stimulus to their industry and recollection, a small pecuniary reward is presented to the boy who first discovers each succeeding limit. The perambulation being concluded, the individuals who attended the procession are regaled at the church with bread and ale; and small presents in money are distributed amongst the more indigent part of the assembly; a shilling each is presented to the poor debtors confined in the gaol; and the ceremony concludes with a dinner for the churchwardens, for which a certain sum is allowed from the parish purse.⁴³

The population of the two parishes of Saint Mary and Saint Nicholas,⁴⁴ taken from the return of 1821, is 3791 persons, being an increase of 395 souls within the preceding ten years.

Table of marriages, baptisms, and burials.

DATE.	MARRIAGES.	BAPTISMS.	BURIALS.	DATE.	MARRIAGES.	BAPTISMS.	BURIALS.
1813	37	90	44	1820	20	99	41
1814	24	121	41	1821	16	97	44
1815	21	108	68	1822	21	117	39
1816	23	114	44	1823	22	107	49
1817	26	115	45	1824	28	122	59
1818	17	108	43	1825	28	115	58
1819	27	114	50	1826	37	99	57

parishes, and for obtaining God's blessing upon the fruits of the ground, walke the perambulation, and say or sing, in English, the Gospells, Epistles, Litanie, and other devout prayers; together with the 103 and 104 psalms?" Brand. Pop. Ant. vol. i. p. 173. in notâ g. Edit. 1813.

⁴³ In the vestry accompt book the entries of these expenses vary. In 1733, the dinner cost a guinea; and bread and ale for the boys 12s. At present the expenses are about 50s.

⁴⁴ The property of the church in plate, vestments, &c. is as follows.

An organ by Donaldson, erected in the year 1792.

Six bells, a clock and chimes.

A Baskerville's Bible, folio, the gift of W. Wilberforce, 1763, gilt and elegantly bound; and a Baskett's Common Prayer, 1766, bound to correspond.

A crimson velvet carpet, with gold and silver fringe, for the altar table.

A large pulpit cloth of black velvet, with deep gold and silk fringe.

A pulpit cushion of crimson velvet, with noble tassels at each corner, composed of gold and silk curiously interwoven, and a valance of velvet fringed uniformly, to hang underneath the

Close catalogue of the vicars of Saint Mary's.

TEMP. INSTIT.	VICARIJ ECCL'IE.	PATRONI.	VACAT.
Kal. Feb. 1302.	Dns Rog' de Woodham, Pbr.	Præposit' Bev'	
Id. Mar. 1319.	Dns Nic. de Siggleston Pbr. ⁴⁵	Prb. alt S. Martin	p' Mort'
Aug. 1349.	Dns Geo. Pocklington Cap.	ijdem	p' Mort'
Sep. 1349.	Dns Rob. de Aston Cap. ⁴⁶	ijdem	p' Mort'
Aug. 1362.	Dns Petr. de Esyngton Cap.	ijdem	p' Resig'
Mar. 1373.	Dns Tho. de Lowthorp Pbr.	ijdem	
1394.	Dns Wm. de Scardeburgh ⁴⁷	ijdem	p' Mort'
1403.	Dns Joh. de Brydlington ⁴⁸	ijdem	
21 Mar. 1414.	Mr. Petr. de Irford Diac	ijdem	p' Resig'
	Dns Rob. Rux ⁴⁹	ijdem	

cushion. The above three articles were presented to the church of Saint Mary in 1686, by "certain worthy citizens of London, who have of late years kept Beverley mart; procured at their joint cost."

Four linen surplices.

A large flagon of silver, weighing 98 oz. 15 dwts. with this inscription; the gift of sir Ralph Warton, knt. to the parish of St. Maries in Beverley. Anno Domino. 1696.

Two silver chalices with covers, purchased in 1644.

A silver paten or salver for the sacrament, weighing 16 oz. 11 dwts. the gift of Charles Warton, esquire, 1701.

A silver spoon, marked Saint Mary's, 1714.

A large brass candlestick of twelve branches, presented by Mr. Samuel Robinson, one of the churchwardens in 1701, and suspended on Easter eve.

One other brass candlestick to correspond, presented in 1725, by Mr. William Grayburn, alderman.

An iron chest for registers; and several wooden chests.

⁴⁵ In his time the chapel of Saint Mary was endowed with all the privileges of a parochial establishment. Ex. Reg. W. Melt. Arch. Ebor. I. p. 66. Vid. sup. p. 127.

⁴⁶ A vicarage house was assigned to this church during the incumbency of Aston. Rot. Orig. 30 Edw. III. ro. 28.

⁴⁷ In John de Ake's will we find this vicar mentioned, A. D. 1398, in the following terms. "I give my soul to Almighty God, and the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints in heaven, and my body to be buried in the chapel of the Virgin Mary in Beverley. Item, I give to the fabric of the said chapel viij^s. iiij^d. Item, I give to *sir William de Scardeburgh*, perpetual vicar of the aforesaid chapel vj^s. viij^d. &c. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. viij. fo. 140.

⁴⁸ John de Brydlington does not occur in Torre's list, but is mentioned in the Lansdowne MS. 896. VIII. fo. 189. as the purchaser of a house on the north side of Newbigging belonging to Robert Skipwith.

⁴⁹ In the year 1477, Robert Fisher, of Beverley, the father of the celebrated bishop Fisher, bequeathed "vj^s. viij^d. to *Dn's Robert Rux*, vicar of the church of the blessed Mary Virgin." Nich. Test. Vetust. vol. i. p. 340. Mr. Rux is omitted in Torre's list.

TEMP. INSTIT.	VICARIJ ECCL'IE.	PATRONI.	VACAT.
Aug. 1426.	Dns Will. Yrforth Pbr.	Prb. alt S. Martin	
Dec. 1438.	Dns Will. Lowe Pbr.	ijdem	p' Resig'
Feb. 1453.	Mr. John Ingleby Pbr.	ijdem	p' Resig'
Dec. 1461.	Dns Robt. Kyrke Pbr.	ijdem	p' Mort'
Mar. 1499.	Dns Will. Burhede Pbr.	ijdem	
Mar. 1521.	Dns Nic. Rokeby Pbr.	ijdem	p' Resig'
Mar. 1524.	Dns Tho. Barneby Pbr.	ijdem	
	Dns Jac. Burley Pbr.	ijdem	p' Resig'
20 Mar. 1528.	Dns Tho. Russell Pbr.	ijdem	p' Mort'
4 Mar. 1535.	Dns Will. Rawlandson Pbr.	ijdem	p' Resig'
Junij 1569.	Dns Alex. Bradshawe Cl.		p' Mort'
24 Apr. 1575.	Geo. Kitchyn Cl. M. A.	Eliz. Reg ^{na} .	p' Resig'
Nov. 1578.	Tho. Utye Cl.	Eadem.	p' Mort'
Nov. 1608.	Will. Ellys Cl. M. A.	Jac. Rex.	p' Mort'
22 July 1637. ⁵⁰	Nic. Osgodby Cl. M. A.	Ch. I. Rex.	p' Mort'
	Jos. Killet Cl. ⁵¹		
18 Feb. 1667.	Tho. Parker Cl.	Ch. II. Rex.	p' Cession'
8 May 1672.	Joh. Brereton Cl. ⁵² M. A.	idem	p' Resig' ⁵³
1726.	Samuel Johnson	Geo. I. Rex.	p' Mort'
1767.	Francis Drake D. D.	Geo. III. Rex.	
1791.	Robert Rigby	idem	p' Mort'
1823.	W. R. Gilby M. A.	Geo. IV. Rex.	

⁵⁰ In 1637, Nicholas Pierson occurs in Saint Mary's Register as the incumbent. Probably he was the sequestrator during the period which intervened between the death of Ellys and the appointment of Osgodby.

⁵¹ Joseph Killet died in 1653, as appears by his tomb in Saint Mary's church. He is also omitted in Torre's catalogue.

⁵² At a meeting of the corporation, 19th April, 1689, some disputes having arisen with Mr. Brereton, he formally resigned the living. Corp. Rec.

⁵³ Torre's Peculiars, p. 175.

Chap. IV.

Account of the corporation—Mayor—Recorder—Aldermen—Capital burgesses—Common council—Town clerk—Corporation clerk—Inferior officers—Burgesses—Court of record—Courts leet and baron—View of frank pledge—Quarter sessions—Sheriff's tourn—Gaol—Members of parliament—Right of election—Exemption from tolls—List of charters—Jurisdiction—Arms and seals—Officers of the corporation—List of representatives—List of abbots—Provosts—Mayors—Recorders—Town clerks—Chamber clerks.

THE town of Beverley, as we have already seen, was a place of great importance, and elevated into a borough long before the Conquest of England by William the Norman. Its privileges have been conceded and confirmed, and the number and nature of its immunities increased by direct charter and grant from almost every monarch who has swayed the British sceptre, beginning with Athelstan and ending with the unfortunate James; and from thence to the present time by salutary laws both general and particular. The corporation, as it is at present constituted, consists of a mayor, a recorder, twelve aldermen, thirteen capital burgesses, and an indefinite number of freemen; attended by the usual borough officers, viz. a common and corporation clerk, sergeants at mace, beadles, and constables.

The chief officer is the mayor,¹ who is annually elected by the burgesses at large on the Monday next before Michaelmas day, and takes the oaths on the third week

¹ Formerly the abbot, and after him the provost was invested with the chief civil authority in the town; but subsequently to the dissolution, when the latter office was abolished, the sole power became vested in the MAYOR. This title is of singular honour and reputation, and derived, as is supposed, from the most ancient language known in the world. "The ancient inhabitants of Franconia or Frankenland, from whom the Frenchmen are descended, and their neighbours the old Saxons, of whome the Englishmen have their originall, being people of Germanie (as Berosus saith) and descended of the old Hebrews, have retained manie Hebrue words, either from the beginning, or else borrowed them abroad in other regions which they conquered, passing by force of armes through a great part of the world. For no doubt, by conversation with those people whom they subdued, they brought home into their own countrie and toong manie borrowed words, so that their language hath no small store of them fetched out of sundrie strange toongs.

subsequently to such election.² He and the aldermen jointly nominate twenty-six persons, from whom the freemen at large select thirteen to be capital burgesses, who, together with the aldermen, form his council for the year. On the same day are chosen the common clerk, sergeants, constables, and other inferior officers whose situations are annual. After the mayor elect has taken the oaths, he is competent, with the assistance of his council, to make laws and ordinances for the government of the town; with power to levy fines or inflict corporal punishment for acts of disobedience or violations of the laws. If an alderman elected to the office of mayor refuse to act, he is liable to fine and disfranchisement, and if he absent himself after having received notice of his election, "he may be fined any sum not exceeding fifty pounds, to be recovered by distraint or any other lawful way, for the use of the said town, and immediately be excluded from being a member of the said town, losing all his privileges, and shall never be admitted again. And if the mayor absent himself, then the last preceding mayor shall execute the said office till another be chosen, which shall be within one month."³ Should the mayor be sick, or under the absolute necessity of absenting himself from the town, for any determinate period, on special business of his own, he is authorized by charter to depute one of the aldermen to officiate for him, and his deputy having first taken the usual oaths, is competent to perform any duty appertaining to the situation of chief magistrate, during the sickness or absence of the mayor. This officer, however, cannot leave his official duties in the hands of a deputy, by quitting the town for any lengthened period, without permission from the bench.⁴ If the mayor happen to die within his year, or be removed by royal

Now among other old words remaining in their toong, this word *Mar* was one, which in Hebrue signifies *Dominus*, that is to say lord, but pronounced now somewhat corruptlie, Mair. So, as it is to be supposed, hereof it came to passe that the head officer and lieutenant to the prince, as well in London as in other cities and townes of the realme, are called by the name of *Maior*; though in the cities of London and Yorke, for an augmentation of honour, by an antient custom, through ignorance what the title of maior doth signifie, they have an addition, and are instituted by the name of Lord Maior, when maior simply pronounced of itself signifieth no lesse than Lord, without any such addition." Hollinsh. Chron. vol. ii. p. 298. Quarto edit.

² Charter of James II. ³ Charter of Charles II.

⁴ The following brief account of the ancient duties of the mayor and governors, and the etiquette which they were obliged to observe in their official capacity, will not be unacceptable. The mayor and governors usually assembled in the Guild-hall, and appointed three of their number as candidates for the mayoralty, on the day before the feast of Saint Michael; one of whom was elected by the burgesses at large as the chief magistrate for the ensuing year. The fine for refusing to act in the capacity of mayor was ten pounds; and any burgess declining the office of a governor after being regularly elected to that office, incurred a penalty of five pounds.

authority, the burgesses are bound to elect a successor within four days after such demise or removal, who must continue in office during the remainder of the year.

The mayor for the time being is a justice of the peace, escheator, clerk of the market, and coroner within the town and liberties; so that the authority of the clerk of the market for the king's household is wholly superseded within the limits of this jurisdiction, except his majesty be present in person.

The recorder is not an annual officer. His qualifications, according to the charter of Charles II. are, that he be "a honest, discreet, and skilful man in the laws" of his country in general, and of the corporation of Beverley in particular; and

This was in the 16th century. No person was compellable to serve the office of mayor for two successive years, or within the period of five intervening years; nor more than three times during his life. The mayor was bound to give two public dinners during his year; one on the day he took the oaths, and the other on the day when his successor was chosen. He was directed to wear, under a penalty of ten shillings for each omission, on all public days, a gown with a face of fur and a tippet of velvet. These days were; the day he took the oaths, "the fair day, called Saint John's day in winter; all saint's days, Christmas day, Easter day, rogation Sunday and Monday, Pentecost, Ascension day, Trinity Sunday, Midsummer day, and other times convenient, at the discretion of the mayor for the worship of the town; and that every person who has been mayor, shall wear his gown and tippet of velvet on the same days." He was under the necessity of proceeding from his own house to the minster church, attended by two governors, habited as above, on every Sunday and holiday, under a penalty of ten-pence for every omission, not having a reasonable excuse; and the same penalty attached to a governor refusing attention to his summons. He provided the principal sergeant and other officers with meat and drink, for which and other expences he was allowed an annual salary of thirty pounds. It was ordained, that the mayor, during his mayoralty, shall not resort to any tippling house, except on particular business. The heavy penalties attached to this misdemeanour, serve to convince us that it was the prevailing practice of these times. To keep up the dignity of the office, the mayor never appeared in public, or even walked into the town, without his gown, and the accompanying ceremonial of a sergeant bearing the mace before him; nor could a governor be seen abroad ungowned without subjecting himself to a penalty of twelve-pence; and this gown is described as "a brown blew faced with *budge*," which was a fur somewhat resembling ermine. Two of the governors, and four of the most substantial burgesses were annually appointed as overseers of the woods, and for the sale of all manner of timber, &c. and they were also masters of all the common pastures during their official year. Disobedience to the statutes and ordinances of the twelve governors, subjected the offender to a heavy penalty; and abusive or scurrilous language used by a burgess to or of a governor, subjected him to disfranchisement; and even if any burgess chanced to hear any disrespectful words spoken of a governor, and omitted to disclose them to the legal authorities within one week, he was liable to a fine of ten shillings to be levied by distress. Warb. MSS. Lansd. Coll. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 171. A. D. 1576. The mayor and governors themselves were equally subject to heavy punishment for misconduct; and it was the duty of every new mayor, on his own personal responsibility, to call before him his predecessor in office together with the governors, within 20 days after he has been sworn, and examine whether he has executed his office with impartiality; and if he be found guilty of any dereliction of duty to lay on him a penalty of ten pounds to be applied to the town's use. If a governor had misconducted himself, he was to be fined at the discretion of the court; and a fine of three shillings and four-pence each on such of the justices as did not attend in their places at the quarter sessions. Warb. MSS. ut supra. fo. 176.

his duty is, to attend the meetings of the council on grave and extraordinary occasions which demand the presence of a legal adviser. He is bound to be present at the quarter sessions when criminals are arraigned before juries; and in the council chamber when acts of parliament are to be explained, which affect any error or dispute that may arise within the borough or its jurisdiction; when legal opinions are to be given; when the privileges of the corporation are infringed; when addresses to the throne, or petitions to parliament on great public occurrences, or private demands may be required for the credit or benefit of the town; or in any other case where the mayor may deem his assistance necessary.

The alderman⁵ at Beverley is a superior officer,⁶ elected for life from amongst

⁵ The title of alderman was anciently applied to the chief nobility. "*Ealdop*, so written in the Saxon language, is properly an elder or senior, but an *Ealdopman*, which we now call an alderman, was such, in effect, amongst our ancestors, as was *Tribunus Plebis* with the Romans; *i. e.* one that had chief jurisdiction among the commons, as being a maintainer of their rights and liberties." Versteg. Rest. Dec. Int. p. 326.

⁶ This officer was originally named a governor, and first *annually* appointed under a charter of Richard II. 1398. Rot. Pat. 21 Rich. II. The following regulations respecting the annual appointment of the twelve governors, made A. D. 1488, may be both curious and interesting. "All manner of men present and for to come knawe pat inso muey as itt is founde in wrytyngs in alde constitutyons of the elecyons of xij keepers or governors of the towne of Beverley Itt has been usyd of late the eleccyon to be made in forme and wrytten pat is for to say that the xij which has been governors or keepers of the towne in the yere next joynge before the yest of Saynt Mare shall geder to geder and compare and then and there shall be publisshied and namy'd xij of the new men of the 36 so that none so named had been in pat offys of two yerres then next afore passyd And also other xij that had been in the offys aforetymes paste, and also other vj worchypfull and famouse burgessys of whome none of theme had been in y^e offys aforetyme. And so the foresayd xxiiij and those vj adyd to and nowmered make full mowmer of xxx burgessys of the towne thereof whome xij governors or keepers of the sayde towne schuld be elect and chosyn. And for als mych as itt is consydered by the hole body of the sayde towne that the foresayd nowmer of xxx persons is to large to be had of the eleccyon for the worchyp and honesty of the sayd towne. Therefor it is ordayned and statute in the yere of our Lord God 1488 by the xij governors, that is to say, Robert Whyte, John Armstronge, Elias Cass, Thomas Bullock, John Thompson, Edward Johnson, Henry Watts, William Grebye, Philip Owsby, William Curtase, Robert Smith, and John Wryght, by the assent and consent of the other two bynks, and also by the assent and consent of all the aldermen of the sayde towne with all ther bredren that the eleccyon fra now forward schall be made of xviiij persons, pat is for to say, pat the xij governors of the towne which hatt had rewyll for the yere next goynge before the feast of Seynt Mare the Evangelyst in the presence of the bugessys thereto waryned afore and to whome it shall please to be assysting in the Guyldhall in the foresayd fest of Seynt Marc shall geder to geder and shall compare and then and there shall be publyshyd and namyd xij of the foresaid xxxvj as pat none of them so namyd shall have been in pat offys of other two yerres then next afore passyd and also other vj worchypfull and famous burgessys taken thro' the town at the pleasure of the said xij governors and so of those foresayd xij of other vj added to and nowmered wyth them pat is xviiij burgessys of the towne thereof whome xij governors or keepers of the sayd towne shall be elect and chosyn, whyche xij so elect and sworne, or at the lese vj of them ys some may not be there present shall have full power of levynd rents and assessyngs in the sayd towne to rayse and also confyrm and statute, to keep and haulde all rebells and gainsayers after there discrecyon, to chastys and punysh, and when

the most respectable burgesses, and eligible to be a justice of the peace and to serve the office of mayor.

neede shall be ordynance and statute wyth the consent of the body of the towne of new for to ordane and sett. And if itt happyn pat any of the foresade xxxvj dye, be syke, be defamyd, be fallyn to poverty, or in any other wyse be febyle so that he be found insuffycient, then in hys stede to fulfil the nowmer schall be namyd another suffycient Burgyss in y^e sayd towne wheresoever he shall be founde by all the towne. And whosoever breks this eleccyon from hence forth and be founde a rebell agaynst thys ordynance and statute whych it may be lawfully proved agynst hym schall forfeit to the comonyaltie x^{li} without any pardon and hys body to pryson and itt to be levyd and raysed by dysstresse. Also itt is ordayned and statute by the foresayde xij governors of the assent and consent of the two bynks, and also by assent and consent of all the aldermen and the bredyn that be in castele and clothyng that the foresayd xij for tyme being shall go yerely in processyon on Corpus Christi day or on the morn aftyr as it schall happyn afore all the aldermen, and every man of the other two bynks to go with there aldermen of there occupatyon in ther clothyng belonging to ther broderhode, and yf there be any broder of any of the aforesyde crafts that be founde rebell here agyne shall forfeit to the commonalty xx^{li} wythout any pardon.

§ Primo y^e xij governors.

Alder of Marchants
Alder of Drapers
Alder of Bowchers
Alder of Wrights
Alder of Smyths
Alder of Taylers
Alder of Tylers
Alder of Shoemakers
Alder of Lyttsters
Alder of Barkers

Alder of Weavers
Alder of Walkers
Alder of Glovers
Alder of Bowers
Cowper Fletchers
Alder of Watermen
Alder of Potters
Alder of Barbers
Alder of Hatts and Capps
Alder of Saddylers.

Warb. MSS. Lansd. Coll. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 163.

The above regulations continued in force during the period of 137 years; until "an order was taken in the Star chamber the last day of November, 27 Hen. VIII. by the lords of hys most hon^{ble} counseyl concernyng the yerely eleccyon of the xij governors, and for the good order and peace within the town. Fyrst, it is ordayned and ordered that the eleccyon of the 12 governors made of Saynt Marc's day shall be frustrate and void; and that upon the vigile of Saint Thomas the Apostle next comyng the tenents and inhabitants of the sayd towne whych have or ought to have interest in y^e eleccyon of the same towne shall assemble themselves at the place accustomed and come before the officer or officers of the archbishop of York for a new eleccyon of the xij governors peasablie to be mayd; and then and there shall elect xij newe governors for the goode order and rouell of the sayde towne whych xij governors shall contynewe governors from that tyme of elecon unto Saint Mark's daye folowyng. And that those persons that were elected governors at Saynt Mark's daye last past shall mayke there trew and just accompte before Saynt Mark's daye next coming to the twelve governors which shall be elected on the said vigill of Saynt Thomas. It is ordered also that noo person that is governor in the said towne shall be governor in the next yere following, nor governor ij yeres together, and that the governors being elected for one yere shall allways for ever maike ther trew accompte after ther yere endyth to the newe governors that shall electe within vj months after ther yere endyth. Item. It ys also ordered that no person dwellynge or inhabitynge out of the same towne shall be electe or chosen at any tyme to be one of the sayde governors nor intromyt or meddle withe the eleccyon of the xij governors, the officers of the archbishop of York only excepte. Item. Itt is ordered that no g entleman nowe dwellynge oute of the sayde towne whych from henceforth shall purchase or bye any tenement or lands within y^e sayde towne of Beverley shall be hereafter electe or chosen any

The common council⁷ consists of the aldermen and capital burgesses, who are "always assistant to the mayor for the time being." Some obscurity attends the origin of this body within the borough of Beverley. It is evident that some kind of a council for the management of public affairs must have existed from the date of its very earliest charters; but the nature and appointment of this council must be left to conjecture in the absence of written evidence. At the first construction of the borough, the abbot, and after him the provost, was the chief officer, and he was assisted by his bailiffs and the canons, who together formed his private council. The appointment of twelve governors with competent powers, by king Richard II. would supersede, in a certain degree, the secular authority of the provost within the jurisdiction of the borough; and the chief governor, would always call in the assistance of his eleven brethren as an authoritative and legitimate council. A formal common council is mentioned in an ordinance of Edward Lee, archbishop of York, dated at the castle of Cawood, 13 January, 1535, for electing twenty-four burgesses, who with the twelve governors are to form the common council of the town of Beverley;⁸ and by the charter of Charles II. the aldermen and thirteen capital burgesses are legally recognized as the mayor's common council;⁹ which was confirmed by James II.¹⁰ For the annual appointment of the capital burgesses the charter provides that "the mayor elect, and the governors of the said town, or in the absence of the mayor elect, the last mayor, or the major part of them, may yearly on the Monday next before Michaelmas day, chuse twenty-six of the best and most discreet burgesses and commonalty of the said town, whose names they shall present to the rest of the burgesses and commonalty of the town aforesaid then to be present, who shall out of the twenty-six accept and

of the xij governors. Item. Yt is ordered that neither sir Raff Ellaker nor one Gwyne Ogle sone in lawe to the said sir Raff shall be at any time hereafter electe or chosen any of the sayde xij. governors within the sayde towne. Item. Yt is ordered that the archbishop of Yorke for the tyme beyng shall have the order rewell of the sayde towne of Beverley in lyke maner and forme of his predecessors archbishops of Yorke have before time had." Warb. MSS. ut supra. fo. 167.

⁷ In Domesday we find that many boroughs had a body distinct from, and superior to, the commonalty, which was probably the *secret council* of the chief person, whomsoever he might be. In Lincoln, Stamford, and other places, *Lagemen* occur, as distinct from burgesses. These were an order of men, recognized in the laws of king Edward the Confessor. In both towns the number of XII. only is mentioned; so that they probably answered to the twelve *Judices Civitates* of Chester; and the twelve *Lahmen* mentioned in the *Senatus Consultum de Monticolis Walliæ*. Vid. Gen. Introd. to Domesday, p. xv.

⁸ Corp. Rec. 26 Hen. VIII. 17 E.

⁹ Corp. Rec. 5th Sep. 15 Ch. II. No. 22. ¹⁰ Ibid. 11 March, 1 James II. No. 23..

name thirteen, who shall be the capital burgesses for one whole year next ensuing, and shall take their corporal oaths before the mayor and governors aforesaid."¹¹

The town clerk is an annual officer elected together with the mayor; as is also the corporation clerk who is not a chartered officer; but was first appointed in the 16th century, to take custody of the records, and to attend the private meetings of the corporation. He is appointed by the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses. The inferior officers of the corporation are, two sergeants at mace; a mace bearer; a common cryer; a pinder, and a beadle. The magistrates also annually appoint 18 constables.

The number of the common burgesses is indefinite, at present it is about fourteen hundred. Their assistance is not called in, except at the choice of a mayor, or representatives in parliament; for they are considered as yielding an implicit consent to every act of the chamber, through the medium of their delegates, the aldermen and capital burgesses who are there assembled. The freedom of the borough is conferred by birth, servitude, or redemption, under certain regulations which were agreed on at a meeting of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses in common council assembled at the Guild-hall, on Monday, August 2nd, 1813.

The council meet every Monday for general purposes. Here the business of the corporation is transacted; admissions to the freedom of the borough effected; and a court of record is held before the mayor and justices on the same day in which pleas are taken of such things as happen within the town; treason, murder, and felony only excepted. The profits of this court belong to the corporation.¹²

¹¹ In this number of thirteen aldermen and thirteen capital burgesses, by whom all questions relative to the corporation are decided, it appears somewhat singular that no provision is made in the charters for a *casting vote* in case of an equality of numbers on any contested point. While I am writing this chapter, I hear that the bench is placed in a curious dilemma for want of the power of decision under such circumstances. On the 26th of April, 1828, the members of the bench assembled to elect a head master of the grammar school, in the room of the rev. G. P. Richards, resigned. The candidates were the rev. Z. S. Warren, M. A. second master of Oakham school, and the rev. W. L. Stephenson, M. A. one of the Beverley Fellows of St. John's college, Cambridge. The bench was equally divided; the mayor, ten aldermen, and two capital burgesses being in favour of the former; and the remaining two aldermen, with eleven of the capital burgesses gave their voices for the latter; and thus, in the absence of a provision for a casting vote, the question will probably occasion much discord in the borough, and at length be referred to a superior court for ultimate decision.

¹² The most important court which the town of Beverley possessed in ancient times was the Court of the Bedern, or Provost's court, which extended over a wide district comprising more than a hundred parishes, and possessing "*jurisdictio plena temporal et sp'ual eozdem ac torius famil' cum eisdem resident' et com'orant' sup' et infra mansiones eozdem et tenent suos infra dict' p'positura.*" Ex. Reg. Prepos. l. 1. p. 3. The use of this court is now wholly superseded by the

A court leet¹³ and baron¹⁴ is also held by the corporation, under regulations specified in an indenture dated November 5, 1536,¹⁵ between Edmund Lee, archbishop of York of the one part; and Robert Creyke, esquire, John Wright, gentleman, and other burgesses of the other part, which was confirmed and established by king Henry VIII.¹⁶ The business transacted at this court embraces all matters and offences which such courts usually take cognizance of. Its use for the correction of nuisances, &c. has been much superseded in consequence of the more summary remedies afforded by recent acts of parliament.

civil courts of the corporation. Its power and privileges are enumerated in a MS. "Booke of the Fee of the Provoste of Beverley," in my possession. The suitors at this court, 25 Ed. I. were,

Petrus Lyolff	Thomas de Hotham	Radūs Ryplyngham
Simon Burges	Joh'es Cameys	Adam Drake
Willus Leveneth	Ric. Funceys	Willus Hardye
Willus ad eccl'ia de Midilton	Jordan de S'ca Barbara	Joh'es de Whithton
Petrus de Crancewyk	Johes de Cane de Dalton	Nig. Funceys de Lockington
Johannes Ward	Willus Abell	Ricus de Burton
Ranulph Nevill	Alex. de Welwyk	Robertus Sotheby de Seton
Amand de Routh Chr.	Roger de Woodhall	Sayerus de Sutton
Robtūs de Hilton Chr.	Simon de Hugate	Willus de Bilton
Adam de Everyngham	Walter de Haytfeld	Jacobus Tothe
Thomas de Flynton	Henricus Levenyng	Rob'tus Breton
Walter Martyn	Joh'es de Melsa	Roger' de Dalton
Alanus de Roston	Joh'es Frevyll	Willūs de Roos p attorn

And 49 Edw. III. the suitors were as follows.

Thos. de Roos de Hamlak Chr.	Amand de Routh	Joh'es Raghell de Lockington
Thomas de Sutton Chr.	Hered' Dni Willi de Dalton	Joh'es Gryme
Joh'es de Meaux Chr.	Willūs Cudy	S. de Royneton de Lockington
Simon de Heslorton Chr.	<i>Villat' de Etton</i>	Joh'es de Burton de Rysby
Joh'es de Hotham Chr.	<i>Villat' de Walkington</i>	Ricūs atte Hall
Willūs de Erghom Chr.	Thomas Gurneys de Etton	

¹³ The leet is an ancient and important court with a primitive jurisdiction extending to the cognizance and punishment of crimes and misdemeanours. The jurors are bound to *enquire* into disorders and offences, and not merely to act on information. It is a court of great utility, though its duties being superseded by others, it is now held only as a matter of form, and considered as being virtually obsolete.

¹⁴ The court baron was established by king Alfred. Blackst. Com. vol. iv. p. 411. The lords of manors or barons held courts in their own jurisdiction, which hence received and retained the name. The word baron was formerly of very equivocal signification, and sometimes was used for persons of a comparatively mean condition as well as for persons of rank. Thus the *men*, or burgesses of a town or burgh, were sometimes styled, the *barons* of such a town. Madox. Excheq. vol. i. p. 198.

¹⁵ Corp. Rec. 28 Hen. VIII. 17 G. ¹⁶ Ibid. 34 Hen. VIII. 17 H.

The charters provide that "twice in the year, upon such days as they shall think fit, the corporation shall have a view of all the frank pledges¹⁷ of all the inhabitants of the said town, within the Guild-hall of the said town."¹⁸ The business of this court is now merely nominal, for the times are past which rendered its institution necessary to preserve the peace and good order of the town.

In the Guild-hall the mayor, recorder, and aldermen hold their sessions quarterly for the town and liberties of Beverley, viz. on Monday in the first whole week after the Epiphany; on the Monday after Easter week; on the Monday after the day of Thomas à Becket; and on the Monday after the feast of Saint Michael; at which, as justices of the peace they are competent to enquire into and punish all offences committed within their jurisdiction, except treason, felony, murder, or any other crime which affects the life of the accused party.

Here also is held the court of sheriff's tourn.¹⁹ At this court the justices possess a power of enquiring into, but not of punishing, all manner of treasons, coining, uttering of base money, and burglaries; for it was instituted as a means of preserving regularity and order; to protect the honest and industrious, to punish the idle and disorderly, and to prevent the unwary from being imposed on by the designing and unprincipled villain.²⁰ Little attention is paid to this court at the present day. It is generally held however along with the court leet, and some trifling fine is levied on the inhabitants for non-appearance.

The corporation are allowed by charter to have a "gaol or prison of their own, for the custody of all manner of prisoners, and that the mayor for the time being

¹⁷ Frank pledge, in Saxon times, was a lord of the manor, with security to the government of the country in those unquiet days for the peace of his district, and the good behaviour of his tenants, retainers, and servants. He held his courts periodically for the trial of offences committed within his jurisdiction, as he was responsible to the king for their prevention or punishment. Hence his court was denominated the view of frank pledge; which name it still retains.

¹⁸ Chart. Ch. II. ut supra.

¹⁹ This court originally appertained to the archbishop. It is mentioned, amongst other things, in a specification of his rights and privileges in Beverley and Ripon. Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. V. 1415. No. 25. Et q' toutz les Archevesques d' Everwyk serroient illoeques desoutz le Roy, maintenours et protectours, issint q' nully ascune poaire illoeques exerceroit forsq; les ditz Archevesques; p' force des quelles articles, les Predecessours du dit suppliant, de temps dount memorie ne court et devaunt, ount en a Beverley et Rypon, *Tourne de Viscount* et tout ceo q' a celle apportient &c. In the Appendix, D. is a translation of the entire document.

²⁰ Vid. Append. L.

shall be keeper of the gaol.²¹ That they by the mayor shall have assize of wine, bread, ale, fuel, and wood, within the said town and the precincts of the same; and also power of fining and amercing offenders in the abuse of weights and measures,²² and that all victuallers, &c. shall be under the government of the mayor. That they shall not be put with foreigners in any assizes, juries, attaints, or inquisitions, arising without the jurisdiction of the said town, unless it concern the king, his heirs or successors. That they shall have the goods and chattels of felons, persons outlawed and condemned; and deodand, &c. within the said town and liberties;²³ with return of all writs, precepts, bills, and warrants arising within the said town and liberties, and the execution of them by the mayor.²⁴

The borough sends two members to parliament. Writs were issued to the bailiffs of Beverley by king Edward I.; and the borough sent up deputies at the expense of the town to all the parliaments of that monarch, but made no other return, although it received summonses in the reign of Edward III. until the 5 Elizabeth when the privilege was renewed.²⁵ The elections, as the borough is entirely free, and under the influence of no preponderating interest, are usually contested with great severity. "The right of election is in the freemen of the town, who acquire this right by birth, servitude or purchase. First, a freeman's son, if born within the liberties of the town, but not otherwise, is entitled to his freedom when of the age of twenty one-years. Secondly, an apprentice for seven years to a freeman residing within the borough but not otherwise, upon the expiration of that term, is admitted,

²¹ This is also a relic of the feudal power exercised by the archbishop. In the pleas of quo warranto, the archbishop "clam' eciam ab antiquo *custodiam pisonu* in utag villa. (Beverley and Ripon.) Clam' eciam ab antiquo *delib'ac'oem gaole* fac'e s'b hac forma de illis qui capti sunt in lib'tate sua ad sectam cū manuop'e et eciam de captis in lib'tate p'dca p' suspic'oe lat' o'cinii v'l al'tius malef'ti sive f'e'm fuit in lib'tate v'l ex^a dū tam' sit indictat⁹ se velit pon'e sup' ho'ies ville et tūc judicabit' in cur' archiep'i se'dm vered'em jur' &c. Et si vic' mandav'it ball'io ipius archiep'i &c. q'd aliquis com'orans in una p'd'caz duaz villaz indictat⁹ v'l appellat⁹ fuit de aliquo malef'co forinseco &c. ba'lls ille nō ad mandatū Vic' immo assumens suspic'o'em ex hujusmodi mandato ip'm capit et ad delib'ac'oem gaole fit de eo sicut sup'ius d'cm est. Et eciam cū balli' h'eant suspic'o'em mali de aliquo invento infra lib'tatem &c. ip'm capiūt and ad delib'ac'oem g'ole fit de eo-sic' s'ri' d'cm est."

²² The provost possessed the privilege and authority granted above. He had "assisaz panis et cervisie; p'baton pondez, mensuraz, busshell, virge &c. which he held as clerk of the market. Ex. Reg. Præpos. l. l. p. 4.

²³ Another relic of feudal power. "Archiep' clam' eciam ab antiq^o *catalla fugitioz and feloniz dampnatoz* in curia sua in villis p'd'cis inventa infra lib'tates suas p'd'cas &c. Placit. de quo. War. Edw. I.

²⁴ Chart. Ch. II. ut supra.

²⁵ Willis. Notit. Parl. p. 69.

to his freedom, on paying a fine of forty shillings. Thirdly, several persons are admitted to their freedom by purchase, at the discretion of the body corporate."²⁶

The burgesses being by charter exempt from the payment of tolls in all parts of England except the city of London, it was usual in former times, before the introduction of the present comprehensive system of transacting business through the medium of commissioned agents and travelling bagmen, and when every merchant travelled on his own account, and exposed his wares for sale in fairs and markets, for a burgess of Beverley to bear about with him on these mercantile expeditions a formal certificate of his freedom, and a general specification of his exemption from all imposts and local duties to which a stranger was subject, who carried with him his stock of goods for publick sale.²⁷ This certificate was authenticated under the hand and seal of the mayor.²⁸ Similar certificates were formerly

²⁶ Oldf. Hist. Bor. Edit. 1794. vol. ii. p. 282.

²⁷ This privilege appears to have been regarded with extreme jealousy in the neighbouring fairs and markets, and its validity was often questioned. So early as the fourteenth century, the collectors of toll for South-Cave refused to permit Thomas Chandler, a burgess of Beverley, to expose his goods for sale within their district without payment of the usual impost. An action at law was the consequence, and the privilege was fully established by the verdict of a jury. From an exemplification amongst the corporation records, dated 26 Hen. VI. marked 14 C. In 1599, William Metham refused to pay a demand made by the toll-collectors of Beverley, of four-pence for every horse laden with merchandize, which he had purchased at the cross fair, and carried away from thence; and a verdict of recovery was entered against him for the amount. From another exemplification dated 8 Ch. I. and marked 18 D. Other disputes ensued, which always had the same termination. The certificate was disallowed at Lincoln; Corp. Rec. 23 Oct. 1600; and again at Barnsley; Ibid. May, 1611; in both cases the claimant was protected in his rights by a jury of his country. About the same time a suit was commenced against Francis Richardson, a burgess and collector of the tolls at Beverley, for demanding and taking toll of a person from North-Froddingham. The disputes with the town of Hull have been constant and unremitted; sometimes about toll in the markets; Corp. Rec. 1686; at others for passing the North-Bridge, &c. Ibid. 1701. In October, 1756, tolls were demanded by the collector of tolls at Hull, from all *non-resident* burgesses of Beverley. The corporation of the latter place protested against the demand; and the recorder of Hull was directed to reply to the protest; but the rights of the burgesses were founded on too firm a basis to yield to any power which was inferior to that by which its charters were originally conceded, and the repeated attempts to infringe their privileges only served to corroborate them; and furnish decisive evidence that the burgesses of Beverley have a right to impose toll in their own markets, and are exempt from the payment of it in the markets of other towns.

²⁸ The following is a copy of this certificate of exemption from toll.

Town of Beverley, in the county of York—To wit.

To all persons to whom these presents shall come. Walter Wride, esquire, mayor of the said town of Beverley sendeth greeting. Know ye that king Athelstan of famous memory did grant, and also king Henry I. did grant and confirm to the men of the said town of Beverley, and afterwards to them by the name of governors or keepers and burgesses of Beverley, an exemption from all manner of impost, toll, tallage, stallage, tonage, lastage, pickage, wharfage, and of and from all and every the like exactions, payments, and duties throughout and in all places what-

issued out of the Provost's court for the protection of the inhabitants of Saint John's parish, who did not enjoy the freedom of the borough; and these were authenticated under the seal of the court, and signed by the clerk.

Few towns in England have had greater distinction conferred on them by royal clemency than the town of Beverley. From Athelstan to James II. scarcely a monarch has occupied the throne of England without honouring the inhabitants with some substantial tokens of regard. In general, charters have been multiplied with a lavish partiality, and the rights and privileges of the burgesses, ecclesiastical as well as civil, have been confirmed from time to time by kings and prelates; both striving by munificent grants and donations to exalt the town to pre-eminence as the head of the East-riding of Yorkshire. These invaluable documents are sixty in number (besides volumes of patents and licences to the town for private purposes) as will appear by the subjoined list.

No.	DATE.		By whom granted.	Mark of Reference amongst the Corporation Records.
	Day and Month.	Year.		
1	No date	925	Athelstan.	
2	No date		Edward the Confessor.	
3	No date		William I.	
4	No date		Archbishop Thurstan.	No. 2.
5	No date	1136	1 Stephen.	1.
6	No date		Henry II. ²⁹	4 A.

soever by land and sea within and all their dominion of England and Wales; which said grants were confirmed by all or most of the succeeding kings and queens to the time of queen Elizabeth, who confirmed the same to them by the name of mayor, governors, and burgesses of Beverley; which said several grants have been also confirmed by all or most of the kings and queens of this realm till this time as by many and sundry charters under their great seals more at large may appear. These are therefore to certify that S.—— J.——, nurseryman and chymist, is a burgess of the said town of Beverley, and is thereby discharged of and from all and every the said exactions, payments, and duties. In testimony whereof the said mayor hath hereunto subscribed his name, and caused the common seal of the said town used in this behalf to be affixed the eleventh day of December, in the eighth year of the reign of our most gracious sovereign lord George the Third, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the Faith, and so forth.

Signed,

Walter


 L. S.

Wride, mayor.

²⁹ There are some reasons for believing that this is a charter of king Henry I.

No.	DATE.		By whom granted.	Mark of Reference amongst the Corporation Records.
	Day and Month.	Year.		
7	No date		Archbishop William.	No. 3.
8	No date		Henry II.	4 B.
9	30th September	1193	5 Richard I.	5 R. 1.
10	18th April	1199	1 John.	6 A.
11	20th April	1199	1 John.	6 B.
12	8th January	1230	14 Henry III.	7 B.
13	No date		Henry III.	7 C.
14	13th February	1237	21 Henry III.	7 D.
15	2nd May	1263	47 Henry III.	7 E.
16	2nd June	1272	56 Henry III.	7 G.
17	No date	1283	Archbishop Wykham	8 B.
18	No date	1284	Dean and Chapter of York.	8 C.
19	11th April	1307	35 Edward I.	8 D.
20	7th September	1310	4 Edward II.	9 A.
21	4th March	1323	16 Edward II.	9 B.
22	14th December	1332	6 Edward III.	10 A.
23	16th April	1347	21 Edward III.	10 B.
24	3rd July	1365	39 Edward III.	10 C.
25	14th February	1377	51 Edward III.	10 E.
26	14th February	1377	51 Edward III.	10 F.
27	11th January	1378	1 Richard II.	11 A.
28	30th January	1379	2 Richard II.	11 B.
29	4th February	1380	3 Richard II.	11 C.
30	2nd April	1380	Archbishop Alexander.	11 D.
31	4th April	1380	Dean and Chapter of York.	11 E.
32	18th October	1382	6 Richard II.	11 F.
33	16th June	1397	20 Richard II.	11 G.
34	28th November	1399	1 Henry IV.	12 A.
35	23rd August	1404	5 Henry IV.	12 B.
36	30th June	1413	1 Henry V.	13 A.
37	8th February	1415	2 Henry V.	13 B.
38	10th May	1423	1 Henry VI.	14 A.
39	15th May	1423	1 Henry VI.	14 B.
40	5th May	1450	28 Henry VI.	14 D.
41	17th December	1461	1 Edward IV.	15 A.
42	10th February	1483	22 Edward IV.	15 C.
43	17th January	1487	2 Henry VII.	16 H.
44	10th February	1511	2 Henry VIII.	17 A.
45	7th February	1526	17 Henry VIII.	17 B.
46	1st May	1539	31 Henry VIII.	17 F.
47	27th February	1543	34 Henry VIII.	17 H.
48	1st February	1548	2 Edward VI.	18 A.
49	1st February	1548	2 Edward VI.	18 B.
50	18th October	1554	1 & 2 Philip & Mary	19 A.
51	22nd January	1555	1 & 2 Philip & Mary	19 B.
52	9th November	1559	1 Elizabeth.	20 D.
53	9th November	1559	1 Elizabeth.	20 E.
54	4th July	1573	15 Elizabeth.	20 G.

No.	DATE.		By whom granted.	Mark of Reference amongst the Corporation Records.
	Day and Month.	Year.		
55	2nd July	1579	21 Elizabeth.	20 I.
56	3rd February	1585	27 Elizabeth.	20 O.
57	7th April.	1599	41 Elizabeth.	20 Q.
58	4th December	1628	4 Charles I.	21.
59	5th September	1662	15 Charles II.	22.
60	11th March	1684	1 James II.	23.

The jurisdiction of the body corporate extends over six townships, besides the borough itself, viz. Molescroft, Stork-cum-Sandholm, Tickton-cum-Hull-bridge, Weel, Woodmansey-cum-Beverley-Parks, and Thearne; forming together the extensive parish of Saint John. Richard Dixon, esquire, is lord of the manor of Beverley Water-Towns, comprising the five latter;³⁰ and Wm. Beverley, esquire, is lord of the manor of Beverley chapter, which includes Molescroft and the adjoining parts within the liberties.

The arms and seals of the corporation exhibit six varieties. The oldest, according to Drake,³¹ is emblazoned with the figure of Saint John of Beverley seated on the fridstol, and trampling on the ancient emblem of the town, the beaver. Over his head is a canopy of tabernacle work, and on one of the shields the arms of archbishop Savage are impaled with the old arms of the see of York. This prelate was translated in 1501. The borough must necessarily have been possessed of seals more ancient than this; and accordingly at the visitation of the Norroy king-at-arms in 1585, the representations of four different specimens of arms and seals

³⁰ The manor, &c. is thus described in the Abstract of Title published on the recent sale of lord Yarborough's estates. "The manors of Beverley and Beverley Water-Towns with the appurtenances, and 120 messuages, 5 dove-houses, 95 gardens, 2000 acres of land, 800 acres of meadow, 800 acres of pasture, 10 acres of furze and heath, 20 acres of wood, the annual rents of £50.; common of pasture for all manner of cattle, common of Turbary, common of Estovers, free fishing, free warren, liberty of foldage, courts-leet, courts-baron, and other courts, perquisites, and profits of courts, view of frank pledge, and all that to view of frank pledge doth belong, heriots, fines, amerciements, goods and chattels of felons and fugitives, felons of themselves and outlawed persons, deodands, waifs, estrays, rents, services, royalties, jurisdictions, franchises, liberties, easements, profits, commodities, emoluments, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances in Beverley, Beverley-Parks, Ticton, Weel, Woodmansey, Thearne, Hull-bridge, Stork, Sandholm, Waughen, and Cottingham, and in the parishes of Saint John and Saint Mary in Beverley, Waughen, and Cottingham."

³¹ Ebor. Append. cij.

were found in the Guild-hall, some of which would be the primitive bearings of the town; although it is impossible, at this distance of time, to pronounce accurately on the order of precedence. They all, however, bear the beaver, and are therefore legitimate ensigns of the town of Beverley.

First. Quarterly. 1 and 4. An eagle displayed.

2 and 3. Barry wavee.

A beaver statant regardant in chief.

Second. A seal. In the centre a beaver passant, surrounded with branched ornaments, with a legend, SIGILLUM BURGENSEM BEVERLACI.

Third. Or. a beaver displayed. *arg.* winged.

Fourth. Barry wavee. A & B.

On a chief B. a beaver statant regardant. *or.*

The present seal of the corporation is,

Arg. Three waves *sable.*

On a chief *sable*, a beaver statant regardant. *arg.*³²

The officers of the corporation for the present year are as follows:—

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

John Stewart, esquire.—Charles Harrison Batley, esquire.

RECORDER.—John Vincent Thompson, esquire.

MAYOR.—John Williams, esquire.

ALDERMEN.

Thomas Clubley, esquire.

Marmaduke Hewitt, esquire.

Thomas Duesbery, esquire.

William Beverley, esquire.

Samuel Hall, esquire.

John Hall, esquire.

Thomas Hull, M. D. esquire.

Henry William Maister, esquire.

Henry John Shepherd, esquire.

Frederick Robertson, esquire.

Francis Iveson, esquire.

John Barker Arden, esquire.

³² It is said that the motto, *Ubi libertas, ibi patriâ*, was formerly used; on what authority I know not.

At the same visitation the following arms were found in the Guild-hall:—

First. B. a fess, *or*, inter three human heads caboshed, *or*.

Second. A. three hawk's heads, *sable*, beaked, *or*.

Third. Quarterly. 1 and 4. *sable*, a bend double cottised floree. A.
2 and 3. A. three escallops. *Gules*.

Fourth. A. a pale B. charged with a human head caboshed, *or*, inter two pierced roundlets, *or*, over all a bendlet sinister, *gules*. Being the arms of Richard Wilson, third mayor of Beverley, 1575.

CAPITAL BURGESSES.

Mr. John Muschamp	Capt. John Terry
Mr. James Thompson	Mr. John Sugdon
Mr. William Richardson	Mr. Robert Walker
Mr. John Barber	Mr. John Walker
Mr. William Harland	Mr. Richard Jameson, jun.
Mr. Thomas Brigham	Mr. Thomas Bentley
Mr. Matthew Burkinshaw	

COMMON CLERK.—William Bower, esquire.

CORPORATION CLERK.—Mr. John Willis.

List of Members of Parliament.

It has been already observed that the borough of Beverley sent up deputies to all the parliaments of Edward I.; and made no other return,³³ though the bailiffs received three summonses in the succeeding reign, until the time of queen Elizabeth, from whom the borough received a charter of incorporation.

ELIZABETH.

An. Reg.	A. Dom.	
5	1563.	Nicholas Bacon, esq.—Robert Hall, esq.
13	1571.	Edward Ellerker, esq.—Thomas Leighton, esq.
14	1572.	Richard Topcliffe, esq.—Thomas Eglington, esq.
27	1565.	John Stanhope, esq.—Robert Wrote, esq.
28	1586.	George Purefoy, jun. esq.—Michael Warton, esq.
31	1588.	Lancelot Alford, esq.—John Truslove, esq.
35	1592.	Edward Alford, esq.—John Mansfield, esq.
39	1597.	Thomas Crompton, esq.—Edward Alford, esq.
43	1601.	Ralph Swaine, gent.—Edward Francis, esq.

³³ The return of deputies to parliament was a heavy tax upon the boroughs, when, by a statute of Richard II. they were obliged to allow each representative two shillings a day, with all expenses incurred in going up and returning home. In the reign of Henry VI. eleven shillings a day was the usual fee during their attendance on parliament; Rot. Parl. 8 Hen. VI. C. 41. and therefore the borough of Beverley may be esteemed fortunate in being exempted from such a burdensome duty.

JAMES I.

An. Reg. A. Dom.

- 1 1603. Alan Percy, esq.—William Gee, esq.³⁴
- 12 1614. Walter Covert, knight.
- 18 1620. Christopher Hildyard, knt.—Edmund Scot, esq.
- 21 1623. Sir Francis Fane, knt. (in whose place) sir Henry Carey, knt.—
Edmund Scot, esq.

CHARLES I.

- 1 1625. Sir John Hotham, bart.—William Alford, esq.
- 1 1626. Sir John Hotham, bart.—William Alford, esq.
- 3 1628. Sir John Hotham, bart.—William Alford, esq.
- 15 1640. Sir John Hotham, bart.—Michael Warton, esq.
- 16 1640. Sir John Hotham, bart.³⁵—Michael Warton, esq.
- 1645. John Nelthorp, esq.—James Nelthorp, esq.

CHARLES II.

- 5 1653. The little parliament.³⁶ No return.
- 6 1654. Francis Thorp, esq.³⁷
- 8 1656. Francis Thorp, esq.
- 11 1658-9 Thomas Strickland, esq.—John Anlaby, esq.

³⁴ Sir William Gee, of Beverley, knight, was recorder at this time.

³⁵ Sir John Hotham was governor of Hull, and in 1642, closed the gates against his king. In the following year, he and his son were discovered to hold correspondence with the royal party; in consequence of which sir John was taken prisoner and brought before a court martial at Guild-hall, November 30, 1644, where, upon the proof of thirty witnesses, whose evidence tended to accuse him of many capital crimes against the parliament, and after leave being given him to make a full defence, on the 7th of December, he received this sentence;—that he should suffer death, by having his head cut off on Monday, December 16th; but on his lady's petition for time to settle his estates, the execution was deferred. His son being convicted of the same crimes, received also sentence of death, which was executed on both some short time afterwards. Betham's Baron. vol. i. p. 245. On the death of these two unfortunate gentlemen, king Charles thus moralizes. "I cannot but observe how God, not long after so pleaded and avenged my cause in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoide the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to owne it as a notable stroke and prediction of divine vengeance." Eikon Basilike, p. 31. Lord Clarendon says, sir John was master of a noble fortune, rich in money, of a very ancient family, and well allied: his affections to the government very good, and that no man less desired to see the nation involved in a civil war than he; not imagining when he accepted the employment of the parliament, it would ever engage him in a rebellion. Betham. ut supra.

³⁶ This parliament was convened by Oliver Cromwell, but no representatives were summoned from either cities or boroughs except London. Seven members were returned for the whole county of York.

³⁷ One of the barons of the Exchequer.

An. Reg. A. Dom.

12 1660 Sir John Hotham.—Sir Hugh Bethell, (in whose place) Michael Warton, esq.

13 1661. Michael Warton, esq.—Sir John Hotham, bart.

31 1679. Sir John Hotham, bart.—Michael Warton, esq.

32 1680. Sir John Hotham, bart.—Michael Warton, esq.

JAMES II.

1 1685. Michael Warton, esq.—Sir Ralph Warton, knt.

4 1688. Sir John Hotham, bart.—Sir Michael Warton, knt.

4 1688-9 Sir John Hotham, bart.—Sir Michael Warton, knt.

WILLIAM & MARY.

1 1689. Sir John Hotham, in the place of his father, deceased.

2 1689. Sir Michael Warton, knt.—William Gee, esq.

WILLIAM III.

1 1695. Sir Michael Warton, knt.—Ralph Warton, esq.

6 1700. Sir Michael Warton, knt.—Ralph Warton, esq.

7 1701. Sir Michael Warton, knt.—William Gee, esq.

ANNE.

1 1702. Sir Charles Hotham, bart.³⁸—William Gee, esq.

4 1705. Sir Charles Hotham, bart.—John Moyser, esq.

7 1708. Sir Charles Hotham, bart.—Sir Michael Warton, knt.

9 1710. Sir Charles Hotham, bart.—Sir Michael Warton, knt.

12 1713. Sir Charles Hotham, bart.—Sir Michael Warton, knt.

GEORGE I.

1 1714. Sir Charles Hotham, bart.—Sir Michael Warton, knt.³⁹

³⁸ This gentleman, who was colonel of the king's own royal regiment of dragoons, married two wives. First, Bridget, daughter of William Gee, of Bishop-Burton, esquire, by whom he had two sons, sir Charles and sir Beaumont, and three daughters, Elizabeth, the wife of sir Thomas Style, of Watlingbury, in Kent, bart. Philippa, of William Gee, of Bishop-Burton, in Yorkshire, and Charlotta, of Warton Warton, of Beverley, esquire. His second wife Mildred, youngest daughter of James Cecil, earl of Salisbury, and widow of sir Uvedale Corbet, of Longmore, Salop, bart. by whom he had one son, Richard, who died young. Betham's Baron. ut supra.

³⁹ Sir Michael Warton was the great benefactor of the town of Beverley, and deserves to have his name transmitted to posterity crowned with honour. In his time the minster church was in a state of perfect ruin; but he was the restorer of its glories. He promoted a subscription for its repair, and placed his name at the head of the list as a donor of £400.; nor did he stop here, but at his death left £4,000. as a perpetual fund to keep it in constant good repair. He bequeathed also £1,000. to augment the hospital founded by his father, £500. to the charity school; and several sums to the poor of Beverley.

An. Reg. A. Dom.

- 8 1722. Sir Charles Hotham, bart.—Michael Newton, esq.⁴⁰

GEORGE II.

- 1 1727. Charles Pelham, esq.⁴¹—Ellerker Bradshaw, esq.
7 1734. Sir Charles Hotham, bart.⁴²—Ellerker Bradshaw, esq.
14 1741. Charles Pelham, esq.—William Strickland, esq.
20 1747. Charles Pelham, esq.—Sir William Codrington, bart.
27 1754. Sir W. Codrington, bart.—Geo. Forster Tuffnell, esq.

GEORGE III.

- 1 1761. Michael Newton, esq.—George Forster Tuffnell, esq.
8 1768. Hugh Bethell, esq.—Charles Anderson, esq.⁴³
12 1772. Sir Griffith Boynton, bart. in the place of H. Bethell, esq.⁴⁴
14 1774.⁴⁵ Sir James Pennymán, bart.—George Forster Tuffnell, esq.
20 1780. Sir James Pennymán, bart.—Evelyn Anderson, esq.
24 1784.⁴⁶ Sir Christopher Sykes, bart.—Sir James Pennymán, bart.
30 1790.⁴⁷ John Warton, esq.—Sir James Pennymán, bart.
35 1795. William Tatton, esq.—N. C. Burton, esq.
39 1799. J. B. S. Morritt, esq. in the place of W. Tatton, esq. deceased.
42 1802.⁴⁸ John Hall Wharton, esq.—General N. C. Burton
46 1806.⁴⁹ General R. Vyse—John Wharton, esq.

⁴⁰ The number of voters at this election was 696. Newton, 552; Hotham, 493; Ellerker Bradshaw, 353.

⁴¹ This gentleman was the son of Charles Pelham, of Brocklesby, esq. by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Michael Warton, of Beverley, esq. He died without surviving issue, February 6th, 1763, leaving his estates to Charles Anderson, his great nephew, and afterwards the first lord Yarborough.

⁴² This sir Charles succeeded his father in the representation of the borough. He was colonel of the first troop of horse grenadier guards, and groom of the bedchamber to king George II. He married in 1724, Gertrude, eldest daughter of Philip Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, and died 15th January, 1757, leaving one son and three daughters.

⁴³ Afterwards lord Yarborough, of Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire.

⁴⁴ G. F. Tuffnell was a candidate at this election.

⁴⁵ The number of voters at this election was 888. Sir C. Thompson was the unsuccessful candidate.

⁴⁶ This was a severe contest, and the number of voters had increased to 996. Evelyn Anderson, esq. however, with all the weight of the bar interest in his favour, was unable to secure his return.

⁴⁷ Mr. Egerton was the unsuccessful candidate. Number of voters, 1069.

⁴⁸ Mr. Morritt was unseated by the strenuous efforts of his adversaries.

⁴⁹ And in his turn general Burton lost his seat, though he sustained a spirited contest with steady resolution and perseverance against his brother officer.

An. Reg. A. Dom.

- 47 1807. Captain R. Howard Vyse.—John Wharton, esq.
 52 1812.⁵⁰ John Wharton, esq.—Charles Forbes, esq.
 58 1818.⁵¹ John Wharton, esq.—Robert Charles Burton, esq.

GEORGE IV.

- 1 1820. John Wharton, esq.—George Lane Fox, esq.
 6 1826. John Stewart, esq.—Charles Harrison Batley, esq.

The following illustrated list of abbots, provosts, and mayors, as the chief magistrates of the town of Beverley from the earliest times, is the result of much anxious research and deliberation; and it is submitted in the hope that it may prove both useful and entertaining; and be an acceptable present to all who feel an interest in such investigations.

Abbots.

An. Reg.

A. Dom.

704. Brithunus.⁵²
 733. Winwaldus.⁵³
 752. Wulfeth.⁵⁴

Provosts.

- 5 Will. II. 1092. Thomas.⁵⁵
 9 Hen. I. 1109. Thurstan.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ At this election 1290 voters appear to have polled upon the hustings; and the numbers stood thus; Wharton, 804; Forbes, 731; and William Beverley, of Beverley, esq, 592.

⁵¹ Four candidates offered themselves at this election, and the numbers on the days of election were, Wharton, 826; Burton, 669; Wells, 279; Beverley, 238.

⁵² Brithunus or Berthun was appointed by Saint John as the first abbot. He died in 733, and was buried near the archbishop. His bones were translated when the minster was consumed by fire, A. D. 1188. *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 102.

⁵³ A monk of the same place; he was appointed in 733, and died in 751.

⁵⁴ The rest of the abbots are unknown.

⁵⁵ Thomas, the first provost, was the nephew of Thomas, archbishop of York, and was nominated the first provost by consent of the canons and all others who had any interest in the appointment. *Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev.* l. i. p. 56.

⁵⁶ This great man was removed from the provostship to the archiepiscopal see of York. He was the first archbishop who had a prebend in the church of Beverley; which honour his successors in the see retained. He improved the provostship, and procured to it the manor of Bentley as a free gift from William de Rowmara, earl of Lincoln, which was subsequently confirmed by the

An. Reg.		A. Dom.	
14 Hen.	I.	1114.	Thomas the Norman. ⁵⁷
35 Hen.	I.	1135.	Robert. Thomas à Becket. ⁵⁸
8 Hen.	II.	1162.	Robert. ⁵⁹
16 Hen.	II.	1170.	Galfridus. ⁶⁰
1 Rich.	I.	1189.	Simon. ⁶¹
7 John.		1206.	Fulco Bassett. ⁶²
22 Hen.	III.	1238.	John de Cheshull. ⁶³

following charter of Stephen. "Stephanus Rex Angl' Archiep'o Ebor' et Will'o Comit'is, Justic' vir et Baron et Ministr' et o'bus fidel' suis Franc' et Anglic' Ebor' Sal'tm Sciatis q'd concedo and confirm' illam donac'oem and reddic'oem quas Will'us de Rowmara fec' deo and ecclie S'ci Joh'is de Bevlaco et Thurstino p'po'ito et successor' suis de mane'r Bennetley, Quare volo and firmiter p'sip' qd eccl'ia p'dca' and Turstinas p'po'itus and successor' teneant and possideant maner' p'dæ cū o'ibus ei p'tinentibus bnē and in pace h'b'e and honorifice and quiete in omnibus rebus sicut tenent alias t'ras suas, Et sicut idem Willus maner illud eis dedit and concess'it p' carta sua confirmavit.

⁵⁷ He is said to have held his office "temp'ibus R. Henrico pri. et partim Regis Stephani." Ex. Reg. Præpos. l. l. p. 57; and we find his provostship commencing in 1114 as above. Mad. Exch. vol. p. 11. in notā. k.

⁵⁸ This celebrated character, who was afterwards elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, and rendered himself famous by his unyielding obstinacy in opposing the will of king Henry I. was first prebendary of Saint Michael in the collegiate church of Beverley, and afterwards provost. He is highly lauded in the Registers of the Provostry. l. l. p. 57.

⁵⁹ Radulfus Archidiaconus et Robertus Præpositus de Beverlaco. r. c. de CCC & Lxvjl & xiijs & iiijd de Dono suo ut sint in Custodia et protectione Regis sicut Dominici Clerici sui. Mag. Rot. Hen. II. Rot. 5 a. Everwick.

⁶⁰ In the Provost's Register is a lease of his, dated 24. Hen. II. l. l. p. 51.

⁶¹ Carta Johan. hominibus de Sancto Botulfo and de Socha qui sunt de honore de Richemund in Hoiland. Data per manum Simonis Præpositi de Beverlaco, &c. Rot. Cart. 5 Joh. m. 14.

⁶² Faulk Basset Præpositus de Beverlaco habet literas directas militibus et liberis hominibus suis deprecatorias, de Auxilio ad debita sua acquietanda. Rot. Pat. 18 Hen. III. m. 9. He was presented to the church of Cotesbrook, in Northamptonshire, in 1239. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 266. In the Provost's Register it is said—ejus itaq' temp'ibus in Bedd' fuer' corrod' moderata. l. l. p. 58. He was afterwards bishop of London; and "as he was a man of great linage, and also of ample, both temporall and ecclesiasticall possessions, so was hee a prelate of an invincible high spirit; stout and couragious to resist those insupportable exactions which the Pope's Legate Rustandus, went about to lay upon the clergie. Hee died of the plague here in London, A. D. 1258, and was buried in Saint Paul's." Weever. Fun. Mon. p. 363.

⁶³ This is the orthography in Madox, Willis, and one part of the Provost's Register; in another part of the latter document the spelling is different. Mr. Chusyll p'po'it' Bev'lac' &c. molendin' aquat' sup' Milnebeeke quam tenere solebam &c. l. l. p. 49. He was also archdeacon of London, king's chancellor, Mad. Exch. vol. i. p. 70. vol. ii. p. 55. and dean of Saint Paul's, treasurer of England, twice keeper of the great seal, and bishop of London. He died April 10, 1279. Weever. Fun. Mon. p. 363.

An. Reg.	A. Dom.	
25 Hen. III.	1241. ⁶⁴	William de Eboraco. ⁶⁵
32 Hen. III.	1248.	John Maunsell. ⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Reg. Walter Grey Archiep.

⁶⁵ William of York was the son of sir Nicholas York, and grandson of William, the son of Simon de Hebden, from whom he inherited the family estates in that township and elsewhere. He was chantor of the cathedral at York, and one of the king's justices itinerant. At the commencement of his provostship he received official letters in common with the bishops and others, informing him of the situation of the royal family on the breach of the truce by the king of France; Claus. 26 Hen. III. and was a subscribing witness to the convention between the king and Richard his brother. Rot. Pat. 28 Hen. III. In the Hundred Rolls we find this provost named, in answer to the enquiry, Qui alii a Rege clamant, &c.? D'nt q'd in lib'tate Sc'i Joh' Beverlaci placitat' frisca forcia a temp'e *Will'i de Eboz* videlt' a t'ginta annis D'ns de Bev'lay h't furcas a xv annis nescitur q'o war'o. Rot. Hund. Again; *W. de Eboz* preposit' Bev'lay finem fecit cum R. p' h'nda custodia t're et h'edum Will'i de Werevill' usq; ad legitimam etatem ip'oz h'edum una cum maritag' eosdem. Rot. Orig. 29 Hen. III. Ro. 4. He was ultimately advanced to the bishoprick of Salisbury, Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 1. p. 58. and in 1246 fined the city of London £1000. for harbouring Walter Bukerel, qui requiruntur in prædicto Itinere *Willelmi de Eboraco*. Mag. Rot. 30 Hen. III.

⁶⁶ The following memoir of this celebrated man, which has been collected with great industry from the public records of the kingdom, will doubtless be acceptable, connected as he was with the town of Beverley, and occupying for so long a period, its highest magisterial authority. John Maunsell, our provost, was the grandson of Philip Maunsell or Mansel, who accompanied the Norman Conqueror into England. He was in high favour with Henry III. who consulted him on all occasions, employed him in many diplomatic missions of the highest importance; and his address and superior talent soon advanced him to the chiefest dignities of his profession. He first attained the rank of king's chaplain; M. Par. p. 1071. and in the 18 Hen. III. he was appointed to execute a certain office at the Exchequer, probably that of chancellor. The appointment was by close writ. The king by his writ directed to Hugh de Pateshull, treasurer, sent John Maunsell to reside at the Exchequer of Receipt, and to have a counter roll of all things pertaining to the said receipt, and commanded the treasurer to admit him accordingly. Mad. Exch. vol. ii. p. 51. In 1243, he was a subscribing witness to the charter of dowry to the queen. Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 420. In the same year he was constituted chancellor of Saint Paul's, and was a witness to the convocation between the king and his brother Richard. Ibid. p. 421. In 1244 and 1246 respectively, he was made keeper of the great seal as vice chancellor of England. Rot. Pat. 31 Hen. III. m. 2. and 33 Hen. III. m. 3. Vid. Mad. Exch. vol. i. p. 68. His fame for the impartial administration of justice was at this time so great, that John Kechel and the rest of the men of Brampton, being engaged in a suit at law, fined 20 marks that they might have their plaint before him. Mag. Rot. 32 Hen. III. In 1248, he succeeded to the provostship of Beverley; and soon afterwards was appointed an ambassador to negotiate a nuptial treaty with the king of Spain; Rot. Pat. 37 Hen. III. n. 13. (In this document he is described as "fidelem nostrum Johannem Maunsell Cancellarium London, ac Præpositum Beverlaciæ Secretarium nostrum;") and again in the same capacity on the treaty of marriage between Beatrice, the king's daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Arragon. He received formal instructions respecting a proposed union between Edward, afterwards the first king of England of that name since the Conquest, and Eleanor of Castile; Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 490; was a subscribing witness to the grant of lands made to Edward on his marriage; Cart. 37 Hen. III. m. 8. and to the patent of dower granted to Eleanor his wife; Rot. Pat. 37 and 38 Hen. III. m. 10. and appears to have been the person principally and confidentially employed in the negotiation. In the next year he was appointed a legate with full powers to ratify the peace between England and Castile, Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 498; and to conclude a solemn and perpetual confederation between Henry and Alphonso the two kings, and their respective heirs, contra omnes homines de mundo. Ex bundel. Miscel. in Turr. Lond. Was sent to

An. Reg. A. Dom.
52 Hen. III. 1268. Alan.

the north with letters of credence to the Scottish nobility, Rot. Pat. 39 Hen. III. n. 8. and invested with almost regal powers. Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 559. Soon afterwards he was appointed one of the commissioners to conduct the king and queen of Scotland into England and back, Rot. Pat. 39 Hen. III. m. 3. an honour which was attended with some risk, and considerable expense; and received authority to protect certain Scottish barons against their rebellious opponents. Rot. Pat. 39 Hen. III. m. 2. We now find this most active and indefatigable man elevated to the council chamber, Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 567. (*Domini Regis clericus et consiliarius specialis*. M. Par. p. 529.) and instructions and information were officially communicated to him relative to the negotiations with Spain; Rot. Pat. 40 Hen. III. m. 17. as well as for settling the truce between England and France. Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 570, 580. He was one of the four to whom letters were addressed by Peter de Montfort on his progress into Wales, the other three being Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England; Philip Basset, justice of England, and Robert Walleraund; *Ex bundel litter. temp. Hen. III.* and was chiefly instrumental in suppressing the rebellion of Llewellyn the prince of that country. Betham. Baron. vol. i. p. 249. During this year, 1256, he founded a priory of Austin canons to the honour of the blessed Virgin, at Bilsington, in Kent; Tan. Notit. Kent. IV. he was named in the letters to the king of Castile, respecting a proposed marriage between the brother of that monarch and Henry's daughter, Claus. 40 Hen. III. m. 17. and at the latter end of the year was sent over to Germany with letters of credence to the princes. Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 595. In the month of August, in this year, the king and queen of Scots came into this country, and visited the English monarch at Woodstock. On their arrival in London, John Maunsell solicited the honour of entertaining them at his table; to which they graciously consented; and he invited to meet them the greater part of the nobility, spiritual and temporal, as well as an innumerable assembly of the commons. On the day appointed, our provost had provided a most magnificent entertainment; but the house being incapable of containing the vast concourse of guests, tents were erected for the superfluity in the field. Upwards of 700 dishes were served up; and as Matthew of Paris adds, somewhat exultingly, *nec visum est aliquo tempore, ut aliquis clericus tam opimum festum, tam serenum, tam sæcundum, tamque lautum peragere potuisset. Omnes enim splendide, et abundanter, ac honorifice sunt refecti.* M. Par. p. 800. After this he was sent to Scotland with a royal commission, and the barons and commanders were enjoined to await his orders and directions. Rot. Pat. 40 Hen. III. n. 15. In the next year we find him named treasurer of York; and he received letters plenipotentiary to transact business with the court at Rome respecting the kingdom of Sicily; Rot. Pat. 41 Hen. III. m. 6. and was constituted an ambassador to make terms with the pope, that the state of Sicily may be reformed, or the claim altogether relinquished, as in their discretion they should deem most conducive to the king's honour; for the pope had transferred the kingdom of Sicily to Edmond, Henry's second son; to which deed our provost was a witness, Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 502. on condition of receiving his assistance in conquering the island; and a bull had been issued calling on all the faithful to advance money towards the expedition. Ibid. p. 547. The same year Maunsell was employed in a negotiation to settle the differences between the king of Scotland and his barons; Rot. Pat. 41 Hen. III. n. 5. and again in 1258, he was associated with Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and Peter de Subaudia for the same purpose. Rot. Pat. 42 Hen. III. n. 10. During the greater part of this turbulent reign he was constantly employed in commissions of importance to the state. In 1259, he was deputed by the king to inspect the lands in Guienne and Poitou which had been ceded by France on a treaty of peace, and also respecting the money payments of the French monarch; Rot. Pat. 43 Hen. III. n. 22. and in the next year he was constituted a deputy to negotiate a marriage between the king's daughter Beatrice, and the eldest son of the duke of Brittany. Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 682. In 1260, we find him exercising the office of inspector of letters patent issued by royal authority; Ibid. p. 713, 715; and deputed by the archbishop of Canterbury to publish the papal edict, which absolved the people of England from the oaths which they had recently been compelled to take to the prejudice of the king, and enjoined the barons to

An. Reg.	A. Dom.	
54 Hen. III.	1270.	Morgan. ⁶⁷
1 Edw. I.	1273.	Petrus de Cestre. ⁶⁸
22 Edw. I.	1294.	Haymo de Charto. ⁶⁹
28 Edw. I.	1300.	Robert de Alburwick.

submit to his lawful authority. Ex bundel. Certif. infra Turr. Lond. This commission, although accompanied by letters of immunity, Ibid. p. 737. and executed with so much address as to elicit applause, Ex bund. litter. temp. Hen. III. proved somewhat dangerous; for the barons having gained a temporary advantage over the king, threw Maunsell into prison for publishing it. M. Par. p. 850. But the king, by the death of the earl of Leicester, being relieved from his troubles, set him at liberty, made him lord chancellor, Betham. Baron. vol. i. p. 250. and sent him to the court of France to receive the money which Lewis had agreed to pay at the peace; and also the jewels (jocalibus) which had been deposited in the church at Paris. Rot. Pat. 48 Hen. III. m. 2. On the subsequent captivity of the king, he secretly fled to avoid the resentment of the barons, M. Par. p. 851. who had threatened him with their severest vengeance, and remained in exile till the time of his death, which took place probably in 1265, as in that year, immediately after the battle of Evesham, the appointment of a new treasurer of York, Rot. Pat. 49 Hen. III. and some time afterwards of a new provost of Beverley took place. Ex Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 58.

In addition to all the high dignities already specified, this distinguished individual was the chief justice of England, a valiant soldier, in armis strenuus, et animo imperterritus, M. Par. p. 529. and in a battle fought between the English and French, in which he took an active part, he captured, with his own hand, a gentleman of quality named Peter Orige, after a close and well fought combat. Beth. Baron. vol. i. p. 249. He was styled by the pope, dilecto filio Johanni Maunsell, Thesaurario Eboracensi, *Capellano nostro*. Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 742. He held no less than 700 ecclesiastical livings, Hume. Engl. vol. ii. p. 169; and yet, such are the vicissitudes of life, though he lived in pomp and splendour, honoured with the confidence of his king, and possessing an influence equal to the first baron in the realm; one of the richest commoners in England, with an annual income of more than 4000 marks, M. Par. p. 740. quo non erat in toto orbe, ditior, says M. Par. p. 851. he remained, for a short time, in concealment beyond the seas, and probably died for want.

⁶⁷ Mr. Willis in his Addenda and Corrigenda, Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 338. seems to think that Alan was provost in 1205; and that Morgan his successor was the illegitimate son of king Henry II. and was elected bishop of Durham, 14 John; and in confirmation of his statement quotes Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 732. But this is wholly irreconcilable with truth, for we have seen above that Simon was provost in that very year, viz. 1205. The Provost's Register also states clearly the time in which Alan held this office. "*Tertius decimus p'po'itus Bev'lac' fuit Alanus p'po'itus temp'ibus R. Henr' tertii, &c. memorat' hujus Alani tempor' Thomas Hoston dedit et concessit et carta sua confirmavit Deo et p'po'itur' b'ti Joh'is Bev'lac' in pura et p'petua' elemosyna unam bovat terr' in Crancewyk cū tofto illo q'd Ric'us fil' Ed'ri tenuit, q'd est inter toftū Hugonis Robeles, et toftū Hugonis Messoris cū o'ibus ejusd' bovat' terr' p'tin', cū clausula warrantie, sicut patet p' cartam inde confesta et in Chartuario copiata.*" Ex. Reg. Præpos. l. 1. p. 58.

⁶⁸ This provost improved the office more than any of his predecessors. He endowed it with many tenements, revenues, and services, and left implements of husbandry, goods, and chattels, both living and dead, in all the manors belonging to the provostship. Ibid. l. 1. p. 1.

⁶⁹ A foreigner. He was deprived of the provostship and afterwards made bishop of Gloucester, according to Leland; Coll. vol. iii. p. 103. but Willis says he was promoted to a foreign see. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 267.

As. Reg.	A. Dom.
34 Edw. I.	1306. Walter de Raymund. ⁷⁰
1 Edw. II.	1308. William de Melton. ⁷¹

⁷⁰ The provostship was conferred on Walter de Raymund by letters patent, dated April 3rd, 34 Edw. I. He is however omitted in the catalogue contained in the first page of the Provost's Register, though the reason of such omission cannot now be ascertained. His name is found in every other list. He was presented in the same year to the living of South Creyke, in the county of Norfolk, and was subsequently elevated to the see of Worcester. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 267.

⁷¹ William de Melton was born in Holderness, and gave early proofs of a superior genius, which marked him out as a rising character. Being introduced at court, he soon became deeply involved in the business of the state. In 1307, he is mentioned in the act of renunciation. Rym. Fœd. tom. iii. p. 13. The next year he was employed officially by the king to transact publick business on the continent. Claus. 1 Edw. II. He acquitted himself in this commission so much to the satisfaction of the monarch, that on his return he was constituted keeper of the seals; Rym. Fœd. tom. iii. p. 59. Mad. Exch. vol. i. p. 74. and a few years afterwards we find him occupying the situation of provost of Beverley, and commissioned with confidential letters to the king of France; Claus. 5 Edw. II. m. 20. and entrusted with a negotiation in Vasconia; Claus. 6 Edw. II. m. 23. to accelerate which, he had royal letters of recommendation to the pope and cardinals, in which he is thus described, *carissimum Clericum nostrum atque familiarum, quem laudabilia decorant gratiarum munera et virtutum, et qui, a nostræ ætatis primordiis grata nobis ministravit obsequia.* Rym. Fœd. tom. iii. p. 357, 358. On his return he was called on to accompany the king in a progress on the continent, and letters of protection were granted for his security. He was soon afterwards advanced to the dignity of dean of Saint Martin's le Grand, Ibid. p. 408, and entrusted with the receipt of a loan from the bishops, abbots, and others, for the defence of the kingdom against the Scots. Claus. 7 Edw. II. m. 25. In 1314, he was appointed one of the four commissioners on the part of the king to meet the convocation at York; Rot. Pat. 7 Edw. II. m. 8.; and the succeeding year he was elevated to the archbishoprick by the particular influence of the king, and was consecrated September 25, 1317. Ex. Reg. W. Melton archiep. Ebor. an. 1317 ad 1340. In the year of his election to the see, Edward gave him this charter. *Edwardus dei gratia Rex Angl' D'nus Hib'nie Dux Aquit' Archiepis' Abbat' Prioribz Comit' Baronibus Justic' Vir P'positis Ministr' & o'ibus balijs & fidel' suis Salt'm Sciatis nos concessisse & hac carta n'ra confirmasse dilecto Cli'co nro Will'mo de Melton p'po'ito eccl'ie S'ci Joh'is Bev'laci q'd ip'e & successor sui in p'petua h'eant unam feriam singulis annis apud maneriũ suũ de Sigles-thorne in Com' Ebor' p' tres dies duratur viz' in vigil in die & in crastin' Sci' Lawrence' nisi feria illa sit ad nocumentũ viri narũ feriar.' Et q'd h'eant lib'am warrenã in o'ibus d'nicijs t'ris suis maner' p'dict' & de South-Dalton North-Burton Midelton Lokynton Walkyngton Leven Welewyk Wyneton juxta Welewyk Roston Fymmer & Ryding juxta Bev'lac' in Com' predict' dum tamen ten' ill' non sunt infra met' foriste n're. Ita q'd null' intret trãs illas ab fugand' eis vel ad aliqua cap' q'o ad warennã p'tineat sine licentia & voluntate ip'ius p'p'oiti vel successor' suoz sup' forisfactur' n'rãm p'li. Quare volumus &c. His Test' ven' pri'bus R. Dunelm & J. Carliol Epis. Thoma Comite Lancast' Joh'e de Britannia Comite Richemund Guydone de Bello Campo Com. Waren' Edmundo Comite Arundell Henr' de Percy Joh'e de Mowbray Rado fil. Willis & al'; Dat p' manũ n'rãm apud Ebor."* The archbishop expended a considerable portion of his income in repairing and beautifying his cathedral; and he appears to have been most indefatigable in the conscientious discharge of the arduous duties of his see. He visited his diocese twice a year; and was celebrated for his unaffected piety, hospitality, and benevolence. During one of these visitations in 1325, he elevated the chapel of Saint Mary, at Beverley, into a parish church, and made arrangements for its permanent endowment. Ex. Reg. W. Melton. Ebor. l. p. 66. After an eminent career of 23 years from his consecration, during which he was distinguished by an appointment to the high offices of chancellor and treasurer of England, he died at Cawood in 1340, and was buried in his cathedral at York, where is still to be seen a superb monument to his memory.

An. Reg.	A. Dom.	
8 Edw. II.	1315.	Nicholas Hugate. ⁷² William de la Mere. ⁷³
38 Edw. III.	1365.	Sir Richard de Ravenser. ⁷⁴
44 Edw. III.	1370.	Adam de Lymberg. ⁷⁵
47 Edw. III.	1373.	John Thoresby L. L. D. ⁷⁶

⁷² Prebendary of Axeby in the cathedral church of Lincoln.

⁷³ William de la Mara is mentioned in the Provost's Register, l. l. p. 50, as the *late* provost in the 38 Edward III. A. D. 1365.

⁷⁴ In 1360, a royal order was issued, Rex, dilecto Clerico suo, *Richardo de Ravensere*, Custodi Hanaperii Cancellariæ suæ, to remove the chancery rolls from the tower, and place them safely elsewhere until the chests, &c. were repaired. Claus. 34. Edw. III m. 33. In 1372, he was a subscribing witness to the league offensive and defensive with the duke of Brittany. Rym. Fœd. tom. vi. p. 738, at which time he held the office of archdeacon of Lincoln. Ib. p. 739. And he founded an hospital at Kingstone-upon-Hull, for the maintenance of twelve poor men. Tan. Notit. York. LXIV. 6. In 1375, he is spoken of as *nup' p'po'it eccl'ie Bev'lac'*; Ex. Reg. Præpos. l. l. p. 41. and was appointed as the receiver of petitions to parliament for England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, which situation he held till his death. Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 303. About the year 1380, he received and entertained at his house in Lincolnshire, the canons of Beverley who had been forcibly ejected from their benefices by the tyranny of Alexander Nevile, archbishop of York, and sustained them till the time of his death, which happened about the year 1384. Pet. in Parl. 7 Rich. II. A. D. 1383 and 1384. No. 25.

⁷⁵ Constable of Burdegalia, and one of the privy-council.

⁷⁶ The abilities of this eminent divine displayed themselves in his most early years. At the beginning of the reign of Edward he commenced his career as an ambassador to the pope, respecting the canonization of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster, who had been attainted in the preceding reign. Rym. Fœd. tom. iv. p. 268. Subsequently he was appointed canon of Southwell. Ibid. p. 422; and was a subscribing witness to a loan in the name of the king. Rot. Pat. 14 Edw. III. m. 34. He was once more deputed as an ambassador to his holiness, to procure a dispensation for a marriage between Hugh de Despenser, and Elizabeth, daughter of the earl of Salisbury. Rym. Fœd. tom. v. p. 176. In 1341 he was constituted one of the keepers of the rolls of chancery, and all other things pertaining to the office; Claus. 15 Edw. III. m. 34. and was entrusted by the celebrated Robert de Artois with the settlement of his affairs as an executor of his will; Rym. Fœd. tom. v. p. 362. and received royal letters-patent enabling him to assemble together, and arrange with the creditors of the same person. Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. III. m. 23. In the same year we find him canon of Lincoln; Rym. Fœd. tom. v. p. 469. and soon afterwards he was employed to negotiate a peace between England and France, and was so eminently successful that pope Clement addressed to him a bull, thanking him for his good offices and assistance. Ibid. p. 484. In 1376 he was advanced to the office of keeper of the private seals, Ibid. p. 518; which he held for a considerable time. But at length, as he declined into years, being weary of the labours and vicissitudes of a public life, in 1373 he exchanged the rectory of Lillefield for the provostship of Beverley, Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 267, and retired to that town to spend the remnant of his life in peace. He is termed by Leland, "a venerable and circumspect man." Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 103; and is mentioned in the Provost's Register as having instituted a general visitation of the provostry, 1 Rich. II. l. l. p. 51. He held the provostship fourteen years, and died at a very advanced age.

An. Reg.	A. Dom.	
10 Rich. II.	1387.	Robert Manfeld. ⁷⁷
7 Hen. V.	1419.	William Kinwolmarsh. ⁷⁸
		Robert Nevile. ⁷⁹
5 Hen. VI.	1427.	Robert Rolleston. ⁸⁰
		John Bernyngham. ⁸¹
15 Hen. VI.	1437.	Lawrence Bouthe. ⁸²
25 Hen. VI.	1457.	John Bouthe. ⁸³
1 Edw. IV.	1461.	Henry Webber.
6 Edw. IV.	1466.	Peter Tastar, L. L. D. ⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Robert Manfeld was prebendary of Saint James; president of the chapter, and canon residentiary of the same church; prebendary of Huthwaite in York cathedral; prebendary of Brenswood in the church of Saint Paul, London; prebendary of Cressall in the church of Saint Martin-le-Grand, London; parson of the church of Hackneys, and master of Malden hospital, Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 1. the custody of which was given to him by king Richard II. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 267.

⁷⁸ The appointment of William Kinwolmarsh to the provostship of Beverley was succeeded by that of treasurer of England. Rym. Fœd. tom. x. p. 114. He was one of the deputies appointed by Lucie, countess of Kent, to regulate her dower; Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 145, and was ultimately entrusted with the distinguished honour of conducting queen Catherine to France. Rot. Pat. 10 Hen. V. m. 16.

⁷⁹ He built a tower to the Beddern where the provost's house was situated. Lel. Col. vol. iii. p. 103, and was subsequently promoted to the bishopricks of Salisbury and Durham. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 267.

⁸⁰ In 1421, Robert Rolleston, as guardian of the great wardrobe, (*nôtre grande garderobe*) was commanded to deliver articles of clothing, &c. to the Sire d'Estoteville, then a prisoner in the tower. Rym. Fœd. tom. x. p. 159. He was present with the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of St. Asaph, when it was determined to raise the sum of 2,000 marks by the expedient of pawning the king's "*riche coler*." Ibid. tom. xi. p. 55. In 1450, the year of his death, Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 69, he is mentioned as *formerly* provost of Beverley in a *rentale redditum & firmarum terrarum tenementorum &c. pertinen. Cantariæ Rob. Rolleston clerici, nuper Præpos, &c. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 108.*

⁸¹ He is described in letters-patent, dated 9 Hen. V. as "*Johannes Bernyngham clericus, de canonicatu & præbendâ dictâ de sancto Jacobo in ecclesiâ cathedrali Lexovien.*" Rym. Fœd. tom. x. p. 112. He died treasurer of York, A. D. 1437. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 267.

⁸² This provost resigned his office in 1457, being promoted in that year to the see of Durham; and subsequently to that of York. Ibid. p. 267.

⁸³ John Bouthe was advanced to the see of Exeter in 1466. Ibid.

⁸⁴ A patent was addressed to Peter Tastar, as "*Decano Sancti Severini*," constituting him an ambassador to enquire into the conduct of the aggressors, who, in defiance of the solemn truce with the duke of Burgundy, had committed ravages on his lands; and to settle disputes, &c. Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. IV. m. 5. and the chamberlains of the exchequer were ordered to pay him forty pounds for his forty days expenses. Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 504. In 1465 he was constituted a member of the privy council, Ibid. p. 541, and the year following provost of Beverley, Ib. p. 563, when he was also appointed one of the ambassadors to negotiate a truce with France. Ibid. p. 565.

An. Reg.	A. Dom.	
15 Edw. IV.	1475.	William Potman, L. L. D. ⁸⁵
10 Edw. V.	1493.	Hugh Trotter.
		Thomas Scot. ⁸⁶
		Thomas Dalby. ⁸⁷
17 Hen. VIII.	1525.	Thomas Winter. ⁸⁸
		Reginald Lee. ⁸⁹

Mayors.—15 ELIZABETH.

A. D.	A. D.
1573 Edward Ellerker, esq. ⁹⁰	1584 Stephen Smales.
1574 Richard Bullock, gentleman.	1585 Peter Harpham.
1575 Richard Wilson, gentleman.	1586 John Truslove.
1576 William Farley, gentleman.	1587 Robert Freeman.
1577 Robert Harley, tanner.	1588 William Farley.
1578 Robert Brown, tanner.	1589 Edward Truslove.
1579 Giles Spencer.	1590 John Truslove.
1580 John Johnson.	1591 George Barthorp.
1581 Richard Grabury.	1592 Sir Lancelot Alford, knight. ⁹¹
1582 Robert Ingleton.	1593 John Truslove.
1583 John Raffles, deceased.	1594 Philip Wade, fellmonger.
Robert Farrey, elect.	1595 Peter Harpham. ⁹²

⁸⁵ In 1472, William Potman is particularly named as an acting commissioner to communicate with the Scottish commissioners at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Rot. Scot. 12 Edw. IV. and again respecting some aggressions in the Marches, in violation of the truce with Scotland. Ibid. 13 Edw. IV. In 1475, we find him canon of York and provost of Beverley. Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 851.

⁸⁶ He was first a prebendary, and then provost of Beverley; and afterwards advanced through the gradations of bishop of Rochester, bishop of Lincoln, archbishop of York, and keeper of the privy seals, to the dignity of lord high chancellor of England.

⁸⁷ In 1509, Thomas Dalby was archdeacon of Richmond and king's chaplain. Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 247. He was constituted an overseer of the bishoprick during the vacancy of the see of Durham, with full powers, &c. Rot. Pat. 24 Hen. VII. m. 26. He was also a canon of Beverley, prebendary of Stevelington, chaplain to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. successively, and dean of the chapel of the duke of Somerset. He died 26 June, 1525, and was buried at York.

⁸⁸ Thomas Winter is the last provost in Leland's catalogue, and is said to have resigned his office into the king's hands about the year 1540. Be this as it may, the dissolution of the collegiate establishment did not take place till 1549.

⁸⁹ In 1553, Reginald Lee is mentioned as the provost, with a pension of £49. 15s. 0d. remaining in charge. Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 268. ⁹⁰ M. P. in 1571. ⁹¹ M. P. in 1588.

⁹² Peter Harpham and Robert Clarke have been already mentioned, p. 296, ut supra, as having been parties to the transfer of the Trinities to the corporation.

A. D.

- 1596 William Mayor.
 1597 Peter Page.
 1598 Robert Clarke, gentleman.
 1599 Robert Johnson, gentleman.

A. D.

- 1600 Christopher Ridley, gentleman.
 1601 William Parkinson, butcher.
 1602 Robert Gray, tanner.

JAMES I.

- 1603 John Fotherby, woollen-draper.
 1604 Edward Gray, tanner.
 1605 Henry Farrer, tanner.
 1606 Thomas Waller, tanner.
 1607 Peter Artis, tailor.
 1608 William Barrett, tanner.
 1609 Christopher Farrer, tanner.⁹³
 1610 Edw. Nelthorp, mercer & grocer.
 1611 Christopher Farrer, tanner.
 1612 John Dent, innholder.
 1613 Thomas Smales.
 1614 Thomas Clarke, gentleman.

- 1815 Peter Lickbarrow, tanner.
 1616 John Smales.
 1617 William Parkinson, butcher.
 1618 John Warter, gentleman.
 1619 George Cockerell, woollen-draper
 1620 John Chappelow, mercer and
 grocer.
 1621 Edward Gray, tanner.
 1622 William Legard, maltster.
 1623 Arthur Fish, mercer and grocer.
 1624 Nicholas Waller, tanner.

CHARLES I.

- 1625 William Johnson, woollen-draper
 1626 Robert Manby, woollen-draper.
 1627 William Barrett, tanner.
 1628 Thomas Clarke, gentleman.
 1629 Richard Wade, fellmonger.
 1630 Thwaytes Fox,⁹⁴ baker.
 1631 William Clarke, deceased.
 Thwaytes Fox, elect, baker.
 1632 John Fotherby, woollen-draper.
 1633 Edward Gray, tanner.
 1634 William Johnson, woollen-draper

- 1635 Christopher Billops, maltster.
 1636 John Brown, maltster.
 1637 William Coulson, baker.
 1638 George Witty, baker.
 1639 William Ellerington, woollen-
 draper.
 1640 John Chappelow, mercer and
 grocer.
 1641 James Nelthorp,⁹⁵ mercer and
 grocer.

⁹³ The principal trade of the town at this time, says Camden, Gibs. Col. 744, was in malt and tanned leather.

⁹⁴ This was the individual who established the hospital in Minster-moorgate called after his name.

⁹⁵ M. P. in 1645.

- A. D.
 1642⁹⁶ Robert Manby, woollen-draper.
 1643 William Wilberforce, mercer and
 grocer.
 1644 Robert Manby,⁹⁷ woollen-draper.

CHARLES II.

- 1649 Robert Fotherby, woollen-draper.
 1650 William Dunne, cordwainer.
 1651 Thomas Hudson, fellmonger.
 1652 John Chappelow, mercer and
 grocer.
 1653 William Johnson, woollen-draper
 1654 Christopher Billops, maltster.
 1655 William Dales, maltster.
 1656 John Johnson, deceased, tanner,
 William Coulson, elect, baker.
 1657 William Wade, fellmonger.
 1658 William Forge, cordwainer.
 1659 Edward Gray, gentleman.
 1660 Edward Gray, tanner.
 1661 Thomas Johnson, woollen-draper.

- A. D.
 1645⁹⁸ Christopher Billips, maltster.
 1646 William Wade, fellmonger.
 1647 William Forge, cordwainer.
 1648 William Newcombe, tanner.
 1662⁹⁹ William Dunne, cordwainer.
 1663 Thomas Davison, deceased, cord-
 wainer.
 Edward Gray, elect, tanner.
 1664 Robert Norman, apothecary.
 1665 Edward Gray, gentleman.
 1666¹ William Nelson, maltster.
 1667 Stephen Goakman, deceased,
 mercier.
 Robert Norman, elect, apothecary.
 1668¹ Robert Richardson, maltster.
 1669 Edward Howson, woollen-draper.
 1670¹ Christopher Chappelow, mer-
 cer and grocer.
 1671 Thomas Johnson, tanner.

⁹⁶ In this year John Fotherby, alderman, was displaced, because he avowed his unalterable attachment to the king's cause. Corp. Rec.

⁹⁷ Robert Manby received notice that his mayoralty was void for the same cause; and he immediately repaired to the king at York, taking with him the mace and seals; for which he was disfranchised. Corp. Rec.

⁹⁸ William Ellerington was dismissed from his aldermanship for the same reason.

⁹⁹ In the charter of Charles II. William Dunne, esq. is appointed to the office of mayor; and the council chamber was purged of the whole independent faction.

¹ Local tokens of the value of a halfpenny were issued at Beverley during each of the above mayoralties. At this period individuals had the privilege of coining and issuing such tokens on their own responsibility, for the convenience of small change. They were generally denominated Harringtons, after the place whence the first coinage was issued; and were but of temporary continuance, being wholly superseded by the coinage of the realm in 1671. Four specimens were issued at Beverley between the years 1666 and 1670, which may be thus described from specimens in my possession. The first has a shield in the centre, but so much defaced that the device is not legible. It is inscribed, GEORGE LAMPLUGH IN BEVERLEY, 1666. The second, probably, has neither date nor device, but is inscribed, WILLIAM WILBERFOSS IN BEVERLEY. The third had originally a device, but it is quite defaced; the inscription is, TIMOTHY BROWN IN BEVERLEY, HIS HALFPENNY, 1668. And the fourth has in the centre a semi-circular instrument, with a handle, which bears a striking resemblance to a saddler's cutting knife; and bears the words, JONATHAN BROWN OF BEVERLEY, HIS HALFPENNY, 1670.

A. D.

- 1672 Thomas Clarke, gentleman.
 1673 William Coulson, baker.
 1674 William Wilberforce,³ mercer &
 grocer.
 1675 John Dymoke, ironmonger.
 1676 John Fotherby, woollen-draper.
 1677 John Sugden, wollen-draper.
 1678 William Dunne, cordwainer.

A. D.

- 1679 Thomas Johnson, woollen-draper.
 1680 William Coulson, baker.
 1681 Edward Gray, gentleman.
 1682 William Nelson, maltster.
 1683 Matthew Ashmole, attorney.
 1684 Christopher Chappelow, mercer
 and grocer.

JAMES II.

- 1685 Thomas Statter, cordwainer.
 1686 John Acklom, tanner.

- 1687 John Gunby, tanner.
 1688 Thomas Johnson, tanner.

WILLIAM & MARY.

- 1689 Edward Wilbert, maltster.
 1690 Matthew Ashmole, attorney.
 1691 Thomas Dunne, mercer & grocer.
 1692 Benjamin Lambert, woollen draper

- 1693 Robert Appleton, mercer.
 1694 Roger Mason, farmer of boats
 and limekiln.

WILLIAM III.

- 1695 John Sugden, woollen-draper.
 1696 Thomas Statter, cordwainer.
 1697 John Acklom, tanner.
 1698 John Gunby, tanner.

- 1699 Christopher Thompson, pewterer.
 1700 Robert Wride, woollen-draper.
 1701 George Davis, apothecary.

ANNE.

- 1702 Thomas Holmes, mercer & grocer.
 1703 John Greaves, ironmonger.
 1704 Edward Wilbert, maltster.
 1705 Thomas Statter, cordwainer.
 1706 Benjamin Lambert, woollen-dra-
 per.
 1707 John Gunby, tanner.
 1708 Marmaduke Nelson, attorney.

- 1709 Thomas Wilberforce, woollen-
 draper.
 1710 William Grayburn, mercer and
 grocer.
 1711 Matthew Ashmole, attorney.
 1712 Thomas Wilberforce, woollen-
 draper.
 1713 Christopher Thompson, pewterer.

³ An ancestor of this person, in the reign of Edward I. Flagerus de Wilberfoss, married Margaret, daughter of Philip lord Kyme, and inherited in her right, the lordship of Wilberfoss, in the county of York, where the family resided till about the middle of the last century. They came originally from Eggleton, in Durham, and had an eagle displayed for their paternal coat.

GEORGE I.

A. D.

- 1714 Charles Northend, attorney.
- 1715 Robert Wride, woollen-draper.
- 1716 John Wressel, tanner.
- 1717 Robert Appleton, mercer.
- 1718 John Johnson, mercer.
- 1719 Charles Northend, attorney.
- 1720 Jonathan Midgley, attorney.

A. D.

- 1721 George Davis, apothecary.
- 1722 Robert Appleton, mercer.
- 1723 John Cogdill, grocer.
- 1724 Edward Wilbert, gentleman.
- 1725 Joseph Bielby, apothecary.
- 1726 John Johnson, mercer.

GEORGE II.

- 1727 Joseph Bielby, apothecary.
- 1728 Robert Appleton, mercer.
- 1729 Joseph Bielby, apothecary.
- 1730 Robert Wride, woollen-draper.
- 1731 John Johnson, mercer.
- 1732 George Cowart, gentleman.
- 1733 William Rutter, mariner.
- 1734 Jonathan Garton, tanner.
- 1735 Richard Philipson, tanner.
- 1736 William Rutter, mariner.
- 1737 George Cowart, gentleman.
- 1738 Richard Philipson, tanner.
- 1739 George Cowart, gentleman.
- 1740 William Rutter, mariner.
- 1741 William Nelson, attorney.
- 1742 Ramsden Barnard, esquire.
- 1743 John Bowman, mercer & draper.
- 1744 William Muncaster, maltster.

- 1745 Suckling Spendlove, attorney.
- 1746 Thomas Philip Hoggard, mercer
and draper.
- 1747 John Ellinor, grocer & Chandler.
- 1748 John Bowman, mercer & draper.
- 1749 William Waines, mercer and
draper.
- 1750 Walter Wride, draper.
- 1751 Christopher Nelson, esquire.
- 1752 Jonathan Midgley, attorney.
- 1753 Joseph Bell, jun. surgeon.
- 1754 John Hoggard, tanner.
- 1755 William Leake, gentleman.
- 1756 Peter Atkinson, gentleman.
- 1757 Thomas Waldby, grocer.
- 1758 Jonathan Garton, tanner.
- 1759 William Nelson, attorney.

GEORGE III.

- 1760 Suckling Spendlove, attorney.
- 1761 Robert Blanchard, tanner.
- 1762 Charles Nelson, esquire.
- 1763 John Bowman, gentleman.
- 1764 John Hoggard, tanner.
- 1765 William Waines, gentleman.
- 1766 Jonathan Midgley, attorney.

- 1767 Walter Wride, mercer.
- 1768 Thomas Waldby, grocer.
- 1769 William Leake, gentleman.
- 1770 Teavil Appleton, gentleman.
- 1771 Marmaduke Nelson, gentleman.
- 1772 Sir James Pennyman, baronet.
- 1773 Joseph Bell, apothecary.

A. D.

- 1774 Jonathan Midgley, attorney.
 1775 John Ramsey, attorney.
 1776 Ellener Garton, mercer.
 1777 Roger Gee, deceased, esquire.
 John Hoggard, elect, gentleman.
 1778 John Mackley, wine merchant.
 1779 William Middleton, joiner.
 1780 Christopher Keld, attorney.
 1781 Thomas Dickons, mercer.
 1782 Sir James Pennymen,³ baronet.
 1783 Timothy Lundie, ironmonger.
 1784 Hassel Moor, attorney.
 1785 Joseph Samson, physician.
 1786 William Hall, grocer.
 1787 John Arden, apothecary.
 1788 Teavil Appleton, gentleman.
 1789 William Middleton, joiner.
 1790 Marmaduke Hewitt, apothecary.
 1791 Thomas Clubley, gentleman.
 1792 John Ramsey, gentleman.
 1793 Joseph Armitstead, deceased,
 grocer.
 William Hall, elect, grocer.
 1794 William Middleton, joiner.
 1795 John Batty Tuke, banker.

A. D.

- 1796 John Arden, wine merchant.
 1797 Richard Fox, gentleman.
 1798 John Batty Tuke, banker.
 1799 Timothy Lundie, ironmonger.
 1800 Thomas Duesbery, attorney.
 1801 John Batty Tuke, banker.
 1802 William Middleton, merchant.
 1803 John Arden, wine merchant.
 1804 Christopher Keld, attorney.
 1805 John Lockwood, attorney.
 1806 William Beverley, gentleman.
 1807 John Arden, wine merchant.
 1808 Richard Fox, gentleman.
 1809 John Arden, wine merchant.
 1810 Thomas Duesbery, attorney.
 1811 Samuel Hall, attorney.
 1812 John Lockwood, attorney.
 1813 John Arden, physician.
 1814 John Lockwood, attorney.
 1815 John Arden, physician.
 1816 John Hall, gentleman.
 1817 John Arden, physician.
 1818 John Lockwood, attorney.
 1819 Robert Ramsey, attorney.

GEORGE IV.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1820 Samuel Hall, attorney. | 1825 Henry John Shepherd, attorney. |
| 1821 Marmaduke Hewitt, surgeon. | 1826 John Arden, physician. |
| 1822 Thomas Hull, physician. | 1827 Frederick Robertson, captain in
artillery. |
| 1823 John Arden, physician. | |
| 1824 John Williams, surgeon. | 1828 John Williams, surgeon. |

³ M. P. from 1774 to 1790.

Recorders.

An. Reg.	A. Dom.	
18 Eliz.	1576.	William Payler, esq. ⁴
39 Eliz.	1597.	Sir William Gee, knt. ⁵
4 James I.	1607.	Thomas Pearson, esq.
20 James I.	1623.	Francis Thorpe, esq.
1 Char. II.	1649.	Sir William Wise, knt.
27 Char. II.	1675.	Robert Stapylton, esq.
27 Char. II.	1675.	Richard Weston, esq.
30 Char. II.	1678.	Sir Edward Barnard, knt. ⁶
1 Jas. II.	1684.	James Moyser, esq.
4 Jas. II.	1688.	Thomas Alured, esq.
7 Anne	1708.	Edward Barnard, esq.
1 Geo. I.	1714.	Sir Charles Hotham, bart.
9 Geo. I.	1723.	Sir Francis Boynton, bart.
11 Geo. II.	1739.	Charles Anderson Pelham, esq. ⁷
31 Geo. II.	1758.	Michael Newton, esq.
19 Geo. III.	1779.	Richard Beatniffe, esq.
31 Geo. III.	1791.	Robert Osbourne, esq.
60 Geo. III.	1819.	Thomas Coltman, esq.
8 Geo. IV.	1827.	John Vincent Thompson, esq.

Common Clerks.

22 Rich. II.	1398.	William Spencer. ⁸
2 Elizabeth	1560.	John Harrison. ⁹
34 Ch. II.	1682.	Christopher Tadman.
11 Anne	1713.	Henry Spendlove. ¹⁰
5 Geo. I.	1719.	William Nelson.

⁴ This gentleman is mentioned in a variety of documents relative to the transfer of the property which formerly belonged to the knights hospitallers at Beverley. Vid. the Records of the Corporation; the Registers of the Provostry, &c.

⁵ Sir W. Gee resigned his recordership on being appointed a member of the privy council in the reign of James I. He was buried in York cathedral, where is a handsome monument to his memory. His pedigree may be found below, in Part IV. c. 3.

⁶ Vide ut supra. p. 236.

⁷ Afterwards lord Yarborough.

⁸ Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 134.

⁹ Ibid. fo. 169.

¹⁰ Vid. mayors.

An. Reg.	A. Dom.
3 Geo. II.	1730. Henry Beane.
26 Geo. II.	1753. William Nelson.
27 Geo. II.	1754. Robert Appleton.
19 Geo. III.	1779. William Ellis.
25 Geo. III.	1785. Robert Ramsey.
37 Geo. III.	1797. Thomas Duesbery.
40 Geo. III.	1800. John Hewitt.
44 Geo. III.	1804. Robert Norris.
56 Geo. III.	1816. Frederick Campbell.
4 Geo. IV.	1823. William Bower.

Chamber Clerks.

20 Ch. I.	1645. Edward Trippe. ¹¹
12 Ch. II.	1660. John Jackson.
1	Anne 1703. Daniel Carver.
12	Anne 1713. James Mihill.
9 Geo. II.	1736. William Burrow.
12 Geo. III.	1772. Richard Judson.
42 Geo. III.	1802. Francis Tadman.
47 Geo. III.	1807. Thomas Austin.
48 Geo. III.	1808. John Willis.

¹¹ The name of Mr. Trippe's predecessor is not mentioned, though it seems that he held the office for several years.

Chap. V.

Donations and Bequests—Charitable institutions supported by voluntary contribution—Society for promoting Christian knowledge—Clerical fund—Tract society—Bible society—Dispensary—Lying-in charity—Bank for savings.

THE bequests and donations assigned to the poor of Beverley by the benevolence of charitably disposed persons, are both numerous and valuable; and though the detail may possess no charms for the general reader, yet it is invested with both interest and importance in the estimation of every inhabitant of Beverley. The record of charity must not remain untold; it forms a chain of tender sympathies, and every link is a gem. The names of these benefactors to the town, who have not been already noticed, are as follows.

- 1616 Mrs. Margaret Almare.
- 1620 Lambert Smith.
- Master Read.
- John Jackson.
- 1626 Mrs. Margaret D'Arcy.¹
- Dame Decima Sykes.²
- 1652 Rev. Robert Metcalfe, D. D. Trinity college, Cambridge.³

¹ Mrs. Almare left £20. in money to the poor of Saint Mary's parish. Lambert Smith left £10. to the town, half the interest to be given to the poor, and the other half to be reserved towards increasing the stock; and Master Read left £20. with the same directions. Mr. Jackson left £20. to the poor of Saint Mary's parish; and Mrs. D'Arcy bequeathed in 1626, the sum of £40. to be lent to labouring men of good character, and the interest to be applied towards supporting a student at the university. These five bequests are said to be lost.

² Dame Decima Sykes gave £100. for the use of the Sunday schools at Beverley.

³ Dr. Metcalfe bequeathed to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Beverley, the place of his nativity, and to their successors for ever, a farm in the parish of Gilden Morden, in the county of Cambridge, called Silliards, consisting of 101 acres of arable land, and 7½ acres of pasture, in trust, that they shall pay to the lecturer of Beverley and his successors, the sum of £10.

- 1669 Mrs. Margaret Farrer, of the city of London, gentlewoman.⁴
 1684 Mrs. Priscilla Dales.⁵
 1688 John Dimock, of Beverley, alderman.⁶
 — Michael Warton, of Beverley, esquire.⁷
 1693 Peregrine Buck, of the county of Lincoln, esquire.
 — Benjamin Dalton.⁸
 — Mrs. Grayburn.⁹
 1693 Mrs. Frances Brogden.¹⁰
 1696 James Nelthorpe, esquire.¹¹
 — Henry Allen.¹²

annually; to the schoolmaster, for the time being, the same sum; and to three poor scholars from the free grammar school at Beverley £6. 13s. 4d. each. He bequeathed also to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, certain lands at Over, in the same county, in trust, "that they and their successors shall distribute £20. of the yearly rent amongst the poorest people of their town, upon the 20th day of December, or the day before or after, as shall be thought most convenient by the mayor and lecturer for the time being."

⁴ Mrs. Margaret Farrer left £150. in the hands of trustees, to purchase lands, and dispose of the rents and profits, amounting at the present time to about £29. per annum, in the following manner, viz. to distribute annually in Saint Mary's church, to twelve poor women of Beverley, the sum of five shillings each, on the day the testatrix was baptized; (11th March, O. S.) twenty shillings annually to the minister, to preach a sermon in the said church; forty shillings a year for the education of a poor boy of the town, to be chosen by the mayor and aldermen, and the residue towards his maintenance at the university. With the above sum, lands were purchased in the county of York, which produce £29. per annum. The charity commenced on the 11th March, 1672.

⁵ Mrs. Dales gave to the churchwardens of Saint Mary's parish the sum of £5. the interest of which is directed to be distributed among the poor of that parish annually, on the 14th March, that being the day of her death.

⁶ Mr. John Dimock left £150. to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, in trust, to divide the clear yearly income amongst the poor of Beverley.

⁷ Michael Warton, esq. gave to the poor of Saint Mary's parish, the sum of £100. annual income, £6.

⁸ P. Buck, esq. and Mr. B. Dalton left nine pounds a year, in land, to the same purpose.

⁹ Mrs. Grayburn left £5. a year to be distributed amongst the poorest housekeepers of Beverley, at the discretion of the trustees.

¹⁰ Mrs. Brogden gave to the parish of Saint Mary, a sum of money in the funds, which produced an annual income of £2. one moiety of which to be paid to the vicar for an annual sermon on Ash-Wednesday, and the remainder to be distributed to eight poor women, nominated by the said vicar, at 2s. 6d. each.

¹¹ Mr. Nelthorpe left £200. to be invested for the produce of ten pounds per annum, which he directed his trustees to apply to the general use of the poor of Beverley.

¹² Mr. Allen gave to the corporation of Beverley his estate at Hornsea, on condition that they should pay an annuity of four pounds to his daughter, and her issue. The family is now extinct, and the corporation are therefore legally entitled to the profits arising from this estate.

- 1712 Charles Warton, of Beverley, esquire.¹³
 1721 Mrs. Ann Routh, of Beverley, widow.¹⁴
 1724 Sir Michael Warton, of Beverley, knight.¹⁵
 ——— Matthew Ashmole, of Beverley, alderman.¹⁶
 1726 Thomas Ellinor, of Beverley, bricklayer.¹⁷
 1728 Sir Ralph Warton, of Beverley, knight.¹⁸
 1740 Mrs. Susanna Archer.¹⁹

¹³ Charles Warton, esq. founded an hospital, and gave to trustees certain lands, which produce about £16. a year, to be distributed amongst the poor of Beverley; and other lands, producing an annual income of about £48. towards placing out poor boys apprentice.

¹⁴ Mrs Ann Routh, in addition to the hospital which she founded in Beverley, bequeathed to the minister of the united parishes of Saint John and Saint Martin, and his successors, for ever, an annuity of forty shillings, payable out of a house and premises in Toll-Gavel. And she devised the said premises to the minister and the mayor and aldermen of Beverley, in trust, to pay thirty shillings a year to the boys of the charity school, and to distribute the residue of the rents and profits thereof to such of the poor of Saint John's parish as are in the habit of regularly frequenting the church.

¹⁵ Sir Michael Warton left £4000. towards forming a permanent fund for keeping the minster in repair. He appointed as trustees, the archbishop and the dean and chapter of York, and the mayor and recorder of Beverley, and directed that the accounts should be audited annually. He left the further sum of £1000. to augment the capabilities of the hospital at Beverley, founded by his father; and £500. to the charity school, both under the direction of the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of Beverley; and £100. to each parish, under the direction of the mayor, recorder, and Mr. Mease Pearson; the interest of which he directed to be distributed annually amongst the most needy inhabitants.

¹⁶ Mr. Ashmole bequeathed the annual sum of £3. to be divided equally amongst twenty-four poor burgesses, on the 5th November, at the discretion of the mayor and two ministers.

¹⁷ Mr. Ellinor bequeathed to certain trustees two houses in Beverley, the rents of which he directed to be applied to the following purposes. One guinea to be paid every year to a clergyman for preaching a sermon in Saint Mary's church, Beverley, upon charity, or death, or the providence of God towards the preservation of mankind, upon Easter Monday, in every year, on which day the testator was more particularly bounden to return thanks to Almighty God, for his miraculous preservation when at sea, during his voyage to the island of Jamaica. And the clear residue thereof is yearly for ever, in the week preceding Easter, to be distributed by the minister and churchwardens of Saint Mary's church for the time being, amongst the poorer housekeepers of the town of Beverley. The income arising from this bequest is £25. 18s. 8d.; out of which the necessary repairs are of course paid.

¹⁸ Sir Ralph Warton bequeathed to the corporation of Beverley, the sum of £200. for the purpose of establishing a manufactory for knitting coarse worsted stockings. The bequest was transferred by his son and executor, Ralph Warton, esq. to his grandson Charles, who paid it to the corporation, as appears from a deed dated 18th February, 1728, now in the registry at Beverley, and is now converted into £300. 3 per cent. stock, for the benefit of the poor of that town; and £100. to the mayor and two senior aldermen for the poor of Saint Mary's parish.

¹⁹ Mrs. Archer, by deed bearing date 26th June, gave to certain trustees, lands to the amount of £40. a year, to be distributed amongst the poor and distressed housekeepers of Beverley, whether male or female, provided they do not receive parochial relief.

- 1764 Rev. George Davies, rector of Staxton, Norfolk.²⁰
 — Mrs. Elizabeth Monson.²¹
 1770 John Bradley, of York, gentleman.²²
 1778 John Green, lord bishop of Lincoln.²³
 — Mrs. Ann Wride.²⁴
 1779 John Drinkhall.
 — Mrs. Appleyard.²⁵
 — Mrs. Ann Nelson.²⁶
 1784 Rev. Thomas Leake, of Bishop-Burton.²⁷
-

²⁰ The Rev. George Davies, clerk, bequeathed the interest of £100. to be distributed in meat on Christmas-day, to the poor of Saint Mary's parish for ever.

²¹ Mr. G. Monson left £40. to trustees for the benefit of the poor inhabitants of Lair-gate.

²² Mr. Bradley gave to the mayor and two senior aldermen £100. in trust, to apply the proceeds in the purchase of coals and candles, and distribute them annually amongst the poor of Saint Mary's parish.

²³ John Green, late lord bishop of Lincoln, bequeathed £1,000. in the 3 per cent. consolidated bank annuities, in trust to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Beverley, to be applied to one exhibition of £10. to a student of Saint John's college, Cambridge, and the remainder of the dividend to the school in Beverley: also £1. per annum for a sermon to be preached.

²⁴ Mrs. Ann Wride bequeathed £800. to be invested in some good security, in the name of the vicar and churchwardens of the parish of Saint Mary, who are directed to apply the interest in the following manner. "To eight poor women of the said parish, who regularly frequent the church, shall be given twenty shillings each, on Easter Sunday, immediately after divine service, in the chancel of Saint Mary's; and to each a new gown of grey stuff, and other necessary articles of apparel to the value of twenty shillings each. To eight poor men shall be given at the same time and place, and under the same circumstances, the sum of ten shillings each; and the clerk, sexton, and wand-bearer of that church shall always constitute three of the number. The further sum of £5. shall be annually distributed amongst the poor of this parish on Christmas-day, in the proportion of two shillings and sixpence to poor families, and a shilling each to single persons. To eight poor persons inhabiting the Maison-dieu, near the North-bar, shall be given on the last mentioned day the sum of ten shillings each. And," adds the testatrix, "I do also order that the sum of one guinea shall be paid to the vicar of the said parish of Saint Mary, and his successors for the time being, on every Easter Sunday, in consideration of the trouble he may have in seeing the said charitable trusts duly performed according to my will; and I desire that the two first verses of the 2nd Psalm may be always sung on Easter Sunday and on the Sunday next after my decease, in the morning service. Annual income, £30. 1s. 0d.

²⁵ Mr. Drinkall left the sum of £100. towards the support of Fox's hospital. And Mr. Appleyard left a like sum to be applied to the same purpose.

²⁶ Mrs. Nelson bequeathed £60. for the benefit of the poor inhabitants of Lair-gate.

²⁷ The Rev. Thomas Leake, by deed of indenture, vested the sum of £200. in the 3 per cent. consols, in the name of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Beverley, to be distributed annually to such poor widowers and widows in the parish of Saint Martin, as shall not receive parochial aid, at the rate of five shillings each, to be selected at the discretion of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses.

1785 Henry Simpson.²⁸

1788 Mrs. Frances Pinckney, of Beverley, widow.²⁹

1792 Henry Myers, of York, alderman.³⁰

1803 John Marshall, of Sculcoates, gentleman.³¹

1812 James Bell, of Beverley, cowkeeper.³²

1816 William Wilson, of Beverley, gentleman.³³

But it is not in this respect alone that the lower classes in the town of Beverley are highly favoured. A provision has been made for promoting their *spiritual* welfare in a series of institutions which have for their object the glory of God and the benefit of man. At the head of these stands a district committee of the venerable

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

This society was established in London in the year 1698, and incorporated by a charter of king William III. in 1701. From that period it has been actively employed in disseminating its blessings amongst mankind, and has now been

²⁸ Mr. Simpson bequeathed land to the amount of £10. a year, to be divided amongst twenty poor women of Beverley, at ten shillings each.

²⁹ Mrs. Pinckney left the interest of £100. to the poor of Beverley, which she directed to be distributed in meat on Christmas-day.

³⁰ Mr. Myers gave £300. to the vicar and churchwardens of Saint Mary's parish, Beverley, secured on freehold estates in the county of York, the annual income of £15. to be distributed to poor housekeepers belonging to the said parish, at Christmas in every year, in the proportion of four measures of coals to each person.

³¹ Mr. Marshall left to the minister and churchwardens of Saint Mary's parish, the sum of £200. to be by them invested in government securities, and to apply the interest to the purchase of bread, which shall be distributed amongst the poor at the church immediately after divine service, at such times as the minister and churchwardens shall deem most expedient. The trustees received £177. 17s. 7d. of Mr. Marshall's executors, after deducting the legacy duty; and on the 13th July, 1808, vested £179. in the navy 5 per cents. in the name of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Beverley.

³² Mr. Bell bequeathed the sum of £20. to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of Saint Mary's parish, to be invested in government securities, and the dividends regularly distributed in bread to the poor of that parish, at the cross, in Saturday market, on Christmas-day, for ever.

³³ William Wilson bequeathed £400. each to the minister and churchwardens of Saint John's and Saint Martin's parish, Beverley, and to the minister and churchwardens of the parish of Etton, the interest of which he directed to be laid out in the purchase of white bread, and to be given on Sundays to the poor of their respective parishes, at their own discretion, and £400. to bishop Green's charity school. And thus concludes the long detail of posthumous charity, which has descended in such a copious shower on the heads of the poor inhabitants of Beverley. If it call forth their gratitude in the slightest degree, it will experience a return in the regularity of their lives and the decency and good order exhibited in their external conduct.

introduced into every corner of the British empire. Its design embraces *three* principal objects. 1.—The education of the lower classes in the pure principles of the Christian religion. 2.—The dispersion of Bibles, prayer books, and orthodox religious tracts,³⁴ not only in the English, but in many other languages. 3.—The support of missions to diffuse the blessings of christianity throughout every portion of the habitable globe. About the year 1810, diocesan, decanal, and district committees were instituted, and the committee at Beverley was formed on the 24th April, 1816, under the name of the East-riding District Committee. The Rev. Joseph Coltman and the Rev. J. Kirk are the secretaries, and the annual income is about £50. The number of books issued from the depôt at Beverley is as follows.

DATE.	BIBLES	TEST.	TEST. WITH PSLTR.	COMMON PRAYER.	PSALTERS	RELIG. BOOKS Bd. AND IN BOARDS.	TRACTS	SETS OF CARDS.
From July 1816 to May 1819	220	239	66	660	646	416	12829	—
.... May 1819 to May 1820	110	26	5	454	310	263	4244	421
..... 1820..... 1821	62	131	15	188	136	407	2659	512
..... 1821..... 1822	193	77	—	322	13	169	2862	231
..... 1822..... 1823	45	38	8	165	153	173	1599	62
..... 1823..... 1824	137	180	12	285	75	470	2208	200
..... 1824..... 1825	107	74	6	179	24	175	1520	50
..... 1825..... 1826	175	110	31	455	91	573	6635	181
..... 1826..... 1827	113	119	—	311	172	737	3739	487
..... 1827..... 1828	171	138	4	316	73	448	5929	350
Grand total.....	1333	1132	147	3335	1693	3831	44224	2294

In connection with this society is the

NATIONAL SCHOOL

for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the established church. This school is situated in Register-square, and the society was established 11th June, 1812. It contains 200 scholars, and is respectably and profitably conducted under the assiduous superintendence of Mr. Ranson, the present master. The institution comprises a district of some miles; and includes, besides the town

³⁴ 1700 children within the limits of the Beverley district, have been supplied wholly or in part from this committee.

of Beverley, the towns and villages of Driffield, South Cave, Etton, Lockington, Cranswick, and Beeford. The whole contain, according to the report of 1826, five hundred and eleven children of both sexes, who are thus provided with religious instruction by the charitable care of their more opulent neighbours. At Beverley, 175 children; at Driffield, 79; at South Cave, 47; at Etton, 64; at Lockington, 73; at Cranswick, 34; and at Beeford, 39. Added to the above, a national Sunday school society was established in the autumn of 1825, in which 450 children receive instruction in four school rooms, each of which is managed by gratuitous superintendents. In 1826, the Rev. Joseph Coltman, perpetual curate of Saint John's church, erected a school room at his own expense in the Minster-yard,³⁵ and placed in the wall for preservation two dilapidated pieces of the most ancient altar screen of his church. The officers of this highly beneficial establishment are,—

The Mayor, President.

W. Beverley, esq.	}	Vice Presidents.
Jas. Walker, esq.		
H. Ellison, esq.		
T. Hull, esq. M. D.		
H. Hutton, esq.		
John Lockwood, esq.		
S. Denton, Esq.		

T. Duesbery, esq. Treasurer.—Rev. G. B. Blythe, Secretary.

I cannot close this article without quoting the concluding words of the committee of the central school as expressed in their fourteenth report. "This goodly tree, having arisen in so short a period from a seed, small as a grain of mustard seed, has already cast its strong fibres deep into the soil, and overshadows the whole land with its branches. And it is devoutly hoped that, under the blessing of divine providence, it is destined still to attain to a fuller and maturer growth, that it will long continue to flourish and to increase; that year by year its roots will sink deeper into the earth, and its branches rise more loftily towards heaven, shedding in full abundance unspeakable blessings to generations yet to come."

³⁵ The following inscription is placed over the chimney piece. "This room was built A. D. 1825, by the Rev. Joseph Coltman, M. A. curate of the minster; the eastern part thereof extending from east to west 14 feet, and from north to south 25 feet, was occupied by an old stable belonging to the crown, with a chamber over it belonging to the curate of the minster, and a small yard; the remainder was the freehold property of the said Joseph Coltman."

The dissenters have also their Sunday schools, at which about 500 children receive instruction.

Thus is the state of society as it regards the poor placed on a scale of gradual and progressive improvement. The instruction of these societies, and the re-establishment of the parochial libraries have given a moral impulse to the rising generation which every Christian will hail with unmixed sensations of the purest delight. The faculties of the lower orders will, by this process, be improved, and their increasing knowledge will produce regular habits, and a systematic attachment to the laws of decency and decorum.

A CLERICAL FUND

for the East-riding of Yorkshire was established at Beverley in the year 1781, for the relief of necessitous widows and orphans of clergymen. Every benefactor by a donation of twenty guineas is a governor for life; and every subscriber of a guinea is a governor for that year. Patron.—The right reverend the Archbishop of York. President.—The very reverend R. D. Waddilove, D. D. Archdeacon. Vice President.—R. Bethell, esq. of Rise. Treasurer.—Rev. J. Coltman.³⁶

AN AUXILIARY RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

was established at Beverley about the beginning of the present year, for the purpose of promoting the circulation of religious tracts in the town and neighbourhood, and of aiding the funds of the religious tract society in London, especially towards its extensive and increasing foreign operations. The business of the society is conducted by a committee of ten members, together with the president, treasurer, and two secretaries, all to be chosen annually. The subscription is five shillings a year; one fourth of which is appropriated towards the purchase of tracts

³⁶ "Orders for the disposal of the charitable contributions.

1. That the persons to be relieved by this charity, be, the widows of clergymen so continuing; the orphans of clergymen unprovided for, and not in a way of providing for themselves; clergymen who have become necessitous by age, sickness, infirmity, or misfortune; and the children of necessitous clergymen, in the life time of the said clergymen, so far as to be apprenticed at proper ages.
2. That no person be relieved by this charity, but the families of such clergymen, who at the time of their death or incapacity were possessed of some ecclesiastical preferment, or licensed to a curacy, where a licence is required, within the East-riding, or town and county of Hull; and such clergymen themselves, as at the time of their incapacity were circumstanced as aforesaid." From the Report of 1828.

and the local expenses of the society, and the surplus to be presented to the parent society.³⁷

The Rev. Joseph Coltman, President.

COMMITTEE.

The Rev. J. Eyre

Mr. J. Willis

The Rev. W. Hildyard

Mr. M. Robinson

The Rev. G. P. Richards

Mr. M. Turner

The Rev. J. Mather

Mr. W. Atkinson

Mr. J. Jackson

Mr. B. Robinson.

TREASURER.—Mr. Thomas Lee.

SECRETARIES.—The Rev. W. R. Gilby and Mr. A. Atkinson.

BIBLE SOCIETY.

This auxiliary society collects annually about £35. in Beverley, and from the report of 1826, there appears to have been sold from the depository there 58 bibles and 99 testaments within the current year. "It is much to be regretted," say the committee in this report, "that a difference of opinion continues to prevail in some parts of the united kingdom, particularly in Scotland, on the question relating to bibles containing the Apocrypha. On this subject your committee feel it incumbent upon them to declare their opinion, that the resolution lately adopted by the general committee, and noticed in their last report, is one calculated to afford the most perfect satisfaction to every reasonable mind. Under these impressions your committee conclude their report, with the expression of their humble hope, that by the divine blessing, peace and harmony will ere long be restored to the general society which, up to a late period, had marked every stage of its progress; and that every friend to religion will rally round the one invariable standard of divine truth, the unadulterated word of God."³⁸

PRESIDENT.—R. Mackenzie Beverley, esq.

TREASURER.—Mr. S. Bland.

SECRETARIES.—Rev. J. Coltman and Rev. W. R. Gilby.

³⁷ Resolutions of the Auxiliary Tract Society, 1st January, 1827.

³⁸ From the fourteenth Report of the Beverley Auxiliary Bible Society.

DISPENSARY.

A dispensary for the sick poor was established in the year 1823, which has already proved a blessing to hundreds of afflicted patients, whose poverty placed the *highest* medical assistance in the neighbourhood otherwise beyond their reach. It is supported by voluntary subscription, and attended gratuitously by the medical gentlemen of the town in rotation. From its commencement, to the month of September, 1826, 1373 patients have been admitted.

From September 1st, 1825, to September 1st, 1826.

Admitted within the year.....	362	Discharged irregular	5
Discharged cured	286	Dead	17
———relieved	31	Remaining on the books	19
———incurable	4		

OFFICERS.

PRESIDENT.—The Mayor.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Henry Ellison, esq.	Rev. John Gilby
William Beverley, esq.	Rev. Joseph Coltman
Thomas Duesbery, esq.	Rev. W. R. Gilby.

TREASURER.—Thomas Duesbery, esq.

COMMITTEE.

Rev. William Hildyard	H. J. Shepherd, esq.
Rev. James Eyre	H. W. Hutton, esq.
Rev. G. P. Richards	Mr. Collett
H. W. Maister, esq.	Mr. Bland
James Brown, M. D.	Mr. Turner. ³⁹

PHYSICIANS.

Thomas Hull, M. D.	Matthew Chalmers, M. D.
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SURGEONS.

Mr. Sandwith	Mr. Brereton
Mr. Jackson	Mr. Carter.
Mr. Williams	

APOTHECARY.—Mr. Hall. SECRETARY.—Mr. Mark Robinson.

³⁹ The committee, in their last report, express themselves "more than usually gratified in being able to state the manifest increase of benefit arising from the well-directed management of the institution, as it is more especially shewn by a great diminution of disease, as also by the almost

The institution is yet but in its infancy, and its genial results are obvious from the above extract. Its institution is highly creditable to the inhabitants of Beverley; and it promises to become of essential and lasting benefit, not only to the present, but also to future generations.

LYING-IN CHARITY.

This very laudable institution was established in the year 1812. It has an income of £80. a year raised by voluntary subscription, and the benefits which it conveys to the poor are almost incalculable. The most arduous situation of female life is ameliorated, not only by the provision of linen and other necessities for the period of their confinement, accompanied by pecuniary presents, but also by the displayed kindness and condescension of their superiors; by the cheering voice of commiseration and encouragement; by the warm heart and beneficent hand with which the bounty is bestowed. Here it is that faith in the Redeemer is shewn by its fruits; here piety and love scatter their choicest blessings; and here a mild and genial religion sheds its mildest beams. If to imitate the Saviour of mankind, who went about doing good; if to convey essential benefits to the worthy but indigent fellow Christian; if to pour the balm, and oil and wine of consolation and assistance into the bosom of helpless poverty in the most distressing period of need, be to practice religion in its native purity, then we may conclude that the illustrious band of females by whom this glorious institution is supported, are in the constant habit of performing one great branch of Christian obedience, and by administering to the wants and necessities of others, endeavour to keep themselves unspotted from the world.

total absence of diseases of a contagious nature. Where contagion has begun, the timely administration of relief so easily obtained, and generally speaking, so justly appreciated, has, in every instance, put a stop to its spreading, and prevented those ravages to which the indigent and helpless poor are more especially exposed. The speedy restoration of health in some, whose diseases have been of the more *acute* kind, which in a great measure are produced and influenced by the seasons, and the great and lasting advantages obtained by others who had long suffered under disease in its *chronic* form, have been so obvious as already to have produced the effect which might have been anticipated, of inducing patients to apply for tickets of admission at the first onset of disease; notwithstanding which, however, the number of admissions in this year is less by 132 than in the preceding; a fact of no small importance, giving a proof of a more healthy condition of the poor, by which the health of the town in general must be more or less influenced." Fourth Report of the Beverley Dispensary.

The managers of this institution for the present year, are—

Lady Pennyman, Treasurer.—Mrs. Foster, Secretary.

COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Gilby
Mrs. Lockwood

Miss Jackson

Mrs. Mather

Miss Kirke

Mrs. T. Lee

Mrs. W. Atkinson

Mrs. Brown, *North-Bar-Street*

Mrs. Marshall

Mr. H. Maister

Mrs. Duesbery

Mrs. H. Shepherd

Miss Lee

Miss Inman

Miss Brown, *Norwood*.

Mrs. Kinchlo, Matron.

The last institution which will be introduced here, although not strictly belonging to the class which forms the subject of this chapter, is the

BANK FOR SAVINGS,

which was established at Beverley, April 13, 1818. The decided utility of these excellent institutions is too well known, and too justly appreciated, to need a comment in this place. It appears that the inhabitants of Beverley and the neighbourhood have been fully impressed with its beneficial tendency, for the amount of deposits has been very considerable, as may be seen from the following statement.

	£.	s.	d.
Deposits in 1819	10,869	1	9½
—————1820	13,267	14	8
—————1821	16,739	14	5
—————1822 }	36,495	4	4
—————1823 }			
—————1824	42,811	0	3
—————1825	51,992	7	4
—————1826	57,114	15	10

Total in eight years..... 229,289 18 7½

Richard Bethell, esquire, is President of the institution; William Beverley, esquire, Vice President; Messrs. Bower & Co. Treasurers; and James Tindall, Clerk.

Chap. VI.

Present state of the town—Morality—Friendly societies—Learning—Trade.

THE town of Beverley thus constructed, decorated, and governed ; happy in the abundance of its charities and charitable institutions, abounding in a population at once wealthy and enlightened ; presents a fair specimen of a substantial and well managed town. It must be acknowledged, however, as no earthly good can dispense its blessings without being counterbalanced with a proportionate alloy of evil, that here, as in all independent borough towns, two conflicting parties exist, which usually clash at public meetings, when the discussion of any important measure is introduced ; and hence such meetings are often clamorous and discordant. But good sense, in the end, generally predominates over the influence of party feeling ; and measures, which are really calculated for public benefit, will usually be carried into effect, from what individuals soever they may originally emanate.

These remarks are verified by the present state of the town. Its publick buildings are characterized by neatness, the offspring of official care ; and its streets exhibit a picture of cleanliness, which reflects a high degree of credit on the police. From a comparison with many other towns that pass under our inspection as we traverse the country in various directions, the town of Beverley stands pre-eminent, which affords an unquestionable evidence of superior management, that merits notice, and calls forth approbation. It is well paved, well lighted, and clean, three requisites which bear a silent yet eloquent testimony to the excellence of its internal government ; and this is corroborated by other facts connected with the moral character of the population. Time was, when the peaceful inhabitants were periodically disturbed by the nocturnal revels of dissolute young men, who, setting at defiance the laws of morality, perambulated the streets in a riotous manner, to the great annoyance of the town. Mild measures were adopted to induce these general disturbers of the publick peace to refrain from such an open violation of common decency ; but these proving ineffectual, the magistrates, with a zeal

which cannot be too highly commended, issued their mandate "for more effectually preserving the publick peace, and preventing all riots, disturbances, and affrays;" and earnestly requesting "that all persons who have apprentices or servants under their care and control, will not permit them to be absent from their respective dwelling-houses after nine o'clock in winter, and ten in summer." And all inn-keepers are strictly enjoined not to suffer them to remain in their houses after the prescribed hours under pain of forfeiting their licence.¹

This injunction proved an effectual remedy for the evil; but it is not in the power of a magistracy, how active and vigilant soever it may be, fully to restrain and correct the grosser vices of an uneducated population. If the inherent depravity of man be not regulated and restrained by a judicious course of early culture and tuition, it will ripen into an exuberance of licentiousness, which will render alike unavailing the efforts of mildness or coercion to confine it within the limits of regularity and order; and every relaxation from daily employment will be marked by an indulgence in riot and intemperate mirth, that despises all decent control, and is callous to the wounded feelings of the discriminating portion of mankind.

MORALITY.—In referring to the moral conduct of the lower orders in Beverley, little, I fear, can yet be said in their behalf. It is a thankless subject to introduce, but to render a statistical account of the town complete, it cannot be altogether omitted. Nothing has so great a tendency to promote civilization as the institution of a Sabbath; and nothing is so favourable to the interests of morality as regular habits and devout behaviour on that sacred day, exemplified by an uniform observance of the duties of religion. This was felt in the town of Beverley in times long gone by, and orders were issued to enforce a sober demeanor on the Lord's day. More than two hundred years ago penalties were inflicted to reform an abuse, at that time very prevalent, of exposing wares for sale in the churchyard, and the sum of three shillings and fourpence was imposed for every offence; and persons tippling on a Sunday in alehouses were subjected to the same fine, which was increased to ten shillings on publicans who suffered the practice to be used within their doors.² The town and liberties contain a population of nearly 8000 souls, a certain portion of which are never seen, except from the effects of accident, necessity or curiosity, within the walls of a place of worship. The disregard of everything sacred, by such people, on the Lord's day, speaks loudly against their morals. Much has

¹ This document is dated 19th December, 1820.

² Corp. Rec: 14 October, 1613.

been done by successive magistrates to put a final period to the practice of using holiday games, and to tippling on that holy day; but candour still proclaims that much remains to do. The remedy however for all this mass of evil, is extremely simple and easy, if resolutely and faithfully applied. The morals of the labouring classes are unquestionably in the hands of their immediate superiors; and if parents and masters would take the trouble to discountenance vice in their children, servants, and dependents, by open reprehension, and personal example; if they would not only attend the ordinances of religion themselves, but require an attention to the same duties in those who have been placed by divine providence under their especial superintendence; if they would not only reverence the Sabbath themselves, but see that their children and servants do the same, the noise, the loitering, the contempt of moral duties, the profanation of the Lord's day would naturally cease; and this simple process, added to the benefits of a religious education, would do more for the cause of religion and morals than all the theoretic lectures that ever have, or ever will be delivered by learned divines or speculative moralists.

It is much to be wished that the principal inhabitants of Beverley would turn their attention to this very important subject. Much might be accomplished by kindness and persuasion where force would be altogether unavailing. It is true, there are disorderly spirits in existence, which nothing can reform but absolute severity; but these, happily, are not numerous; and it may be fairly presumed, that a trifling exertion used by the heads of families, would place this town, in respect to its moral improvement, not merely on a level with, but superior to, most towns of the same magnitude throughout the kingdom.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.—While on the subject of morals, a few observations on the establishment of friendly societies may neither be irrelevant nor improper. These societies merit every encouragement, because they are calculated to implant habits of industry, to promote regularity and order, and to introduce a principle of decorum amongst that humble rank by which the rules of etiquette or decent ceremony would be otherwise unknown. On the original establishment of friendly societies, about the beginning of the 18th century, the benefits resulting from them were not duly appreciated; they therefore made little progress until the year 1750, when their advantages were explained by an able writer, and a knowledge of their utility was universally diffused. This caused them rapidly to increase, and they were soon introduced into every town and populous village throughout England and Wales. At this time there exist upwards of 10,000 friendly societies, which comprize more than one twelfth part of the population.

In Beverley there are at present three of these institutions; the **Brotherly Society**, established in the year 1776, which has 378 members; the **New Friendly Society**, established A. D. 1790, has 502 members; and the **New Sisters' Friendly Society**, established in 1804, contains 106 members. If the more opulent inhabitants would unite their aid in the encouragement of these excellent institutions, by enrolling their names on the lists as honorary subscribers, they would find the value of their annual contributions amply returned, by an increase of social order, arising from the good example of the members, who are stimulated to propriety of behaviour by the consideration that they possess a stake in the town, and are constantly cheered by the reflection that they are treasuring up a provision for sickness and old age, to shield them from want in that dreary season, without the humiliating consciousness of obligation, or the dread of absolute indigence.

LEARNING.—The state of learning in Beverley is an agreeable subject of contemplation. Of late years the progress of knowledge has been gradual and uniform; and at the present day, there is scarcely a science of importance which has not admirers at Beverley, by whom it is well understood. A **Book Society** was established in the year 1823, which was constituted for the circulation of new works, not periodical, on general literature. It is supported by a select number of the gentlemen resident in the town, which is restricted to twenty. The subscription is a guinea and a half annually, and the books are regularly circulated amongst the members according to an arranged plan. Works on the three learned professions are excluded. To specify names might appear invidious, as a taste for literature is becoming general amongst all ranks of people above the very lowest grades of society; but it may be right to refer to the resident clergy, with Mr. Coltman at their head, as being able supporters of that great and important system of faith and practice which must finally be decisive of our eternal lot; and the luminous pamphlet published by Mr. Coltman on the minster, is a specimen of good taste and kindly feeling which will embalm his memory when ages have rolled over his grave. The medical profession, botany, and antiquities, are familiar to Dr. Hull; R. M. Beverley, esquire, is an able antiquary and poet; Robert Machell, esquire, is intimately conversant in the abstruse science of heraldry; Mr. Brereton, by assiduous application has made himself master of geology; and without any further reference to names, the interests of general literature are dear to most of the opulent inhabitants.

TRADE.—In early times every trade in Beverley had its separate guild or fraternity, in which the individuals were associated equally for order and mutual

advantage, and placed under the direction of an alderman. Each guild was governed by its own laws, subject, nevertheless, to the control of a general meeting of the aldermen, whose ordinances were binding on each respective guild. Retail shops were not allowed in the fifteenth century; and sales for money by retail were finable at the discretion of the twelve governors.³ In the Corpus Christi pageants the trades were arranged with a nice regard to etiquette, according to a presumed rank or claim to precedence; and every individual was enjoined to be habited in a dress peculiar to his own fraternity. During the existence of these guilds, no person was allowed to trade except he were free of a brotherhood;⁴ and the monopoly continued in full force till the dissolution; after which, the interests of the town

³ I think it necessary to produce my authority for this fact; and though the document is rather long, yet it is too curious to be omitted.

"Itt is ordayne and statute in the feast of Saynt Marc the Evangeliste in the yr of our Lorde God 1493, by Thomas Frost, Roger Kelke, Robert Whyte, and the brethren ratefyed and confirm^d by Adam Newcombe Rawmthwayte, Jon Coke and the brethren y^e same day elect by the assent and consent of all the aldermen and all the comonalty of the towne of Beverley yat day beyng present in y^e Gylde-haule, Fyrst itt is ordane and statute yat no gentleman, yeman, ne craftsman of the towne of Beverley be takyn to worshyp of the towne bott allonely yat buys charge of clothyng, castele and pageants within the sayde town. *And also there shall no man occupy none occupacyon nowhere by himself nor by no journeyman noght within y^e franchises of Beverley bott allonely yat at he is brother withall and in clothyng.* And att every man be in clothyng with y^e craft yat he moste gets hys lyffing by. Also yat every burgess of the towne of Beverley be free to bye and to sell hys awne gudes, so that he keeps no oppyn shopp in retaylying, nor no man to by any maner of marchanndyse for redy money to sell it agayne in retalyng, bott it sall be presentyd by the alderman of marchants to y^e xij governors for the yere beyng. *And itt to be fynable by the dyscrecyon of the foresayd xij governors as oft tymes as any such defaults be founde in retaylyng.* . . . Also itt is desyrd by the drapers that thai shall be in clothyng by thare selves and to have a castell and a pageante as other occupacyons have, such a pageante as the xij governors will assigne them to upon payne of forfeitoure to the comyalte of x^{li}. Also that every man be fre to bye hys awne clothe wher so ever he may fynde hys marchant. And att all this ordynances aforesayd be kept in every degre with every occupacyon upon payne of forfettoures of x^{li} to y^e comynylte. Theyse where the names of the aldermen followyng yat ware consentyng to thys ordynance afores registryed with the consente and assente of moste parte of y^e brethren." Signed by the alderman of each guild; twenty-two in number. Lansd. MSS. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 165.

⁴ In addition to these trade guilds, mention is made of three other guilds in Beverley, each being placed under an alderman and assistants; the guild of the minstrells, a full account of which may be found in the next chapter; the guild of Corpus Christi, mentioned in the Provost's book, l. 1. p. 60; and the guild of the Virgin Mary in a hospital without the North-bar, named in Compotus Gubernat. Com. Vill. Bev. The two latter were probably of a religious nature, and established purely for spiritual purposes. The members entered into a contract with each other to practise the great duties of virtue and piety; to contribute towards the building of hospitals and other places of charitable appropriation; and periodically to celebrate religious festivals, several of which were commemorated in Beverley, particularly the festival of Corpus Christi, which occupied the whole town for two or more days in each year, under the direction of the twelve governors; and the festival of the boy bishop, solemnized in the collegiate church.

demanding a free trade, it could never be effectually renewed, although the exclusion of strangers was continued till a later period. Its first infraction was in the 17th century, when an order was made in behalf of certain citizens of London, affording them permission to attend the annual fairs; and giving them accommodations in High-gate to erect stalls and expose their goods for sale; hence this street acquired a temporary appellation.

The principal trade of Beverley, in former times, was effected through the medium of these fairs. Weekly markets were also held from a very early period; and articles of domestic consumption were probably exposed for sale daily on stalls in certain parts of the town. Hence these streets acquired the significant appellation of *venellæ*,⁵ and were Fleming-gate, Lair-gate, Moor-gate, where the fish market was held, and several other places. The London merchants brought down to the fairs all kinds of articles which were of general utility; such as hardware and cutlery, mercery and millinery, wearing apparel and jewellery, &c.; and they attended in such numbers, that the stalls reached from one end of High-gate to the other, on both sides, and the country people supplied themselves with the requisite quantity of each which might be sufficient to serve from fair to fair. Subsequent improvements abolished this kind of precarious traffic, which was ponderous and inconvenient; and the city merchants opened permanent shops, which being placed under the direction of agents who were burgesses of the town, were regularly supplied with the requisite stock of goods to meet the expected consumption. Soon these agents began to trade on their own account; and the uniform system which now prevails, was gradually introduced and brought to perfection by successive stages of improvement.

⁵ The word *venella* appears to have had three distinct meanings. Mr. Wright, Court Hand Restored, p. 60, has defined it simply as *a lane*, and this was its meaning in such passages as the following, in the Provost's register of Beverley; *venelle que vocatur Ryngandlane*, l. 1. p. 26; and again in the chartulary belonging to Saint Catherine's chantry, *venella vocat Clapgate*. Carta Alexander Crab. 1365. But it signified also a *place* where goods were exposed for sale, and in this sense I apprehend it was originally used as a derivation from the adjective *venalis*. Thus in the Provost's register the street called Lair-gate, in which a temporary market was held, is termed a *venella*; l. 1. pp. 26, 29. and the word sometimes was used for the stall or bazaar of a single individual. Thus, in an old compotus of the corporation we find the following charges. Et de xij^d. p' de Joh' Skypwyth p' *venell' jux^a mess' suū in alta via*, &c. Et de iij^d. p' de Kater' Cokke p' *venell' jux^a ten' Johi' Holm in Flemmingate*. Et de vj^d. de canonico dom' S'ci Egidij p' *venella inter ten' suū*. This was probably a general market. Ric' Marshall and Joh' Briggehous p' *mediet' venell' jux^a Bryddalmydding xij^d* Tho' Mayne p' *venella jux^a mess' suū in Flemyngate ij^d*. Several other *venellæ* are charged to individuals in Fleming-gate, and mention is also made of a *Co'a venella* in the same street.

A century ago the chief trade of Beverley was in tanning and malting, and the business in both these departments was very extensive. At present there are seven tanners, three of whom have fellmongers yards also. The nurseries of Messrs. G. and W. Tindall are, at this time, the most extensive speculation which is carried on at Beverley in the way of trade. They contain 130 acres, and are cultivated entirely by the spade. Fifty persons are usually employed on these grounds. Some small plantations for the cultivation of mint were established about 40 years ago, on plots of garden and other ground adjoining the Hull road, and in Grovehill-lane, to the amount of about 10 or 12 acres. The mint is distilled in the town, but it is much less profitable than during the war, because the Dutch are able to undersell us. There are yet, however, in Beverley four or five distilleries. The corn trade may be estimated from the following return for the year 1827, in quarters.

WHEAT.	BARLEY.	OATS.	BEANS.	RYE.	PEAS.
17,544	3310	3437	353	18	47

The quantity of meat slaughtered for the use of the town must be immense, when we consider that Beverley contains thirty-three resident butchers, besides many others who regularly attend from the country on market days; and every other article of general consumption⁶ is exposed for sale in great abundance. Both the necessities and luxuries of life are supplied in profusion and meet a ready sale.

A good deal of general business is done in Beverley; a minute specification of which would far exceed the limits appropriated to this article. Its trade may probably have sustained an increase since the establishment of the banks, which have maintained their credit during all the recent fluctuations in the money-market, and enjoy the entire confidence of the publick. Suffice it to enumerate the professions

⁶ It may be useful here to record the average price of provisions at the present time, as matter of future reference. Fine flour, 3s. 6d. a stone; beef, veal, and pork fluctuates from 6d. to 8d. a pound; mutton from 6d. to 7d.; butter, in summer, 10d. a pound; in winter, 1s. 6d.; eggs, 6d. per dozen in summer, advancing to 1s. 3d. in the winter season; turkeys, 5s. each; geese, 4s. 6d.; fowls, 2s. 6d. and ducks, 3s. 6d. a couple. The price of fish is very variable, and depends, in a great measure, on the supply. At a plentiful market, salmon is 1s. 8d. per pound; turbot, 3d. cod, 2d. haddocks, 2d. per pound; and scait, 1s. each; but when the market is ill supplied, these prices are nearly doubled. The price of milk is tolerably steady, and averages about 1d. per pint. Vegetables and fruit also vary according to the season. We have known them both very cheap, and uncommonly dear. Potatoes have varied from 2s. to 4s. a bushel; apples from 1s. to 4s. a peck; plums from 2s. 6d. to 5s.; grapes are generally about 1s. a pound. In the early part of the season, these articles of common consumption are advanced in price proportionably with their scarcity; and it is but reasonable that the industrious and skilful gardener should reap the benefit of his extraordinary exertions for the accommodation of the publick.

and trades, from which a comparative estimate may be made by any person who has leisure or curiosity to pursue the enquiry. Belonging to the two churches and the grammar school are six clergymen; there are also two physicians; five surgeons; fourteen attornies, and two banks, each containing a firm of three names; fifteen schools; fourteen wine, spirit, and porter merchants; thirteen corn, coal, or timber merchants; twelve drapers; four druggists; four booksellers; twenty-seven shopkeepers; nine ironmongers and braziers; five tallow chandlers; three veterinary surgeons; nineteen millers and bakers; twenty gardeners and seedsmen; two bone crushers; seven tanners; seven maltsters; nineteen tailors and drapers; six distillers; three stonemasons; six tea-dealers; fourteen white and blacksmiths; twenty-six joiners and cabinet-makers; six saddlers; thirty-three butchers; five brewers; twenty-five boot and shoe-makers; two coopers; three curriers; seven painters; sixteen milliners and straw bonnet makers; thirty-six victuallers; eleven bricklayers; four watchmakers; three flaxdressers; three glaziers; six glass and pot sellers; four clothes and pawnbrokers; nine hairdressers; four hatmakers; three hosiers; three weavers; five ropemakers; nine wheelwrights and machine-makers; two toy shops; two turners; four staymakers; two fishmongers;⁷ and this forms a comprehensive account of the various professions, trades, and callings practised at Beverley.

⁷ Notwithstanding the great number of tradesmen in this town, they are all, generally speaking, well supported, and many have risen to opulence; and some have retired with a competent independence, and passed their latter days in ease and comfort, enjoying the honourable fruits of their successful industry.



View of the Grand-stand on the Race Course.—See p. 430.

Chap. VIII.

Games, amusements, and customs—Bull baiting—Badger baiting—Cock fighting—Corpus-Christi plays—Boy bishop—Minstrels—Cucking stool—Stange—Football—Angling—Races—Social amusements—Chairing a member of parliament.

THE inhabitants of Beverley, from the most early times, have been celebrated for their excellence in all the sports which were peculiar to the age in which they lived. As soon as the interest in one amusement ceased, another was substituted in its room, and a succession of games have attracted the attention of the people up to the present time. At the head of these we will place the once popular, though now deservedly abolished sport of

BULL BAITING.—This was a favourite amusement throughout England until a very recent period; and regular *bear-gardens* were kept in London for the exclusive purpose of baiting bulls and bears, which were openly patronized by the nobility. Scaffolds and seats were erected for the safety and convenience of the spectators; and the *bearward* was at length constituted an officer in the royal family. Baiting the bear was a favourite amusement with our ancestors the Anglo-Saxons; and at Norwich, a part of the annual payments enumerated in Domesday, consisted of a bear and six dogs to bait it.¹

¹ "Training of bulls, bears, horses, and other animals for the purpose of baiting them with dogs, is a vicious pastime, which has the sanction of high antiquity. Fitz-Stephen, who lived in the reign of Henry II. tells us that in the forenoon of every holiday, during the winter season, the young Londoners were amused with boars opposed to each other in battle; or with bulls, or full grown bears baited by dogs." In the reign of Henry VIII. and during the time of his daughter Elizabeth, bull-baiting was considered a gentlemanly diversion, and was openly patronized by these monarchs, and performed, not unfrequently, on the Lord's day. "When queen Mary visited her sister, the princess Elizabeth, during her confinement at Hatfield house; the next morning, after mass, a grand exhibition of bear-baiting was made for their amusement, with which, it is said, their highnesses were right-well content. The same princess, soon after her accession to the throne, gave a splendid dinner to the French ambassadors, who afterwards were entertained with the baiting of bulls and bears; and the queen herself stood with the ambassadors looking at the pastime till six at night." Strutt's Sports, p. 192.

It was a prevalent custom at Beverley, in former times, for every chief magistrate, on being sworn into office, to present a bull to be baited for the amusement of the populace; and the sport was usually performed in front of his own residence, for which purpose a ring was fixed in the pavement. This custom had obtained so much celebrity by constant usage, that many of the corporate body, though disapproving altogether of the practice, were obliged, in this instance, to comply with the wishes of the people, though it was a painful outrage to their feelings, and peculiarly obnoxious to the female part of their families, for the greatest barbarity was used in the management of this diversion. If the bull were too tame, it was customary to pour hot spirits or beaten pepper into his nostrils; and if this failed to rouse the poor animal to anger, it was not uncommon to flash gunpowder into those tender parts, or even to irritate him by lacerating the fleshy parts of his body with knives, and pouring aquafortis into the wounds, that the excruciating pain might drive him raging mad; and this was termed "shewing game." At length Mr. Alderman Arden, and it will be ever remembered to his honour, resolved to abolish this barbarous amusement, at the risk of sacrificing his popularity with the people, and positively refused to provide an animal for this brutal purpose. The disappointed mob complained loudly of the loss of their favourite diversion; and a bull continued to be provided occasionally by the members of the borough, whose interest it was to indulge their constituents, and conciliate their favourable opinion. But in 1820, George Lane Fox, esq. one of their representatives, had spirit enough to refuse a compliance with this vicious custom; telling them that "the amusement is both cruel and barbarous, and by abolishing it, the burgesses of Beverley would not only do credit to themselves, but to the borough and town at large."² Mr. Martin's act put a final period to bull baiting in Beverley. An attempt was made to revive the practice; but it was met by the magistrates with a proper spirit; for they levied the fine* imposed by that statute on the ringleaders, and thus finally relieved the inhabitants from the annual recurrence of those feelings which naturally result from a reflection that useless torture has been wantonly inflicted on a dumb and helpless animal.

BADGER BAITING—was formerly in request amongst the common people, but is now altogether disused.

COCK FIGHTING.—This barbarous diversion has been followed with great avidity at Beverley, but it has declined in proportion with the moral improvement

² Hand-bill, dated September 29th, 1820.

* The fine was levied by the same Alderman Arden, who first refused to provide a bull.

of the people. The cockpit was situated in Wood-lane; but was afterwards converted into a Methodist meeting-house; and is now used as a worsted manufactory. The sport has been totally suppressed under the publican's licensing act.

Cock fighting is a diversion of great antiquity, having been practised by the Athenians, with whom it is said to have originated. It was encouraged by Themistocles under an idea that it inspired the spectators with extraordinary courage;³ and hence it was exhibited before his soldiers on the eve of an engagement. The Romans imitated the Greeks in their fondness for this amusement. From the Romans it passed into Britain; and it still continues to be a favourite diversion in many parts of this kingdom.

These cruel sports, bull baiting, cock fighting, pugilism, &c. are not without their advocates amongst the learned, who think that the manly diversions which formed the manners of our hardy and unconquerable forefathers, are now giving way before the affected delicacy and the overweening fastidiousness of cant and enthusiasm.⁴ But do the callous feelings of barbarity form any part of the composition of true fortitude and manly virtue? Surely not. If we consider man in the abstract, we must regard him as a being formed for intellectual enjoyments, because created for immortality, and consequently superior to the brutal feelings which turn cruelty into sport. The pangs of a wounded and dying animal should give pain to a nature which is preparing for perfection in another world. But in this barbarous amusement, it is the infliction of wounds alone which can excite the gratification of its sanguinary admirers. The refined and heightened cruelty of, what is termed, a *Welsh main*, need only be described to cover a sensitive mind with horror and disgust. Sixteen pair of these intrepid animals, after long training, are opposed to each other, until each bird has killed his antagonist. The remainder being equally divided are again pitted in their exhausted state, until eight others are destroyed. The survivors, though fatigued, spent, and covered with dust and blood, are once more divided; and so on, until only one of these unfortunate creatures remains. Such inhuman barbarity can only excite one feeling in every heart not entirely divested of humanity, and *that* feeling is horror and execration.⁵

³ Elian. Var. Hist. 2. p. 67. ⁴ Knight on Taste, p. 329.

⁵ The following awful warning to all lovers of this sport is extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1809. "Died, April 4th, at Tottenham, John Ardesoif, esquire, a young man of large fortune, and in the splendour of his horses and carriages rivalled by few country gentlemen. His table was that of hospitality, where it may be said, he sacrificed too much to

A more peaceful recreation was practised in old times by the inhabitants of Beverley, and this was the

CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS—which professed to unite edification with amusement. These plays commenced with a prologue containing the argument of the several pageants, each of which is a piece of scripture history, embracing together a regular detail of events from the beginning to the end of time. “In the first pageant, or act, the Deity is represented seated on his throne by himself; after a speech of some length, the angels enter singing from the church service, To thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein; to thee the cherubim and seraphim continually do cry; holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, Lucifer then makes his appearance, and desires to know if the hymn they sang was in honour of God, or in honour of him? The good angels readily reply, in honour of God; the evil angels incline to worship Lucifer, and he presumes to seat himself in the throne of the Deity; who commands him to depart from heaven to hell; which dreadful sentence he is compelled to obey, and with his wicked associates descends to the lower regions.”⁶ The plays at Beverley differed something from this, as they commenced at an earlier period.

The ordinance for the regulation of this amusement at Beverley, was as follows, and will show the subjects of the different pageants.

Tylers, the fallinge Lucifer.
Saddelers, the makeing of the Worlde.
Walkers, making of Adam and Eve.
Ropers, the breakinge of the commandments
of God.
Crelers, graving and spynning.
Glovers, Cayn.
Shermen, Adam and Seth.
Wattermen, Noe Shipp.

Bowers, Abraham and Ysaak.
Mustermakers and Chanlers, Salutation of
our Lady.
Husbandmen, Bedleem.
Vynteners, Shepherds.
Goldsmythe, the kinges of Colan.
Fyshers, Lymeen.
Cowpers, fleyinge to Egipt.
Shoemakers, Childer of Ysraell.

conviviality. Mr. Ardesoif was very fond of cockfighting, and had a favourite cock, upon which he had won many profitable matches. The last bet he laid upon this cock he lost, which so enraged him that he had the bird tied to a spit, and roasted alive before a large fire. The screams of the miserable animal were so affecting, that some gentlemen who were present attempted to interfere, which so enraged Mr. Ardesoif, that he seized a poker, and with the most furious vehemence declared that he would kill the first man who interfered; but in the midst of his passionate asseverations, he fell down dead upon the spot!”

⁶ Strutt's Sports, p. 117.

Scryners, disputacion in y^e Temple.
 Laborers, the Pynacle.
 Barbers, Sent John Baptiste.
 The Mylners, rasyng of Lazarus.
 Skynners, Jerusalem.
 Bakers, the Mawndy.
 Lusters, Prainge at y^e Mounte.
 Tailyers, Sleping Pylate.
 Bakers, Scorgynge.

Cutters and Potters, the Sweynyng.
 Wevers, the Stanginge.
 Barkers, the taking of the Cross.
 Cooks, Harynge of Hell.
 Wrighte, the Ressurrection.
 Gentylnen, Castle of Emans.
 Smyths, Ascencion.
 Prestes, Coronation of our Lady.
 Marchants, Domesday.⁷

EPISCOPUS PUERORUM.—It was customary at Beverley,⁸ as appears from the Northumberland household book,⁹ to elect on Saint Nicholas's day a bearne (boy) bishop from amongst the handsomest children belonging to the church,¹⁰ who was escorted by his playfellows, habited like priests, in solemn procession to the minster, where, dressed in splendid robes, decorated with costly ornaments,¹¹ and covered with his mitre, he presided during the performance of divine worship; and, how strange soever it may sound to our ears, these boys actually performed all the ceremonies and offices there, except mass;¹² after which, he passed from house to

⁷ Warburton's MSS. Lansd. Col. B. Mus. 896. VIII. fo. 180.

⁸ Brand. Pop. Ant. vol. i. p. 328.

⁹ Vid. etiam. Archæol. vol. ix. p. 43.

¹⁰ Warton. Hist. Engl. Poetr. vol. iii. p. 302.

¹¹ From the Northumberland Household Book the inventory of these robes is here copied.

Contenta de ornamentis Epi' puer. (e Rotulo in pergam.)

Imprimis. i myter, well garnished with perle and precious stones, with nowches of silver, and gilt before and behind.

Item. iiij rynges of silver and gilt, with iiij redde precious stones in them.

Item. i pontifical with silver and gylt, with a blew stone in hytt.

Item. i owche, broken, silver and gylt, with iiij precious stones, and a perle in the myddes.

Item. a croose, with a staff of coper and gilt, with the ymage of Saint Nicholas in the myddes.

Item. i vestment, redde with lyons, with silver, with bryddes of gold in the orferes of the same.

Item. i albe to the same, with starres in the paro.

Item. i white cope, stayned with tristells and orferes, redde sylke with does of gold, and whytt napkins about the necks.

Item. iiij copes, blew sylk with redde orferes, trayled, with whytt braunchis and flowres.

Item. i steyned cloth of the ymage of Saint Nicholas.

Item. i tabard of skarlet, and a hode thereto, lyned with whytt sylk.

Item. a hode of skarlett, lyned with blew sylk.

¹² In the Processionale ad usum insignis et preclare Ecclesie Sarum, 4to. Rothomagi, A. D. 1566, is printed the service of the boy-bishop at large.

house, attended by his inferior officers, collecting a tax, which he boldly demanded as the bishop's subsidy; and this was applied to the purpose of making a feast. The boy-bishop is said to have possessed such unbounded power, that all prebends which happened to fall vacant during his presidency were at his disposal; and if he chanced to die in that period, he was entitled to all the honours of episcopal interment, and a monument was assigned to convey the remembrance of his honours to posterity.¹³

MINSTRELS OR WAITS.¹⁴—The minstrels formerly exercised their art in Beverley on particular occasions. They were governed by stated rules, and played at weddings, feasts, fairs, cross days, &c. under the direction of their leader, who was of necessity an alderman of the borough. This custom was a vestige of the minstrelsy of ancient times. The bards of the early Britons were succeeded by the poets and minstrels of the Saxons and Normans, who frequented the courts of sovereign princes, and were always received with welcome. They waited for no invitation; but considering admission into the halls of the nobility as an undeniable privilege due to their talents, they entered without ceremony, and seldom departed without a liberal reward. From these marks of favour, universally bestowed on the itinerant minstrel, great numbers of loose and dissolute persons were at length induced to join the fraternity, and its reputation was consequently much diminished in the public estimation; until, in the reign of Elizabeth, the professors of minstrelsy were ranked amongst rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars.

The society or guild of minstrels which existed in Beverley, was established in the time of king Athelstan, and was continued to a late period. In the reign of Philip and Mary its members endeavoured to restore the credit and respectability of their order, now sinking rapidly into disrepute, by the formal establishment of a series of regulations for their future government.¹⁵ And to rebut the accusation of vagrancy they inserted the following clause. "Furthermore it is ordeyned by the alderman and his brethren, that if there be any made brother already not being able as aforesaid, or has been so able and now declineth from the same for lacke of honest usage, that then the alderman and brethren and officers shall then

¹³ In the cathedral church of Salisbury, was a monument of this description, with the statue of of a boy habited in episcopal robes.

¹⁴ Waits is a corruption of the word *wakes* or watching.

¹⁵ Vid. Append. M.

expell from their brotherhood, as alderman and officers will answer to the kynge's officers when they speak of vagabonds and valiant beggars. And if any person or persons so deprived shew hymself obstynate and stands in contencyon arrogantly, that then the kyng's officers be sent for to carry the offender or offenders to the gaile and there to remain untill he be reconcyled to order, and for his obstinacy to forfeit as the alderman and his brethren shall think meate and convenient in that behalfe."¹⁶

CUCKING STOOL.

" There is a lesser profanation
Like that the Romans call'd ovation ;
For as ovation was allow'd
For conquest purchas'd without blood,
So men decree these lesser shows,
For victory gotten without blows,
By dint of sharp, hard words, which some
Give battle with an overcome.
These, mounted in a chair-curule,
Which moderns call a *Cucking-stool*,
March proudly to the river's side,
And o'er the waves in triumph ride,
Like Dukes of Venice who are said
The Adriatick sea to wed ;
And have a gentler wife than those
For whom the state decrees those shows."¹⁷

The cucking stool was anciently used in Beverley as a punishment for common scolds. It is directed in the Burrow laws,¹⁸ that " gif they trespasse thrice, justice sall be done vpon them: that is, the baxter (baker) sall be put vpon the pillorie or halsfang, and the brewster (brewer) vpon the cockstule."¹⁹ Reference is here made only to the frauds committed by these traders; but in the "*Actes Marie*,"²⁰ it is expressly provided " that *the women perturbatouris* for skafrie of money or vtherwyse, salbe takin and put vpone the cukstules²¹ of eurie burgh or towne."

¹⁶ Warburton. MSS. B. Mus. Lansd. Coll. 896. VIII. fo. 180.

¹⁷ Hudibras. Part II. Cant. 2.

¹⁸ Ch. XXI. Sec. 3.

¹⁹ Vide ut supra. p. 110.

²⁰ 1555, c. 40.

²¹ In the Saxon tongue, *cuck*, or *guck*, signifies to scold or brawl, taken from the bird cuckow, or guckow; and *ing*, in that language, signifieth water, because a scolding woman was, for her punishment, soused in water. The common people in the northern part of England, amongst whom the greatest remains of the ancient Saxon are to be found, pronounce it a *ducking-stool*, which perhaps may have sprung from the Belgic or Teutonic *ducken*, to dive under water; from whence

This machine, called otherwise the trebucket or trapdoor, was of very great antiquity in Beverley, having been granted to the archbishop of York before the Conquest. It was placed in Bar-dyke, and exhibited *in terrorem*, to keep that unruly member, the female tongue, in due subjection. Many instances occur, however, of hardy females who have undauntedly braved the punishment, rather than surrender the invaluable privilege which a woman holds most dear. This instrument, notwithstanding, was reputed to be generally successful in effecting the thralldom of this "little evil;" for strict injunctions were periodically issued for "keeping the ducking stool in repair."

About the middle of the last century this machine was finally removed, and the punishment abolished; but the place where it stood is still distinguished by the name of Ducking-stool-lane. In these times of intellectual improvement, such unnatural inflictions would be equally unnecessary and disgraceful. Instead of machines to punish, and thence to eradicate evil propensities, means are now adopted to prevent them. Schools are established to implant the rudiments of virtue in the pliant mind; which, it is hoped, will, in a great degree, supersede the use of coercion, and be of more essential benefit to the rising generation than all the instruments of disgrace and torture that ever were invented.

RIDING THE STANGE.²²—This is another species of popular punishment which formerly prevailed at Beverley, but is now deservedly fallen into desuetude. The ceremony was performed when a husband had been guilty of beating his wife, or *vice versa*; and was as follows. A considerable number of dissolute young men, attended by shoals of children, assemble about eight o'clock in the evening, near the unfortunate person's house, to whose *honour* the performance is especially dedicated, with broken kettles and pans, cow's horns and whistles, and other noisy and discordant instruments, on which a perpetual drumming, blowing, and rattling, forms the most hideous concert that can be conceived, accompanied, as it is, by the shouts and yells of the whole group. The most important personage in the assembly

also, probably, we denominate our duck the water-fowl; or rather, it is more agreeable to the analogy and progression of languages, to assert that the substantive, duck, is the original, and the verb made from thence; as much as to say, that to duck, is to do as that fowl does." Burn's Justice, in loc.

²² This ridiculous punishment was derived from the Goths, and savours strongly of an age of barbarism. This people, as we are told by Dr. Jamieson in his Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish language, were wont to erect, what they called *Nid-Staeng*, or the pole of infamy, accompanied with the direst imprecations against the person who was reputed worthy of the punishment.

is "the rider;" who, mounted astride across a ladder, which is carried on men's shoulders, repeats, in the intervals of the vocal and instrumental performance, some doggrel rhymes descriptive of the cause for which the revel rout is assembled. These rhymes run in the following strain:—

With a ran, dan, dan, at the sign of the old tin can,
 For neither your case, nor my case, do I ride the stange.
 For Johnny ————— has been beating his wife—
 He beat her, he bang'd her, he bang'd her indeed,
 He bang'd her, poor creature, before she stood need.—&c. &c. &c.

After the rehearsal of this doggrel by the *gentleman* of the stange, the yells and drummings and sounding of horns and whistles strike up, and the whole party move in procession to another part of the town, where the rhymes are repeated, and the same ceremony again takes place, that the community at large may enjoy the full advantage of the performance. The "stange" is generally repeated for three successive nights, when the offender is left at liberty either to treat his wife with greater tenderness for the time to come, or, if he thinks proper, to renew the affront; in which latter case the castigation is sure to be again awarded to him with increased virulence. The custom is unchristian-like, and has been very properly suppressed.

FOOT-BALL.—The improper custom of playing an annual match at foot-ball on the *Sunday* preceding the races was continued down to the year 1825. It commenced on the race course, and was attended by all the loose young men of Beverley and the surrounding villages. Some efforts had been previously made to suppress it, but they had proved ineffectual. At length, during the mayoralty of Mr. Williams, it was determined by the corporation to prevent, by coercive means, this annual profanation of the sabbath; and the constables received special instructions for the purpose. But the young men, confident in their numbers and physical strength, set at defiance the authority of the civil power; and boldly resisting the officers in the execution of their duty, some of the constables were very severely handled. The aggressors, however, though conquerors for the day, were not suffered to enjoy any salutary fruits from their triumph; for they were afterwards convicted of the assault by due course of law, and confined to hard labour. This firm and active proceeding on the part of the magistrates was attended with perfect success, and the practice has been altogether abandoned.

ANGLING—was a favourite amusement amongst the inhabitants of Beverley in the last generation; and had been so indeed from time immemorial. We are told by Hollinshead, that in his time the river Hull abounded with sturgeon and lamprey;²³ and before the late drainage of the low grounds the same river produced a prodigious quantity of trout, perch, gudgeons, roach, bream, and eels.

RACES.—To sit on horseback in an easy and graceful manner has always been esteemed a gentlemanly qualification; and in the days of chivalry, when the nobility and gentry were necessarily warriors, and expert in all the martial exercises of the times, it was a requisite which could not possibly be dispensed with by any person who claimed admission into decent society. The equestrian exercises and amusements of the most early times would certainly embrace trials of the mettle and speed of favourite horses; and hence it is supposed, that this sport was known and practised before the Conquest. We want no evidence to prove that, in later times, it has universally been a favourite amusement with the people of England; and the first regular prize of the contest was a silver bell. Hence the winner was said *to bear the bell*.

This popular amusement is of some antiquity in Beverley; and has been so spiritedly patronized and encouraged, that it is now the resort of all the fashionable sportsmen and amateurs who usually attend this species of diversion in any part of the country.

The ground on Hurn-moor is well adapted for a race course, and the sports are directed by two stewards, who are nominated at the races preceding those in which they are expected to act. A grand stand was erected in 1767, for the accommodation of the spectators. The races continue three days, and the time is regulated by the York May meeting; being usually one week later. Mr. C. Greenwood is the clerk of the course.

The following table, for the year 1828, may be satisfactory to shew the general arrangement observed at these races.

²³ Hollins. Chron. vol. i. p. 158. 8vo.

BEVERLEY RACES, 1828.

ROBERT DENISON, jun. Esq. } Stewards.
MARK FOULIS, Esq.

PLATE.	SUB. IN SOVS.	SOVS. ADDED BY THE TOWN.	VALUE IN SOVS. OR GS.	HEATS. DIST. IN MILES.	NUMBER OF HORSES.		DESCRIPTION OF HORSES.	NO. OF HEATS.	WINNING HORSE.
					ENTRD.	START.			
WEDNESDAY, 21st MAY.									
Carlton Stakes	10	20	60 sov.	1½	4	4	3 & 4 yrs. old	1	Lord Scarbrough's b. f. sister to Tarrare.
Gold Cup.....	10	—	120s.	2	12	3	All ages	1	Sir W. Milner's ch. c. Malek, by Blacklock.
Town Plate.....	—	—	50 sov.	2	7	5	All ages	3	Lord Scarbrough's br. f. by Re- veller.
THURSDAY, 22nd MAY.									
Sweepstakes	20	—	100s.	T.Y.C.	5	5	2 yrs. old	1	Mr. Haywood's b. c. Sandoval, by Cervantes.
Dringhoe Stakes	10	20	50 sov.	2	3	2	All ages	1	Lord Scarbrough's br. c. by Comus.
Hunters' Stakes	10	—	90 sov.	2	9	8	All ages	1	Mr. Hudson's b. m. Miracle.
FRIDAY, 23rd MAY.									
Gold Cup, given by Sir C. FORBES, Bart.....	—	—	100 gs.	2	12	2	All ages	1	Major Yarbrough's br. c. Laurel, by Blacklock.
Members' Plate.....	—	—	50 sov.	2	8	3	All ages	2	Mr. Weatherill's ch. f. by Whisker.
Match	—	—	100 gs.	Once round	2	2	1	Mr. Athorpe's br. g. Candidate.

THE SOCIAL AMUSEMENTS—used by the inhabitants of Beverley are card and dancing assemblies; for the convenience of which rooms were erected in the year 1763. Here a weekly card assembly is held on Tuesday evenings; and the moderate stimulus of “shilling points,” while it leaves no avenue to excite the cupidity of the gamester, still keeps the mind employed, and gives the heart a zest for the joys of reciprocal friendship. On some occasions, the younger portion of the company will indulge themselves in a few rubbers of what are technically termed, “shorts,” at the risk of half-crown points; but this is neither common nor commendable. Dancing assemblies are held six times during the winter, and are generally both numerous and respectably attended.

The lower classes of the people have their quoits, their foot-ball, and their cricket, which often lead the way to drunkenness and dissipation.

CHAIRING A MEMBER.—The ceremony of chairing a member of parliament subsequently to his election may very properly be introduced here. The chair being tastefully decorated by the ladies with a profusion of silks and ribbons of his distinguishing colour, is placed on a platform of boards, and borne on the shoulders of six men to the head quarters of the successful candidate. Here the new member steps into his chair, which to him is a throne of triumph, and thus elevated above the crowd of partizans which every where surround him, he is paraded with great pomp through the streets, preceded by a band of music, which usually plays Handel’s favourite melody of “See the conquering hero comes.” The procession over, the member is set down at his head quarters, and the evening concludes with festivity.²⁴

²⁴ This ceremony may be derived from a similar custom used amongst the ancient Saxons, and other northern nations, at the election of their monarchs, which took place in a circular inclosure of twelve upright stones, with a stone taller than the rest erected in the centre, as a seat for the object of their choice. The stones were flat at the top, as a convenience for the chiefs to harangue the people from their summit, who were congregated on the outside of the inclosure. The election over, the successful candidate was elevated on the shoulders of the chiefs, to be publicly exhibited in the view of all the people.

Biography.

Chap. VIII.

John of Beverley—Archbishop Thomas—Archbishop Thurstan—Archbishop Murdac—Alured of Beverley—Philip Ingelbert—Bishop Alcocke—Bishop Fisher—Robert Ingram—Bishop Green—Lawrence Whitaker—Mary Woolstoncraft Godwin—Dr. Reynolds—William Wilson—Richard Sissison—Thomas Clarke.

John of Beverley.

THIS distinguished personage was born at Harpham,¹ of noble parents, and in his earliest infancy is said to have exhibited tokens of that solemnity of deportment, and stability of character, which subsequently led to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. He displayed the germ of ability and virtue beyond his years, and his parents resolved to dedicate and devote his life to the service of God while he was yet but a child. At an early age he was placed in the abbey of Streoneshalh, to be instructed in the principles of the Christian faith by the pious abbess Hilda. When his ideas became sufficiently expanded, by a comprehensive knowledge of monastic doctrines and discipline, he determined to seek instruction from the fountain head; and taking an affectionate leave of the holy abbess and his early friends, he proceeded into Kent, with a view of placing himself under the immediate tuition of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.² His fame for singular piety and learning had preceded him, and he was received by this distinguished prelate with tokens of welcome and congratulation, which served to increase the young scholar's

¹ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 100. ² *Ibid.*

ardour and activity in the pursuit of knowledge. Under the sedulous care of abbot Adrian he soon eclipsed all his cotemporaries, as well in literary acquirements, as in abstinence and self-devotion to the most rigid ordinances of christianity. He became remarkable for a strict and systematic adherence to all the monastic practices, which, in those ages, possessed superior claims to a meritorious sanctity. In the spring of life these observances are usually a grievous burthen, and with difficulty sustained; but John was an ascetic, both by constitution and by habit, and to his chaste mind these duties were a never-failing source of pleasure and gratification. His disciplines were frequent and severe; he mortified the flesh with sackcloth and coarse garments; fasted and prayed incessantly, and wasted the midnight oil in study and contemplation.

Such a methodical addiction to these meritorious exercises soon conferred on our youthful devotee a high and distinguished reputation, and invested him with honour in the estimation of his superiors. Proceeding to Oxford, the ancient college of the British Pherylt,³ he received the degree of doctor in divinity;⁴ and finally, when his education was completed, he retired to the monastery of Streoneshalh to enjoy the fruits of his learned acquirements, and to practise the prevailing virtues of a Christian priest.

In the year 678, he was elevated to the see of Hagulstad or Hexham;⁵ and here his great abilities, assisted by a superior degree of activity and zeal, displayed themselves to such advantage, that his biographers have held him up as something more than human, and have attributed to him the power of working *miracles*.⁶ On this subject it is necessary, in these times, to think soberly, and to speak with caution; that we may avoid the error of credulity on the one hand, and presumption on the other. No doubts can exist respecting the performance of miracles by the immediate successors of the apostles while the establishment of their religion was incomplete; but the power would naturally cease when the necessity for its exertion no longer existed. The conversion of Constantine, which made christianity the established religion of the most powerful empire on earth, would render useless

³ Williams. in Dav. Druid. p. 215.

⁴ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 100. Many objections have been advanced against this point in the history of our prelate; but as the question is not of material consequence in this brief memoir, I shall not put my readers to the trouble of examining the grounds on which the objections are founded.

⁵ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 100. ⁶ Bede. l. 5. c. 4, 5; 6. *Mahms. de. Gest.* l. 3. f. 153.

the miraculous testimony of preternatural endowments. This however is matter of mere conjecture; for the precise era when miracles actually ceased can never be accurately determined. An undoubted miracle occurred in the fourth century, when the emperor Julian restored paganism, and by a formal edict, constituted it the established religion of the empire. But this miracle was *immediate*, and has been adduced as a proof that God would no longer commit to human hands the power of controlling the course of nature. It will be seen that the allusion is made to the impious attempt of this apostate to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, in defiance of the voice of prophecy; when the design was strikingly frustrated by an evident exertion of the finger of God.⁷

The power of working miracles has indeed been claimed by certain bold spirits in the church of papal Rome throughout all ages; the imposture was successfully practised in England down to the reign of Henry VIII. when the machinery was exposed by the commission of enquiry; but it still continues, in Roman Catholic countries, a prevailing error of the same church. If the people could be persuaded that the saints possessed sufficient authority to intercede for them in heaven as mediators, there is nothing repugnant to reason in the idea that the same beings were also capable of endowing distinguished Christians on earth with the power of working miracles. The question then presses itself on us with some force, "did John, bishop of Hagulstad, endeavour to impress his flock with a belief of his own supernatural endowments? and did he himself publish these miracles to the world? If he did this, as he was no enthusiast, he must either have been an impostor, or the miracles were never performed; neither of which will be admitted by his admirers.⁸ It appears, however, on the evidence of Bede, that several of

⁷ The failure of this attempt is thus recorded by the *Pagan historian*.—*negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro Præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ Rector, metuendi globi flammæ prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum. Amm. Marcell. l. 23. c. 1.* A tremendous display of Almighty power, wrought to preserve the inviolability of Scripture prophecy; and to warn and convince an obdurate infidel of his alarming apostacy from the truth.

⁸ That I may not labour under the imputation of having withheld any species of evidence which may enable others to form a determinate judgment on this dark and intricate subject, which, I confess, admits of no positive elucidation at this distant period of time; I shall subjoin, from Bede, a few of the most conspicuous miracles of this celebrated personage. They are at least, so far interesting, as they are strikingly indicative of the spirit and temper of this early Christian era in Britain. "In the beginning of the reign of Alfred, king of Northumberland," says Bede, "the bishop Eata dying, John, a holy man, took upon him the prelacy of the church of Hagulstad, of whom, those that familiarly knew him are wont to tell many miracles; and more

these miracles were reported and attested by Berthum, the bishop's most intimate friend. But as he was not present when they were performed, how did they come

particularly the most reverend and sincere man Berthum, once his deacon, now abbot of the monastery called Inderwood, that is the wood of Deira, some whereof we have thought fit to transmit to posterity. There is a certain private mansion, enclosed with a thin wood and a trench, not far from the church of Hagulstad, and separated from it by the river Tyne, having a burial place dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel, where the bishop used frequently to reside with a few companions. Being come thither at the beginning of Lent, he commanded his followers to find out some poor person labouring under any grievous infirmity or want, who might remain with him a few days by way of alms; a custom to which he was much addicted. In an adjacent village was a dumb youth whom the bishop frequently relieved; and who was troubled with such a scabby head that no hair would grow upon the diseased parts. The bishop caused a little cottage to be made within the inclosure of the mansion, in which the unfortunate man resided with a daily allowance for his food. On the Sunday after the first week in Lent, he called the poor man to him, and ordering him to put out his tongue, he inscribed upon it the sign of the cross, and then directed him to pronounce the word, *Œa*, (Yes) which, to his own astonishment he found himself able to perform. The bishop then proceeded to dictate the letters of the alphabet, and afterwards syllables and words, all of which the youth imitated with great exactness; nor did he cease all that day and the succeeding night, as long as he kept awake, to reduce his thoughts to language, which he was never able to do before. The bishop, rejoicing at his sudden recovery, commanded the physician to undertake the cure of his scald head; and, with his holy prayers and blessing, this was successfully performed; his hair grew profusely, and his flesh was healed. Thus the youth was restored to a good aspect, a ready utterance, and a beautiful head of hair, who had before been deformed and poor and dumb." Bede. l. 5. c. 2. "Nor do I think," says the same author, "that this miracle, which Herebald, the servant of Christ, was wont to say was wrought upon himself, is to be passed over in silence. He being then one of that bishop's clergy, now presides as abbot in the monastery which is at the mouth of the river Tyne. Being present, said he, and very well acquainted with his course of life, I found it to be worthy of a bishop, as far as it is lawful for men to judge; but I have known from the experience of others, and also from my own knowledge, how great his merit was before the inward judge; for I myself, by his prayers and blessing, was brought back from the gates of death into the way of life. For when in the prime of my life I lived among his clergy, applying myself to reading and singing, but not having yet withdrawn my heart from youthful pleasures; it happened one day as we were travelling with him, that we came into a plain and open way for galloping our horses. The young men that were with him, and particularly those of the laity, began to entreat the bishop to permit them to make trial of the goodness of their horses. He at first refused them, saying it was an idle request; but at length, being much pressed, he consented, on condition that I should take no part in the contention. Having an excellent horse, I most earnestly entreated him to allow me to ride with the rest, but could not obtain his permission. When they had several times galloped backwards and forwards, the bishop and I looking on, my wanton humour prevailing, I could no longer refrain, but, though he forbid me, struck in amongst the rest, and began to ride full speed; which, as I was doing, I heard him exclaim, "alas! how it grieves me to see you ride at that furious rate." Though I heard him, I still continued my rapid course, until I came to a wide and deep trench, over which the fiery steed leaped, but being unable to retain my seat I fell, and lost both sense and motion; for at the bottom was a great stone, on which falling, as a punishment for my disobedience, my skull was fractured and my thumb broke, and I lay as though I had been dead. Towards evening I revived, and was conveyed home by my companions; but I was speechless all night, and frequently vomited blood, because something within me was injured by the fall. The bishop, who entertained an extraordinary affection for me, was much grieved at my misfortune, as no hopes of life existed; nor would he stay that night with his clergy as usual, but spent the whole

to his knowledge? Not from the bishop's own report surely, but from certain individuals of his flock who had received benefits, and mistaking the means, credulously imputed to the instrument exaggerated statements of what belonged really to the first cause. Herebald, indeed, relates a miraculous cure wrought upon himself. But Herebald, Berthum, and Bede were too well stored with knowledge and experience to share in the simple credulity of the multitude, why then did they report and circulate these marvellous legends? The difficulty may be solved by classing them among the pious frauds which were resorted to by the Christians of those early times, to inspire a veneration for the ministers of christianity, and increase the influence of true religion amongst their heathen neighbours. The means however were inadequate to the end; for their pagan adversaries had always made use of the same frauds, and were convinced of their inefficacy.

In the year 687, John was consecrated archbishop of York,⁹ which he held upwards of thirty-three years. He founded a monastery at Beverley as has been already related,¹⁰ and constituted Berthum or Brithunus the first abbot.¹¹ At length being fatigued with the multiplied cares and duties of a publick life, he resigned the see to Wilfrid II. and retired to Beverley, where he died in the year 721, and was interred in the church porch.

Memoirs of this illustrious prelate have been written by his friend and pupil¹² the venerable Bede; by Folcard, a Benedictine monk, about 1066; by Alured,

of it alone in watching and prayer, imploring the divine goodness for my recovery. Early in the morning he visited me, and after a fervent prayer, he called me by my name, and, as it were, waking me out of a heavy sleep, asked whether I knew who it was that spoke to me? Opening my eyes, I answered, I do; you are my beloved bishop. Can you live? said he. I replied, I may through your prayers, if it shall please our Lord. He then laid his hand on my head with the word of benediction, and returned to prayer. After a short interval he came again to see me, and found me seated and able to converse with him; and being induced by divine instinct, as it soon appeared, he asked me if I knew for certain whether I had been baptized? I told him that I knew, beyond all doubt, I had been washed in the saving laver of the remission of sins; and named the priest who had performed the ceremony. He immediately replied, if you were baptized by that priest, your baptism is not perfect; for being unable, by reason of the dullness of his understanding, to learn the ministry of catechising and baptizing, I commanded him to desist altogether from such a presumptuous exercise of the ministry, which he could not regularly perform. The good bishop then catechised me himself; and it so happened that blowing upon my face I soon found myself better. The surgeon was now directed to close and bind up the fracture in my skull; and having received the holy man's blessing, I felt so much better, that the very next day, I travelled on horseback with him to another place; and being soon afterwards perfectly recovered, I received from his hands the washing of life." Bede. l. 5. c. 6.

⁹ Bale. Script. cent. 1. p. 91. ¹⁰ Vid. ut supra. Par. I. cap. 4.

¹¹ Cressy. Ch. Hist. p. 565. ¹² W. Malmsb. l. 1. c. 3.

canon and treasurer of Beverley church, about 1120; by Asketil, a clerk of Beverley, in 1320; by an anonymous writer about 1373; and in more modern times by Gent, in 1733; by Drake, in 1736; and a short account of John of Beverley may be found in almost every encyclopædia, and general biography in the language.

The following works are ascribed by Bale to our archbishop. *Pro Leuca exponendo*. lib. 1. *ad Bedam sæpe quidem tuæ sancte frater*. *Homilias Evangeliorum*. lib. 1. *Ad Hildam abbatissam*. *Epis. pleures*. *Ad Herebaldum discip.* Ep. 1. *Ad Andænum et Bertinum*. Ep. 1.¹³

Thomas

was the son of Sampson, bishop of Worcester, and was constituted the first provost of Beverley in the year 1092.¹⁴ His learning and wisdom soon elevated him to distinction, and he was successively consecrated to the sees of London and York. After being nominated to the primacy, however, he declined making the expected profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury; in consequence of which that prelate not only refused him the rite of consecration, but dying soon after, he denounced a curse so tremendous against any bishop who should perform that ceremony, that his own father was deterred, and dared not to give him consecration, even though commanded by the king. Thomas was therefore obliged to comply, and after profession of canonical obedience received consecration at the hands of the bishop of London.¹⁵

This prelate conferred some benefits on the church at Beverley. He did not long enjoy his dignity, however, for being exceedingly corpulent, and rejecting the prescribed remedy, he died in 1113,¹⁶ a martyr to his religious principles, after having held his high office but five years.

Thurstan

was the king's chaplain, and succeeded Thomas in the provostship of Beverley, and subsequently in the see of York, about the year 1114;¹⁷ but consecration was refused him, because he absolutely rejected the claim of superiority instituted by the see of Canterbury.¹⁸ He was active and indefatigable, and soon succeeded in

¹³ Drake. Ebor. p. 407.

¹⁴ Prov. Regist. l. 1. p. 56. Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 103. ¹⁵ M. Par. p. 53. ¹⁶ Ibid. p. 55.

¹⁷ Madox. Excheq. vol. i. p. 11. in notâ, k. Hoved. 271. ¹⁸ M. Paris, p. 55.

procuring consecration from the pope himself. Soliciting the king's permission to attend a general council which had been summoned to be held at Rheims, he received it with a strict injunction that he should not receive the rite of consecration at the hands of a foreign bishop. Disregarding this hard condition however, he soon ingratiated himself with the pope so far as to induce his holiness to perform the ceremony in person, before any of the English bishops arrived at Rheims.¹⁹ The king was highly offended at this proceeding, and forbade the return of Thurstan to England.²⁰ He remained in exile five years, and was only restored to favour by the firmness of his friend the pope, who threatened vengeance against both the king and the primate, should they persist in withholding from him the profits and privileges of his archbishoprick.

This prelate was not only learned and indefatigable in the execution of his office, but pious, just, and humane. The benefits which he conferred on the town of Beverley have been already enumerated;²¹ and they are such as to entitle him to the gratitude of the inhabitants in every age; for, though the suppression of the monasteries may have annihilated many of the archbishop's benevolent institutions for the welfare of the town, yet enough remains to perpetuate his memory, and establish his claim to the veneration of every friend to the interests of the town of Beverley. He held the see twenty-nine years, calculating from the time of his appointment, and resigned it in the year 1143. He died a short time afterwards, during the appearance of a remarkable comet;²² and was buried in the church belonging to the monastery of of Saint John, in Pontfrete.

Henry Murdac

was the immediate successor of archbishop Thurstan, but the king, who wished to elevate a kinsman of his own to the vacant see, was altogether averse to the appointment of Murdac; and when he returned from Rome, he was received by Stephen with much frigid formality, which soon terminated in open rupture. The citizens of York advocated the royal cause, and when the archbishop went to take possession of his see, he found the gates of the city closed against him.²³ Retiring to Beverley, he took up his residence there, and thundered out his anathemas

¹⁹ Bishop Godwin asserts this, but Drake is incredulous about it. It is recorded, however, by Matthew Paris, p. 56, and being highly characteristic of the spirit of the times, it may be perhaps entitled to credit.

²⁰ M. Paris, p. 56. ²¹ Vide ut supra, Par. II. cap. 2.

²² M. Paris, p. 67. ²³ Sim. Dunelm. Drake. Ebor. p. 417.

against his enemies, laying the whole city of York under an interdict. He remained at Beverley some years, and died there, says John of Hexham,²⁴ October 14, 1152.²⁵ His remains were interred in the cathedral church at York.

Alured of Beverley.

The period which was enlightened by this great historian of antiquity, is not exactly agreed on by those who have transmitted his merits to posterity. Some say that he died in 1126;²⁶ others place his death three years later;²⁷ Bale says he was living in 1136,²⁸ and Butler asserts that he died in 1166.²⁹ This, however, is of no great importance to the honours which are due to his memory. He was born at Beverley, probably in 1109, of noble parents,³⁰ and received a liberal education; first from the canons of Beverley, and afterwards at the university of Cambridge. Here he acquired the reputation of a sound divine and an able philosopher; and from the specimen which has descended to our times, we may pronounce his qualifications of a superior order as an historian for the age in which he flourished. Returning to his native town crowned with literary honours, he became a canon in the collegiate church at Beverley, and treasurer of that establishment. Having now leisure for those pursuits which were most congenial to his mind, he employed himself assiduously in collecting materials for historical and antiquarian elucidations; and though his endeavours were circumscribed within the limits of a narrow income, yet was his unwearied industry crowned with the most complete success. During the period of his residence at Beverley he compiled a book, now in the Harleian collection of the British Museum, intituled, *Libertatès Ecclesiæ Sti Joh'is Beverlacensis a regibus & principibus Anglorum, &c. largiter collatæ et usq; in hodiernum diem usu vel consuetudinus attricione celebres obtentæ; quas Magister Aluredus vir vitæ venerabilis, et prænominatæ Ecclesiæ Sacrista, Scripturarum studiosus Indigator, sicut a predecessoribus suis audierat et viderat, scripto commendavit, &c. Notandum, quod Cartæ quæ hic Anglo Saxonice exhibentur, ab imperitissimo Librario mire depravantur.*³¹

His merits, both as a theologian and a disciplinarian, at length elevated him to the abbacy of Rivaulx; and here it was that he compiled his annals from Brutus

²⁴ Dec. Scrip. p. 282. ²⁵ M. Paris, p. 72. ²⁶ Vossius, p. 393. ²⁷ Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 129.

²⁸ Bale. de Scrip. c. 2. no 74. ²⁹ Butler. Lives of Saints.

³⁰ Fuller. Worthies, vol. ii. p. 511.

³¹ Harl. MSS. B. Mus. 560. 2.

to Henry I.; a work, which for elegance of style, and accuracy of execution, gives to Alured of Beverley a high rank amongst the ancient historians of Britain.

Philip Inglebert

was a native of Beverley, and from thence acquired the cognomen of Beverlacensi. Having received an ecclesiastical education in the collegiate church, he graduated at Oxford, and was presented to the living of Keyingham in Holderness, where he resided with great credit for many years. His generosity was unbounded, and he appropriated all his profits to the benefit of meritorious indigence and suffering virtue. Many of his minor acts of benevolence remain unrecorded; but he endowed a chantry at Molescroft;³² and his noble donation to the university of Oxford will display his munificence to future generations. He gave his lands at Paulholm to University college, for the maintenance of two fellows, to be elected from Beverley and Holderness; and in case no scholar of that description should be eligible for the fellowship, the vacancy to be filled up at the discretion of the remaining fellows. He died in peace, and his memory was embalmed by the blessings of the poor.

John Alcocke.

To delineate the merits and virtues of individuals is a pleasing occupation; and to hear them recited, fans in the conscious bosom the sacred flame of emulation, and calls forth all the latent energies of the human heart. A virtuous pattern will incite praiseworthy actions in others, as spontaneously as a good tree produces sound and wholesome fruit; the record, therefore, of a brilliant course of practical virtue, may rouse dormant qualities into action, which will prove advantageous to individuals, and become both honourable and useful to society. The subject of this memoir was born at Beverley, of reputable parents, in the 15th century; and from the seminary there, he completed his education at the university of Cambridge, where his great talents and sober demeanour conferred on him those advantages which were denied by a want of interest with the opulent and great. In 1461, he was collated to the church of Saint Margaret's, New Fish-street, London, and preferred to the deanery of Saint Stephen's college, Westminster; and in the next year he was appointed master of the rolls. In this high situation, he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the country, that in 1470, he was elevated to the dignity of privy counsellor, and nominated as one of the ambassadors to the

³² Inquis. ad quod dam. 16 Edw. II.

king of Castile.³³ In every new situation, his shining talents rendered him eminently conspicuous, and marked him out for further advancement in his high career. The next year he was appointed a commissioner to treat with the king of Scots,³⁴ and consecrated to the see of Rochester; and in 1472, he was made lord high chancellor of England. Here his comprehensive abilities had abundant scope for their full and unrestrained exercise, and he was speedily advanced to the see of Worcester,³⁵ and constituted lord president of Wales. Ten years afterwards he was translated to the see of Ely, in which he remained till his death in 1500.

³³ Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 653.

³⁴ Rot. Scot. 11 Edw. IV. Rym. Fœd. vol. xi. p. 717.

³⁵ The following curious account of our bishop's installation is taken from a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi college, Oxon; and though long, is well deserving of insertion. "Be it had in remembrance, that the viii of the moneth of Decembre, that is to wete. In the fest of the conception of our Lady Seynt Mary being Sondag in the yere of the Incarnacion of our Lord thee Christe MCCCCLXXVI. In this wise was ye Translacion and the Installacion of our Rev^d. Father in God John Alkok by Godds Sufferonce late Bushoppe of Rochestre, and now Bushoppe of this his See of Worcestre. Imprimis, the said Rev^d. Fadir the Saturday nyght next after the said feste, he was loged within his own Maner called Northwyk a lytell Myle Fro his said Cite: the said day on his Translacion and Installacion at ye hour of viii of the clock in ye Morning this was Comyng and Receiving Furst divers Lords Temporals with honourable Congregation of Knyghts, Esquires, and Gentilmen, the Bayliffes and Aldermen with . . . Sargeants with Mace after them, the Bayliffes Comper XXIIII . . . Richeley Beseyn in Gownes of Scarlet the XLVIII of the Councel of the said Cite with all the hoole Comynalte reverently they received without the Northgate of the Cite coming from his said Maners: at which Gate there abiding a Suffrygan Pontifically habited the Deane of the Cite . . . Wool Clergye Richeley Besegn in . . . with Cross Encense and holy Water thus recevyd procedyng with Solempne song afore wym furst the Religious took preeh and four . . . the said Clerge through the high strete synging solemply these Songs Omne Trinitati, Te Deum, Ave Regina, continewing the space from the said Gate unto the Enteryng of the Church hye, and next before our Lorde goyng ye Lord Temporals aforesaid and on eche side goyng on a Rowe xxx poor men that is to say xv on the onn side of the Strete and xv on the othir Clothid in White Gowns with hoods abon their nekks and yis signe make of black cloth in . . . set on each side of their breast, S. M. furthermore at the enteryng of the Churche Porche ther were . . . the Priour of the said Cathedral Churche with dyvers Prelacy that is to wett Abbots of the Diocess vii of them with Cros and Myteur and of dyvers Priours with all ye Religious of the place, and so with Cros incense and holy Water Recevyd and Conveyed to high Awoter Enstallyd and th' Awtorite afor them then Redde: then was he conveyed by the Sexten and the Chanter of the place into the Vestiare and then making his chaurge and himself redy thereto come to him one Dan John Jodbury, beseching first to consecrate a new Chalice which he let make of pure and fine gold: and so my lord was the furst that song Mass with that Chalice which was gevyn unto the said place by the said Dan John for an Eternal Memory to be a Special Jewel—this done my Lord with all our Prelates and the Convent goyng then about the Cloystres in Procession with Solempne Ryte and Syngyng Salva festa to the station accustomed where my Lord preched a solempne sermon unto the Peple full grete of Audience his Theme Ego Sum Pasto bonus, and in the sermon hymself praying the peple to take such parte as God has sent and he had ordygnd for the day . . . the sermon finished proceeding forth to Masse . . . after this Mas fynyshed my said Lorde with all Lords Spiritual and Temporal with all the Religious persons Curates and Prestes Gentilmens Yomen and Citizens they war conveyd into the Traytour

Bishop Alcocke was a man of singular piety and erudition; equal, if not superior, for those qualities to any person then living,³⁶ and being in high favour with king Henry VII. he was appointed one of the executors of that monarch's will, with a legacy of £100.³⁷ As a preacher he was rather verbose and laboured; and a sermon which he delivered at Saint Mary's church, Cambridge, was extended to the extraordinary length of more than three hours. He published several works, and sometimes placed his favourite symbol, the cock, as an embellishment, in the frontispiece.³⁸ His knowledge of the science of architecture, and his zeal for the cause of religion, were jointly displayed in the many noble foundations which he built and instituted. He erected an episcopal palace at Downham, in Cambridgeshire;³⁹ and the spacious hall belonging to the palace at Ely, was the work of bishop Alcocke.⁴⁰ He founded Jesus college, Cambridge, from a decayed nunnery dedicated to Saint Radigund,⁴¹ which had originally been established by Malcolm, king of Scots, and placed in it a master, six fellows, and as many scholars. He founded a chantry, and built a chapel for the souls of his parents; and is supposed to have designed Saint Mary's or the University church, Cambridge.⁴² He founded and endowed a grammar school in the town of Kingstone-upon-Hull; and built

were the feste was holdyn . . . the high borde Rever^d. and Estate made for my Lord's own person in ye myddel sytting on his right hand ye Priour of the place with ix other Abbots . . . And on ye left side of my lord Richard my lord Stanley Sir Thomas Lyttilton Knyt and Gulge with others—the side on the right hand sittynge other Prelates that is to wete Abbots, Priours, Doctors and religious etyng Fyshe and so down to the end dyvers Gentilmen and yomen on the other side of the Hall Knyghts Esquires and so along the Hall yomen and Gentilmen in the Middel of that Hall were ii Tabuls all the length forsaide at the upper end of yat borde Ther sate my lordes Chancelar at that tyme Master Will Bance with other officers spiritual of my Lordes Docters Graduates Parsonns and Curates and Prests with other that Fylled yat home—at the Overmost end of the Borde next ther Sate the Bayliffs of the cite—the Alderman with the Worshipfull called the xxiiii and so the Cityzens and Comynalte of the same with dyvers other then in ye end of the said Traytors lowest ther was a Tabull set of the said xxx men whom my Lorde servyd with his own hand or he and the Lords set to meate—when the Lorde and the Hall were served of the furst cowvre immediately there came in oon like a doctour clothyd in Scarlet standyng afor the Tabel seying a Colaycyon made by Metre in Rhetorical Terms the Theme Triplicat first of John ye Baptist 2d of John Evangelist 3d of John the bushop present—Cetera desunt.

³⁶ Fuller. Worth. vol. ii. p. 521.

³⁷ Testam. Vetust. vol. i. p. 26.

³⁸ One of his publications is at present in the valuable library of earl Spencer, entitled *Callicantus Johannis Alcock epi Eliensis ad Cofratre suos curatos in synodo apud Barnwell 25 die mensis Septembris 1498*; published in London in quarto; a print of the bishop preaching to his clergy, with a cock on each side, facing the title page; and another cock on the first page of the work. Dibd. Bibl. Spenc. vol. iv. p. 425.

³⁹ Britton. Arch. Ant. vol. v. App. p. 1.

⁴⁰ Chalm. Biog. Dict. Life of Alcocke.

⁴¹ Godw. de Præsul. Ang. an. 1486.

⁴² Dallaway. Obs. on Engl. Archit. p. 193.

a school-house in a garden which his father had purchased of John Grimsby, alderman of Hull, on the south side of Trinity church;⁴³ and near the same place he built a small chapel, wherein were two altars, the one erected in honour of Jesus Christ, and the other in honour of Saint John the Evangelist; and here he constituted a perpetual chantry for the souls of king Edward IV. himself, and his parents.⁴⁴ As a concluding work he erected for himself a sumptuous sepulchral chapel in Ely cathedral, at the east end of the north aisle of the presbytery, in which his remains were deposited. At the present time this noble chapel is dreadfully mutilated; the ornaments and decorations appear to have been carefully and minutely defaced with some sharp instrument; but the bishop's favourite badge, the cock, is still, as if triumphantly, visible in many parts of his tomb.

John Fisher

was born at Beverley in the year 1458. His father, who was an eminent merchant of that place, died before John had arrived at years of maturity.⁴⁵ Having received the rudiments of a classical education at Beverley, he was admitted at Michael house, Cambridge, since incorporated into Trinity college. His progress in the literary pursuits of the university was rapid and uniform, and he took his degrees in 1488 and 1491, and held the office of proctor in 1495. In this situation, he exhibited such a superior regard for discipline and propriety, that he was universally considered as a person who promised to attain to the highest

⁴³ Tickell. Hull, p. 825.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 133.

⁴⁵ I subjoin a copy of the will of Fisher's father, taken from the *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i. p. 340. "In Dei nomine, &c. 30 June, 1477. I, Robert Fisher, of Beverley, M. . . . My body to be buried in the church of the blessed Mary of Beverley before the crucifix. I will that a chaplain celebrate for my soul for one year. To the fabrick of the church of Saint John of Beverley xxd.; to the cathedral church of Saint Peter, York, viijd.; to both houses of Friars at Beverley, iij s. iiij d.; to the church of the Holy Trinity (Hull. q.) that they may pray for my soul xij s. iiij d. I bequeath to Dⁿs Robert Ruk, vicar of the church of the blessed Mary Virgin, vis. viij d.; to John Plumber Chaplain. vis. viij d.; to Thomas Wykeliffe, my brother, vis. viij d.; to Elena his wife, my sister, vis. viij d.; to William, my brother, xlvij s.; which he owes me; to the same William, besides what he owes me, xij s.; to the abbot and convent of Hawmby, in the county of Lincoln, x s.; to celebrate a trental of masses for my soul; to Clemence Cherington, ij s.; to the fabrick of the church of Hotoft, in the county of Lincoln, iij s. iv d.; to each "liberorum meorum de mea p^ria parte" Lij s. iv d.; and if it so happens that either of them die within age, then I will that the part of him so dying be equally divided; the residue of my goods not bequeathed, after the expences of my funeral, and all my debts be fully paid, I bequeath to Agnes, my wife. And I appoint the said Agnes and John Tiglestone my true and lawful executors, and Thomas Fisher, my brother, and Thomas Wykeliffe, my super-visors. Witnessed by Robert Ruk, vicar of the church of the blessed Mary Virgin, John Wollarz, John Copy, and others.

dignities of his profession. He was now selected by Margaret, countess of Richmond, and the mother of Henry VII. as her private chaplain; and such was his influence with this noble lady, that by his advice and management, she established many learned foundations; and at her death left him her executor.

In 1501, Dr. Fisher was elected chancellor of the university; and the next year, the lady Margaret having instituted a professorship of divinity, he was appointed the first professor; and consecrated to the small bishoprick of Rochester in 1504. To this see he pronounced himself wedded; and such a marked contempt did he entertain for worldly wealth, that he used frequently to say, he would not exchange his *little old wife*, for any other of greater opulence or dignity. To which noble resolution he firmly adhered, although he was successively tempted by the splendid offers of Ely and Lincoln. In 1505, he was elected head of Queen's college, and the succeeding year the foundation of Christ's college was completed by his assiduous care.

He was now borne forward in the high stream of popularity and royal favour; and was named in the will of king Henry VII. as an old trustee.⁴⁶ In 1516, the foundation of Saint John's college was carried into effect, and was formally opened by bishop Fisher; and this was the last act which produced him any publick reputation; for his subsequent conduct brought him into disgrace with the king, and terminated in his downfall. The reformation having been commenced by Luther, our bishop entered the lists as a zealous partizan for the old-established faith. He opposed the progress of the reformation both from the pulpit and from the press; and it has been asserted, that the famous book which procured for king Henry VIII. the style and title of Defender of the Faith, was the production of his pen. In 1527, his unshaken adherence to the cause he had embarked in, urged him to maintain the pope's supremacy, in opposition to the king's declaration, and openly pronounced the divorce of the unfortunate queen Catherine, an illegal and tyrannical exercise of arbitrary power. His independence of principle divested him of the king's countenance and favour; and the course which he adopted in the house of peers, on the question for suppressing the lesser monasteries, was the signal of his fate. He opposed this act with all his might,⁴⁷ and in his speech on the subject, he attributed it to "a formed design, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion."⁴⁸ "And so, my lords," said he, at the conclusion of his

⁴⁶ Testam. Vetust. vol. i. p. 26.

⁴⁷ Burnet. Ref. vol. ii. p. 82.

⁴⁸ Hume. Engl. vol. iv. p. 96.

speech, "if you grant the king these smaller monasteries, you do but make him a handle, whereby, at his own pleasure, he may cut down all the cedars of your Lebanon." The duke of Norfolk was highly displeased at the freedom of our prelate's speeches, and replied with some warmth; "My lord of Rochester, many of your words might have been dispensed with; but it only verifies the old proverb, that the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men." To which the bishop replied with great coolness, "My lord, I do not remember, within my own experience, many fools who have proved great clerks."⁴⁹

The unyielding firmness of bishop Fisher procured him many enemies, and his life was attempted by poison, but the design was timely discovered, and Rouse, the intended assassin, was punished by being boiled alive in Smithfield. True to his principles, Fisher next opposed the act for making the king supreme head of the church; and at length refusing to take the oath regarding the succession to the crown, on the king's marriage with Anna Boleyn, he was committed to the tower, in the month of April, 1534; and in November following he was attainted by parliament of misprision of treason; for in addition to his other imputed offences, he had been weak enough to become a party to the treasonable imposture which was at this time practised by Elizabeth Barton, a religious enthusiast and pseudo prophetess, who styled herself "the holy maid of Kent," and had published a prediction of the king's death.

He was now deprived of all his revenues; his bishoprick was declared void; and by the vindictive cruelty of his enemies he was treated with excessive rigour; his person was outraged, he was stripped even of his clothes, and allowed nothing but filthy rags to cover his nakedness,⁵⁰ that his mind might be subdued by indignities offered to his body. In this miserable situation, at the age of 77 years, lay the elegant scholar, and learned divine; in all the *luxury* of wretchedness; but still possessing a firm and independent mind, conscious that his sufferings were unmerited. At this period, the pope rewarded his constancy by creating him a cardinal; an act which roused the king to summary vengeance; and Richard

⁴⁹ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 59.

⁵⁰ He complained to lord Cromwell, by letter, of this treatment, and besought his assistance. "I byseche yow," says he, "to be gode master unto me in my necessitie, for *I have nether shirt, nor sute, nor yet other clothes that ar necessary for me to wear; but that bee ragged and torne to shamefully.* Notwithstanding I mighte easily suffer that, if their wold kepe my body warm. But my diett allso, God knowes, how slender itt is att meny tymes, &c." Weever. Fun. Mon. p. 503.

Rich, the solicitor general, was employed to visit the unfortunate prelate in prison, and, under pretence of condolence and compassion, to inveigle him into some expressions which might be construed into treason. The agent was but too successful, and the honest old man was caught in the snare. He was brought to trial on this conversation in June, 1535, before an ordinary jury, and not before his peers; to which he submitted; fearful, perhaps, that if he made that appeal, it might be denied him, as not due to a bishop.⁵¹ On his trial, he objected to the evidence of the traitor Rich, but his objections were overruled, and he was condemned, and soon afterwards executed on Tower-hill, his head being placed on London bridge, and his body buried first in Barking church yard; but afterwards removed to Saint Peter's chapel within the Tower.⁵² The death of this prelate, says Burnet, was the greatest blot in the proceedings of the kingdom, which happened in an age not over delicate in committing actions which were equally disgraceful and dishonourable both to the king and his people.

Robert Ingram

was born at Beverley, on the 9th of March, 1726-7, and educated at the grammar school there under the Rev. John Clarke, from whence he removed to Cambridge and matriculated at Corpus Christi college, of which institution he was subsequently elected a fellow. He took his degrees of B. A. in 1749, and M. A. in 1753; soon after which, Dr. Green, the dean of Lincoln, presented him with the perpetual curacy of Bridhurst in Kent. He held also some other preferments; and died Aug. 3, 1804, leaving behind him a distinguished character for "simplicity of manners, great integrity, and genuine benevolence. He had a high sense of the dignity and importance of the clerical functions, and for fifty years of his life was indefatigable in his attention to professional duties. He was the author of, *A view of the great events of the seventh plague, or period when the mystery of God shall be finished. Accounts of the ten tribes of Israel being in America*, originally published by Manasseh ben Israel, &c. 1792. A complete and uniform explanation of the

⁵¹ Fuller. Worthies, vol. ii. p. 500.

⁵² Weever. Fun. Mon. p. 500, from whence also the following epitaph is extracted. "Here lie interred the headlesse remaines of John Fisher, docter of divinitie, sometime bishop of Rochester, brought up as choller in Cambridge; master of Queen's colledge, and chancellour of that Vniversitie. He was made cardinall t. t. 8. Vitalis, the one and twentieth of May, which honour was to him *parum vitalis*, for the cardinal's hat and his head never met together, he being beheaded on the Tower hill the 22. of June following. Ann. Dom. 1535."

prophecy of the seven vials of wrath, or seven last plagues contained in the Revelation of Saint John. 1804.⁵³”

John Green.

This celebrated man, whose benevolence will perpetuate his memory in the borough of Beverley to the end of time, was born there in 1706, and educated in the grammar school, under the Rev. Samuel Johnson, where he distinguished himself by his superior rapidity in attaining classical knowledge. At the usual age he was admitted of Saint John's college, Cambridge, and after having graduated, he accepted the situation of usher in Litchfield school, where he formed an acquaintance with Johnson and Garrick. When only twenty-four years of age, he was elected a fellow of Saint John, and for many years he applied himself so closely and successfully to his studies, that he was esteemed a man of great and universal talent; and in 1744, Charles, duke of Somerset, chancellor of the university, gave the world a distinguishing proof of his approbation, by appointing Green one of his domestic chaplains. His progress from this period was gradual and systematic. In 1748, he was chosen regius professor of divinity, and one of the king's chaplains. To these honours and distinctions succeeded others of a higher grade. He was successively made head of Benet college, dean of Lincoln, and vice-chancellor of Cambridge. In 1761, he distinguished himself in religious controversy, and published two letters, “on the principles and practices of the Methodists,” the one addressed to Mr. Berridge, and the other to Mr. Whitefield. In the same year he was consecrated bishop of Lincoln; and in this high station, he had leisure to give effect to his schemes for the enlargement of facilities for acquiring a knowledge of general literature. About the year 1765, he instituted, at his own house in Scotland yard, a periodical literary conversation meeting, which was restricted to the members of the royal society; and to these meetings is attributable some portion of that rapid march of intellect which illuminated the times in which he lived.

He added to his former preferment the residentiaryship of Saint Paul's, which he held till his death in 1779; an event that was regretted by all his extensive circle of acquaintance, as a public calamity. He was one of the authors of the celebrated “Athenian Letters,” published by the earl of Hardwicke in 1798.

⁵³ Chalmer's Biog. Dict. vol. xix. p. 237.

During the successful career by which his learning and talents were crowned, he did not forget the place of his nativity, but formed a charitable fund for its perpetual benefit. He left by will, the dividends of £1000. stock in the 3 per cents, in the name of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Beverley, to be disposed of as follows. "In the first place £10. a year, on certain conditions, to a scholar, the son of a freeman of Beverley, to be sent off from the free school there to Bennet or Saint John's college, in the university of Cambridge. Secondly, two boys to be clothed, maintained, and instructed in the charity school at Beverley; thirdly, £1. a year to a clergyman for a sermon to be preached annually on the utility of these charitable foundations; and lastly, the residue thereof to the boys of the said charity school."⁵⁴

Lawrence Whitaker

was an eminent schoolmaster at Beverley, although, like the celebrated Dr. Busby, it may be considered that he possessed some favourite theory which deduced a sympathetic communication between the brain and the posteriors of his pupils; for he imparted knowledge rather by physical force, than moral reasoning. In truth he was a severe, though a learned man; but while his pupils had just cause to complain of the *means*, the *end* was perfectly satisfactory. He had some eccentricities, but was an upright man and a sensible companion. His countenance was not unmarked by traces of intelligence, and yet he exhibited a certain vacancy in his look and demeanour, which a stranger might be disposed to consider as indicating a dearth of intellect, but which his friends imputed to a constitutional aberration of mind, by which his attention was often so entirely abstracted from present pursuits, as to lead him into a total neglect of the courtesies of social life; and this singularity would occasionally produce some whimsical situations. A regular appointment was almost universally forgotten; but if he were engaged in conversation or business with his most intimate acquaintance, and the momentary recollection of an unfulfilled engagement should flash across his brain, he would fly off in a tangent without explanation or apology, leaving his friends to account for his abrupt departure in the best manner they were able. Nay, he has been known to rise suddenly from his desk in the school, and without a covering for his head, set off to Hull, at the impulse of a unpremeditated thought, walking

⁵⁴ From a printed account of charitable donations to the town of Beverley in 1819, signed, John Lockwood, mayor.

furiously, as though he were under the influence of some extraordinary fascination, and totally unconscious of the exposure to which his pericranium was subjected, until, on entering the place of his destination, some friend should ask—"Whitaker, where is your hat?" His surprize at such an enquiry would rally his scattered ideas, and the exclamation, "Bless me, I left it in the school!" announced his total absence of mind during the continuance of a nine miles walk, and a physical insensibility to the effects of external heat or cold. It is even said that he, more than once, performed this journey so completely without his own consent, that when he met a friend in Hull, he was astonished at being accosted in that town, and actually supposed himself in the school amongst his pupils.

His circumstances were but narrow, and his privations consequently numerous. Late in life he sought an asylum from absolute poverty in the arms of a maiden lady of some property, whom he married as his second wife. From this union he derived no accession of happiness, or even of comfort. Indeed she led the unfortunate schoolmaster a most terrible life, for she was no better than a snarling termagant; and stingy, and avaricious withal. She had the precaution before marriage to secure her property to her own sole use, yet not contented with the exclusive profits thus derived and carefully appropriated, she would purloin a portion of her husband's pittance, and thus render his poverty still more deplorable; spreading over his declining years the oppressive mantle of hopeless despair. The poor old man in his own defence, adopted the expedient of concealing his loose cash in the secret drawers of his bookcase; but he was an absent man, and sometimes forgot even where it was deposited. His calamities thus increasing and increased, he lingered a few years, until death terminated his miseries in 1797. His remains lie interred in the minster yard, without a stone to mark the place of his sepulture, or a memorial to convey his merits, his singularities, or his privations to posterity. Peace be to him. He sleeps in dust, and may he enjoy in another life the rewards of that urbanity and genuine goodness of heart which ever distinguished him in his dealings with mankind.

He was the author of some trifling works, and materially assisted Mr. Ward in the compilation of his quarto grammar.

The character and conduct of his widow form no part of this brief article. We describe not therefore her compunction and remorse, subsequently to the demise of her husband; we tell not how her infirmities were multiplied; or how, in the paroxysms of despair she fancied herself haunted and pursued by evil dæmons. She survived him but a few years, and in her grave may all her failings be forgot.

Mary Wolstonecraft Godwin

was born at Beverley in the year 1768. She was a lady of very superior literary attainments, which can scarcely be said to have been applied to the most laudable purposes; for there were certain peculiarities of system both in her writings and her conduct, against which every true friend to religion and morals must conscientiously protest. She died September 10th, 1797.

Henry Rebel Reynolds.

This eminent physician, to whose successful exertions his late majesty George III. was somewhat indebted, was born in Nottinghamshire, and is briefly noticed because he received the rudiments of his education at Beverley, under the justly celebrated and learned Mr. Ward, head-master of the grammar school there. From Lincoln college, Oxon, he proceeded to Edinburgh, for the study of that profession which he afterwards so greatly ornamented equally by his learning, his talents, and his virtues. He graduated at Cambridge; bachelor of medicine, in 1768, and M. D. in 1773; subsequently to which he was elected physician to the Middlesex hospital; in which situation he rose to eminence, and in 1788 he was called in to consult on the unfortunate malady of the king. Here he distinguished himself, not more by his professional knowledge than by the acuteness and penetration which he displayed in council; and his talents were so universally appreciated, that in 1797, he was appointed to the honourable office of physician extraordinary to the king. He fell a sacrifice to his celebrity. A conscientious attendance on the duties of his profession accelerated his death, and he expired on the 23rd of October, 1811, regretted by every one who had the honour of his acquaintance.

William Wilson,

of Beverley, was a most eccentric being. Nature had formed his disposition of that peculiar cast which compounds penuriousness with benevolence, and makes avarice conduce to the benefit of poverty. Born of respectable parents at Etton, a village about four miles from Beverley, and brought up on his paternal estate, his habits, from the earliest youth, were marked by singularity, and exhibited incipient symptoms of that extraordinary penury by which he was subsequently distinguished. As he advanced to man's estate, the traces of his infirmity grew broader and stronger. He indulged in no amusements; he used no relaxations; his whole mind appeared to be absorbed in the one passion of accumulating wealth;

and he became solitary, and universally avoided by young men of his own age and station, who regarded him as a being lost to the world. At the general business of the farm would he plod day by day; and if he mounted Dobbin to ride to Beverley market, he used not the luxury of a saddle, for saddles were expensive articles, and liable to injury from unforeseen accidents, which did not fail to procure their exile from his establishment. His horse was destined never to solace himself in the snug stall of an inn stable; but, fastened to a gate, he pined in cold and hunger, until his master's business was despatched, and then he was allowed to return to the comforts of his native pasture. His day's work over, young Wilson whiled away the vacant hours in his father's chimney corner, brooding in melancholy silence on the prospect of his future life, over which imagination had spread a mantle of sorrow and calamity. Thus passed his days, until his father's death left him sole master of the farm, with all its stock and crops, alive and dead.

This calamity excited all the activity of his penurious disposition. He now thought it impossible to preserve existence. His wants, as he conceived, were many; his means narrow and contracted; times were bad; in every face, he saw, or which is the same thing, believed he saw an enemy; and, without confidence in any human being, he lived a martyr to his own suspicions, and a prey to fears and forebodings which tortured him incessantly. This state of agony was not to be endured. He let his farm, disposed of his moveable possessions, and retired to Beverley with his mother, whom he always treated with true filial kindness and affection, about the year 1793. Here he remained in the enjoyment of peace till his mother's death, without being remarkable for any peculiarity except his secluded habits, and a total rejection of social intercourse. After this event, which deprived him of every thing he esteemed on earth, the dæmon of penury appears to have taken full and undivided possession of his soul. He discarded his maid servant for extravagance, because she put him to the expense of soap, and butter and sugar. He lived in a cottage in Godson's yard, for which he paid a rent of three guineas per annum. Although possessed of considerable property, he usually retired supperless to bed with the disappearance of daylight, during the winter season, because candles were an unnecessary luxury, and an immoderate use of fire was injurious to health. He performed with his own hands every necessary domestic office; he made his own bed; dressed and cooked his own provisions; washed his own linen, and scoured his chairs and tables. Of his raiment he was exceedingly careful, and one old, dingy white wig was his constant companion for many, many years. He once purchased a great coat, and, proud of his new acquisition, he seldom appeared in

the streets without it; but an unfortunate shower of rain overtaking him at some distance from his own house, his ruling passion was irresistible; he disrobed himself of his invaluable covering, and folding it carefully up, placed it under his arm, and walked deliberately home, braving the risk of asthma or catarrh, rather than that of spoiling his new coat.

Wilson all his life entertained a most superstitious dread of witchcraft; and to preserve himself from the effects of preternatural fascination or injury, he had always a horse shoe nailed in a reversed figure to the threshold of his door.

Amidst all his peculiarities this singular being possessed some redeeming qualities. Flashes of generosity occasionally illuminated the dreary blank of his otherwise useless life, which displayed some feeble traits of a benevolent disposition; and a regular and systematic attendance on the services of the church, indicated the presence of devotion in his soul. He regularly purchased week by week sixteen penny loaves, for which he paid a shilling, and distributed the overplus to the poor when his own wants had been supplied. He contributed for several years before his death, an annual five shillings to the "Poor and Strangers' Friend" Society. As a member of the established church, he scrupulously complied with all the enjoined rites and ceremonies attached to her communion, and particularly was devout and regular in his attendance at the holy altar. On these occasions the spirit of piety would display itself in extraordinary acts of benevolence, and he has been frequently observed at the offertory, to put a guinea in the bason as an alms to the poor.

His increasing penury at length endangered his life. He was attacked by indisposition arising from extreme abstemiousness, and took to his bed, without the comfort of a single individual near him to administer to his necessities, or to console his mind by the soft and cheering accents of commiseration. The following morning his windows being observed to remain closed much beyond the usual time, the neighbourhood became alarmed and broke into his house without ceremony to ascertain the cause. They found poor Wilson stretched at length upon his miserable couch, clothed in his customary apparel, weak, and almost unable to speak, a spectacle of supreme misery. To relieve him from this destitute state of wretchedness, which appeared to threaten approaching dissolution, a near relative endeavoured to retard his fate by removing him to his own house, and providing him with medical attendance, and, which was of still greater moment, with proper and nourishing food to recruit and restore his exhausted nature. These humane efforts were successful, and Wilson recovered his health. But his

independence of spirit induced him to forsake the asylum thus voluntarily offered for his declining years, and providing himself with a housekeeper, he returned to his former miserable way of living, which doubtless accelerated his end. He died July 22nd, 1816, aged 72, and was buried, at his own request, in the minster church.

Reader; thou art anxious to see a portrait of this extraordinary man, who died possessed of property worth many thousand pounds, yet lived as though not "worth a groat." Should it have been thy fortune to have passed through the town of Beverley before the date of his death, thou mightest perchance have seen a tall, lank, meagre looking figure, the picture of famine, dressed in a broad brimmed hat with a low crown of peculiar construction; a curled wig, originally white, but now alas! bearing the russet hue of long established use; a light coat of doubtful texture; breeches made of leather, but venerable for age, and polished and begrimed with grease and dirt; worsted stockings, and shoes of ponderous quality; this vision with vacant port and solemn step might have crossed thy path like some automatus machine or creature of olden time; and this living specimen of penury and wretchedness was—William Wilson.

He left his estates, together with the interest of £150. owing to him on mortgage to his housekeeper Elizabeth Watson for the term of life, with the reversion to the corporation of Beverley, in trust, to dispose of the annual income in charitable purposes at their discretion. He gave legacies of £400. to the minister and churchwardens of each of the churches in Beverley, and £200. to the minister and churchwardens of Etton, the interest to be applied to the relief of the poor of those parishes, and distributed in bread on Sundays at the church. He gave £400. to the boys' charity school, and the residue of his personal estate to the corporation to be applied in charity to the poor. Thus, how unprofitably soever this miserable man may have spent his days on earth, he has left behind him an imperishable memento of the native benevolence of his disposition, though it was obscured and blighted during his whole life, by the operation of a fear which he was never able to suppress—the dread of perishing from actual famine; or that, of which he entertained a still greater horror, of becoming a publick charge, and dying in a parish workhouse.

Richard Sissison

was a native of Beverley, and his name is here introduced only as a memorial of the existence of independent principle and unshaken integrity, in a man who united

extreme indigence with loose and vulgar habits. He subsisted by the precarious employment of gathering dung; and was a noisy, comical fellow, and usually designated by the name of Dick Nap. During the continuance of an election for representatives in parliament this singular being did not remain in obscurity, and "give a silent vote;" he was visible every where; night and day his voice was heard in the streets; his speeches were short and pithy, consisting of but three words, but they were repeated without intermission at the utmost extension of his voice; and these three emphatic words were, "Wharton for ever!" If any commotion was excited in the town at other times; if any publick rejoicing stimulated the inhabitants; if any important event was commemorated; be the occasion what it might, Dick was the most prominent character in the public eye; and "the ears of the groundlings" were incessantly stunned with repeated cries of "Wharton for ever!" During the commotion which was excited by the emissaries of the late queen Caroline, Dick, heedless of royalty, and despising alike crowns and sceptres, authority and regal power, perpetually bawled out, "Wharton for ever!" If a dispute arose, either in the parish or the corporation, which became a matter of popular discussion, it was greeted by our hero with the exclamation, "Wharton for ever!" And if the bells in the steeple celebrated any important or beneficial event, they were loudly answered by the same note from Dick's mellifluous pipe. In a word, "Wharton for ever!" was food and raiment, and even life and health to this incessant quiz.

Dick, however, had one point in his character of which his friend Wharton, had he been the monarch of the world, might have been justly proud; and that was, an incorruptible integrity, and a mind superior to the influence of a bribe. Sir Robert Walpole used to say, "every man has his price;" but this experienced statesman may be excused, for he was not acquainted with Richard Sissison. Dick's reputation on this point became fully established by a very severe trial, to which he was subjected by Mr. Wharton himself. This gentleman had performed for our hero some instances of kindness in the early part of their acquaintance, which had elicited the poor fellow's gratitude, and Wharton had sufficient confidence in his integrity to believe that he would never forsake his interest. At a subsequent election however, during the existence of a powerful opposition, a friend of Mr. Wharton's questioned Dick's firmness, and it was resolved to put his integrity to an unequivocal test. Wharton and his friend disguised themselves, and at dead of night visited his humble dwelling, as agents of the opposite party. After some preliminary conversation, in which he was requested to give his vote

to the opponent of Mr. Wharton, a golden bribe to a considerable amount was laid on the table. It glittered in his eyes and throbbed at his heart; but the recollection of former benefits steeled him against its effects. He refused it. The two pretended agents pressed him to accept the golden iniquity, but his principles remained unshaken. Another temptation, still more trying, followed. The shining metal, which lay displayed before her, was a bait too tempting to be resisted by his wife; she thought it within her grasp, and urged poor Dick by every incentive which such wives use;—she entreated, threatened; tried alternately tears and caresses, rage and violence;—all would not do. The poor fellow's feelings were indeed overcome, but his integrity remained pure. He became restless and uneasy; and at length, rising from his chair, he exclaimed with some degree of sublimity, "Get thee behind me Satan!" and rushing into the street, his native element of uncontrolled freedom, shouted with stentorian force, "Wharton for ever!" The candidate was exceedingly gratified with such a grand and triumphant display of firmness and incorruptible purity, and resolved to reward it by a gratuity suited to the fellow's circumstances. The election over, Mr. Wharton settled upon him half-a-crown a week for the remainder of his life. He died in 1826. The *colour* of his party was orange, and consequently Dick's person and occupation were commonly distinguished by that peculiar tint. He wore an orange coloured dress; used an orange wheelbarrow; and when he died, was buried, at his own particular request, in an orange flag.

These brief notices of eccentric characters who have lived in the town of Beverley shall be closed by a few anecdotes of

Thomas Clarke,

otherwise called Mad Tom, who was celebrated for possessing a resolution which no impeding obstacle could daunt, nor opposing danger dismay. He was, however an habitual drunkard:

_____ ille impiger hausit

Spumantem pateram, et pleno se proluit auro.⁵⁶

And though he would *undertake* to surmount extraordinary difficulties when sober, he could never execute his resolutions but when in a state of intoxication. He had a poney on whose safe footing he placed such implicit reliance, that for a very

⁵⁶ Æn. l. 1. v. 738.

trifling wager he galloped down the steep and dangerous hill at Lincoln at full speed. Another time, and this is spoken of as his principal performance; a series of scaffolding having been erected for the repairs of Beverley minster, he offered a wager that he would ride his poney up the framework as high as the battlements at the south-west angle of the building, and down again. The wager was accepted, and Tom literally performed one portion of the hazardous exploit; he rode up to the battlement, and was preparing to return, when the affrighted populace interfered, and would not suffer him to complete the undertaking. He died about sixty years ago.



Cottingham Church.

PART IV.

Historical Account of the adjacent Villages.

Chap. I.

COTTINGHAM.

THE antiquity of this village may be traced back to times long anterior to the Norman Conquest. Its name Cot-Ing-Ham, implies a Saxon residence on a British site. The two last syllables are Saxon, the first British; and together they imply a sheltered habitation in the meadow of Ket, or Ceridwen, the great arkite female deity of the ancient Britons.¹

During the reign of Edward the Confessor, Gamel, the son of Osbert, had sac and soc, thol and them, and all other customs in Cottingham, which at that time was a place of some importance, and probably a substantial market town.² The market day is said to have been on Thursday. At the compilation of the Domesday survey the place is thus described.

Land of Hugh the son of Baldrick.

Hase (Hessle) Hundred.

II. Manors. In Cottingham and Pileford Gam had sixteen carucates of land, and two parts of a carucate to be taxed. There is land to eight ploughs. Hugh has now there four ploughs, and twenty villanes, and three bordars having seven ploughs, and a mill of eight shillings. Wood pasture seven quarentens³ long and

¹ Vid. Dav. Druid. p. 114. ² Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 7.

³ Quarenten signifies a quantity of ground containing forty perches. Thorot. Pref. Ferlingus or Quarentina terræ tunc continebat 32 acras terræ. Brady on Burroughs, p. 18. Bawd. Dom. Boc. Gloss. p. 17. By the Leuca, Quarentena, &c. surveys were made of every manor, and by these were regulated all kinds of taxes. Kelh. Dom. Illustr. p. 305.

three broad. The whole manor four miles long, and there are five fisheries of 8000 eels.⁴ Value in king Edward's time four pounds, now seven pounds.⁵ Again, in the survey of Welton hundred, it is observed that in Cottingham, Hugh, the son of Baldrick, has fourteen carucates and two parts of one carucate.⁶

In the reign of king John we find the manor of Cottingham in the possession of William de Stuteville, who obtained from that monarch two charters for a fair and a market in the village.⁷ He inherited the estate from his ancestor Robert de Stutteville or Estotville, who was sheriff of Yorkshire 21 Henry II.⁸ William had been excommunicated by the archbishop of York,⁹ and in 1201, the king paid him a visit¹⁰ to enquire into the affair; and not only compelled the angry prelate to do him justice, but appointed him to the high and lucrative office of sheriff of Yorkshire, and gave him permission to fortify and castellate his manor house. His great granddaughter Joan married into the family of de Wake,¹¹ and by her

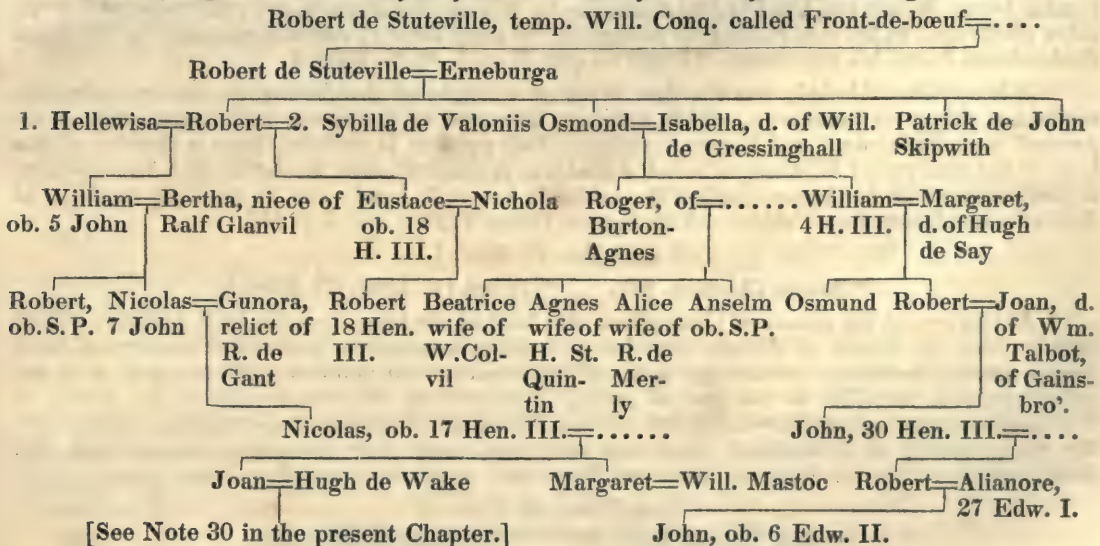
⁴ This fish was the favourite food of the Saxons. Turner says, that they were used as abundantly and generally as swine. Angl. Sax. vol. iv. p. 59.

⁵ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 202. ⁶ Ibid. p. 273. ⁷ Rot. Chart. 1 Joh. Lel. Coll. vol. i. p. 293.

⁸ Summa denariorum quos idem vicecomes misit in liberationibus militum et servientum equitum et peditum, quos habuit secum tempore werræ in servicio Regis, quorum nomina et numerus et termini continentur in Rotulo quem ipse liberavit in Thesauro, M et CC & xxiiij £ & xvij s & x d. Mag. Rot. 21 Hen. II. Rot. 11 a. Robertus de Stuttevilla Vicecomes Ebor. Madox. Excheq. vol. i. p. 370 in notâ. h.

⁹ Abbrev. Placit. 11 Joh. ¹⁰ Hoved. Annal. p. 456.

¹¹ The pedigree of this family may be more clearly shewn by the following table:—



the manor of Cottingham was transferred to Baldwin de Wake her son and heir, together with all the fees pertaining to it, viz. Hessle, Etton, Witheton, North-Cave, Willardby, Wolfreton, Sculcoates, Brantingham, Alstonwick, Skipwith, and Roule.¹² Some years afterwards, king Edward I. by royal letters-patent, confirmed to John de Wake and Joan his wife,¹³ several manors and reversions in Yorkshire, and amongst the rest the manor of Cottingham.¹⁴ In the same year this monarch spent his Christmas at Cottingham with great festivity;¹⁵ and granted to the inhabitants of Wyk super Hull, now called Kingstone-upon-Hull, their first charter of liberties,¹⁶ by which the town was constituted a free borough.¹⁷

In 1319, Thomas de Wake obtained a charter of confirmation, empowering him to hold a weekly market and two annual fairs at Cottingham;¹⁸ and a patent to convert his manor house into a castle of defence, under the name of Baynard's castle, with full authority to keep it regularly fortified and provided with an armed garrison.¹⁹ This nobleman founded a monastery of Austin friars at Cottingham, and peopled it from the convent of Brunne;²⁰ but it was subsequently removed to Haltemprise, because a valid title could not be furnished to the site on which it had

¹² Inquis. Post. Mort. 10 Edward I. In the pleas of quo warranto we find that Baldwin de Wake was now called on to enumerate the privileges which he claimed at Cottingham, and to produce the authority by which he held them. He stated that his family possessed a just claim to have free warren in Cottingham; to have a gallows there for the purpose of executing criminals condemned in his own courts; and to enjoy his lands freely without suit and service; as these immunities had been originally granted to Robert de Fruntebos (or rather Front-de bœuf, Vid. Banks. Dorm. Baron. vol. i. p. 174.) de Stuteville, by William the Bastard, and confirmed, with many other privileges, to his son Robert de Stuteville, by king Henry; and subsequently by the kings Richard and John, his successors. Placit de quo War. 7, 8, 9, Edw. I.

¹³ It is said that this lady was the first to set an example of abandoning the ancient indelicate method of riding on horseback, which had been practised by the Saxon ladies, and adopted the present more convenient and secure position. This opinion is deduced from a charter of this lady to the convent of Watton, to which a seal was appended, with the device of a female figure seated sideways on her horse, holding the bridle in her right hand; and in her left, the arms of Stuteville emblazoned on a shield. Vid. Banks. Dorm. Baron. vol. i. p. 175.

¹⁴ Rot. Pat. 27 Edw. I.

¹⁵ Stowe. Chron. p. 207. ¹⁶ Dated 1st April, 27 Edw. I.

¹⁷ At this period the manor of Cottingham was held of the king *in capite* by the service of one barony; and the manor of Woton, together with thirty messuages, three hundred acres of land, twenty acres of meadow, five hundred acres of pasture, and two hundred acres of wood, with the appurtenances, and £55. 6s. 8d. rent of assize, to be paid by the free tenants of the manor of Woton, constituted altogether one fourth part of the manor or barony of Cottingham. Therefore the whole barony of Cottingham must have contained about four thousand acres of land, and £200. rent from the free tenants. Maseres. Eng. Parl. in Archæol. vol. i. p. 326.

¹⁸ Rot. Chart. 12 Edw. II.

¹⁹ Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. II. ²⁰ 18 July, 16 Edw. II.

been first erected. He endowed his new foundation with lands and liberties for the sustentation of the canons, which were periodically increased by the donations and bequests of other pious and charitably disposed persons.²¹

In 1325, Thomas de Wake, conformably to the provisions of an inquisition and decree, conveyed to the canons of Cottingham certain messuages and lands in Cottingham, Wolverton, and Newton, parcel of the manor of Cottingham.²² At the commencement of the new monarch's reign, the patent of fortification was renewed to Thomas Wake the elder;²³ and in the succeeding year a patent was issued for a chantry at Cottingham to be dedicated to Saint Mary;²⁴ and another was granted to the prior of Haltemprise.²⁵ In 1346, John Bradmere de Wolverton and another gave to the same prior and convent three acres of land and thirteen acres of meadow in East Elvely, Cottingham, and Newland.²⁶

By an inquisition taken in the year 1352, it appears that John, earl of Kent, at his death, was possessed of the lordship of Cottingham and its members, Hullbank, Doucevale, Newland, Eppelwick, Northouse, and Pileford.²⁷ This property he inherited from Edmund Woodstock, the son of king Edward the first, who married Margaret, the sister of Thomas de Wake, in whose person all the vast possessions of this family were vested on failure of male issue. She bore to him Joan Plantagenet, the far-famed beauty in whose honour so many spears were broken, and who was celebrated in prose and verse under the appellation of "the fair maid of Kent." This famous lady was first married to that highly accomplished warrior, Thomas de Holand,²⁸ by whom she had children; but he dying young, left her in possession of the manor of Cottingham and its members;²⁹ and

²¹ Dugd. Mon. vol. vi. p. 519.

²² Inquis. ad quod dam. 18 Edw. II.

²³ Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. III. Thomas Wake, sen. possit kernellare maner' suum de Coting' in Com' Ebor'.

²⁴ Rot. Pat. 2 Edw. III.

²⁵ Ibid. 12 Edw. III.

²⁶ Inquis. Post. Mort. 20 Edw. III.

²⁷ Ibid. 26 Edw. III.

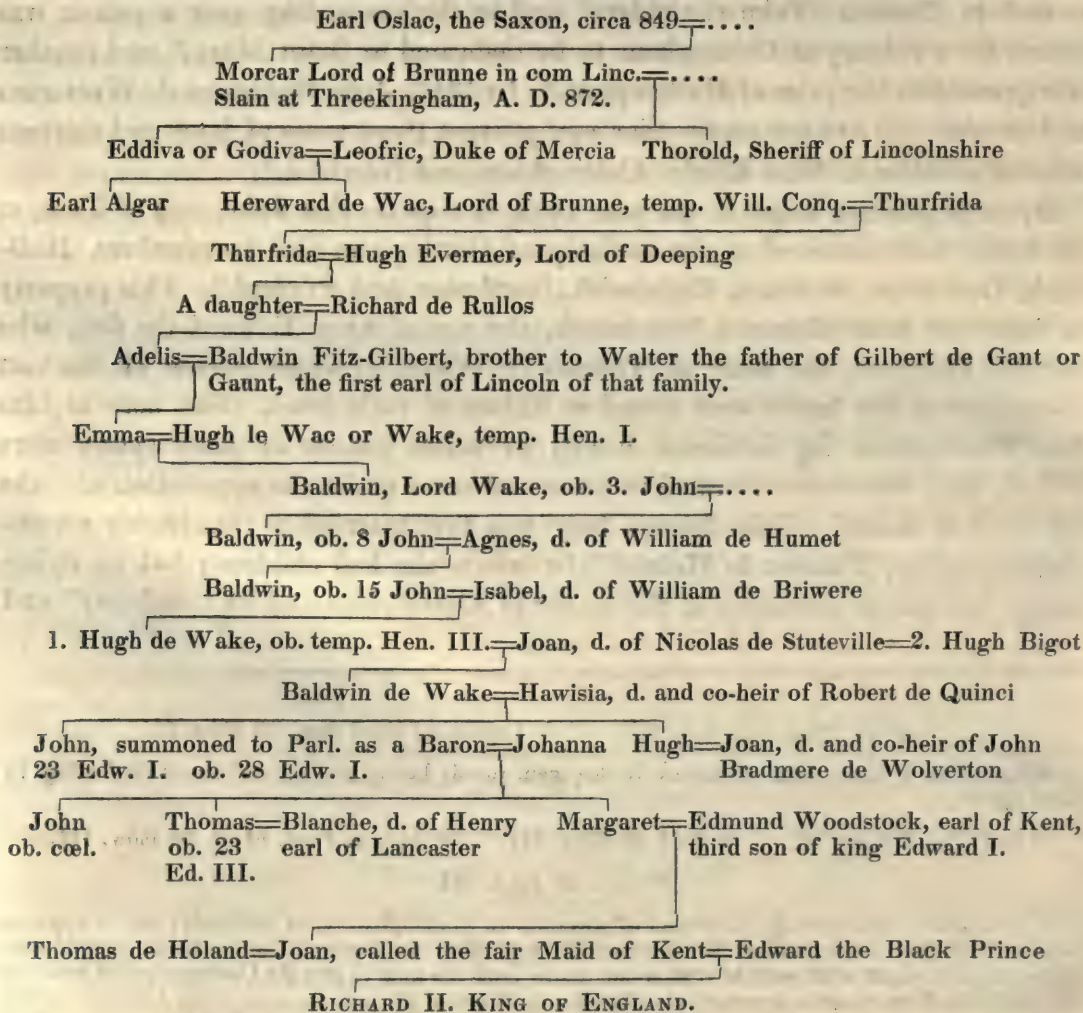
²⁸ This family was already possessed of property in Cottingham cum membris; for it appears from an old inquisition, taken 20 Edward II. "q^d Tho. de Holland Comes Kanc' qui de dno Rege tenuit in capit' obiit sei't in d'nico suo ut de feod' de man'io suo de Cottingh'm cū omnibz suis membris d'cto man'io spectant viz. Hessle, et Weeton cū ptin in com' Ebor.' Et qd man'iū cū dict' membris tenent de d'no Rege in Capit' per servic' militar et qd d'ict man'iū cū dict' membris velent p' ann' in om'bz cc^{li} &c. Ex bundello Escaet. de anno vicessimo regni R. Edw. secundo.

²⁹ Inquis. Post. Mort. 35 Edw. III.

she subsequently married Edward the Black Prince, to whom she bore Richard, afterwards king of England,³⁰ the second of that name.³¹

At the death of Edmund, earl of Kent, in 1408, his widow Lucy had assigned to her in dower by king Henry IV.³² the following property in Cottingham and its

³⁰ The descent of this illustrious family to the above period may be thus shewn :—



³¹ Hume. Engl. vol. ii. p. 486.

³² In 1475, a certain part of the manor of Cottingham, with the advowson of the church, was the property of king Edward IV. as the heir-at-law of his father Richard, duke of York; and

members, on her solemn promise not to marry again without his consent; the manor of Cottingham, with one croft called Applegarth; one park with the adjoining woods, viz. Norwood, Pratwood, and Harland; seventeen acres of land in Cottingham field, and a piece of pasture called Lortley, containing ten acres, with all the liberties, privileges, rents, and appurtenances thereto belonging.³³

Many notices occur in the publick records of the kingdom respecting the minor proprietors or owners of property in this village, and it will be sufficient to enumerate a few. In 1325, Richard de Boys is mentioned as possessing a rent of £8. in Cottingham.³⁴ In 1359, Marmaduke Constable, knight, held lands and tenements here;³⁵ and John de Tharlesthorpe had also the custody of certain messuages and thirteen acres of meadow, with the appurtenances.³⁶ In the succeeding year we find that William Pateshull Miles held a manorial right in Cottingham;³⁷ and William de la Pole the younger, knight, had lands and tenements there and in Newland.³⁸ About the same time Peter de Malolacu (Mawley) and others had a manorial right in the same lordship;³⁹ as had also Robert, the son of Laurentius de Etton,⁴⁰ and William de Ferrarius de Groby and Margaret his wife, formerly the wife of Robert, the son of Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, and daughter of Henry Percy,⁴¹ the second lord Percy of Alnwick.⁴² Robert de Coupland held of the king *in capite* four oxgangs of land, parcel of the manor of Cottingham.⁴³ And shortly afterwards letters-patent were granted to the chantry priest of St. Mary in Cottingham, enabling him to hold lands and tenements in right of his office.⁴⁴

an exchange was effected by authority of parliament with Richard, duke of Gloucester, in which the king agreed to transfer "that part of the maner of Cotyngham with the appurtenances, and all the londes and tenementes in Cotyngham, in the counte of York, whereof sumtyme Richard Duc of York, fader to the kyng, whome God pardone, at any tyme was seased of to his owne use, or any other persones or persone were seased to th' use of the same Duc of York, and th' advowson of the church of Cotyngham, with all maner of services, revercions, and knyghtes fees whereof the kyng is seased, and were parcell of or belonging to the maner of Cotyngham, in the said counte of York;" together with the castle and lordship of Scarborough, and other property; in recompense for the lordships and manors of Chesterfield, Scarsdale, and Bushey. Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 126. And ten years afterwards, we find the manor of Cottingham, along with other property, assigned by Margaret, countess of Richmond, and mother to Henry VII. to her husband, the earl of Derby, for the term of his life. Ibid. vol. vi. p. 311.

³³ Claus. 10 Hen. VI. m. 27. Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 561.

³⁴ Inquis. Post. Mort. 18 Edw. II. ³⁵ Rot. Origin. 32 Edw. III.

³⁶ Rot. Origin. 32 Edw. III. ³⁷ Inquis. Post. Mort. 33 Edw. III.

³⁸ Inquis. Post. Mort. 41 Edw. III. ³⁹ Ibid. 41 Edw. III. ⁴⁰ Ibid. 41 Edw. III.

⁴¹ Inquis. Post. Mort. 41 Edw. III. ⁴² Collins. Peerage, by Brydges, vol. ii. p. 245.

⁴³ Rot. Pat. 47 Edw. III. ⁴⁴ Rot. Pat. 16 Rick. II.

In the year 1471, Henry Percy had the custody of the Marches assigned to him, under the title of lieutenant and deputy warden,⁴⁵ with an annual income of 2000 marks, of which £42. 13s. 4d. was directed to be paid out of the manor of Cottingham.⁴⁶

It should appear that the inhabitants suffered much inconvenience and loss from the thirteenth⁴⁷ to the fifteenth century, from inundations of the rivers Humber and Hull, arising from an insufficiency of their banks and drains; for a commission was issued 13 Edward IV. to Robert Sheffelde, Edward Saltmershe, John Copyn-dale, Roger Kelke, John Middeltone, and Thomas Milskip, to view and make their report on the state of the banks from the lordship of Leckonfield to Cottingham, from thence to Waghene, and thence to the river Hull into the lordship of Eske, as they had been injured from an extraordinary influx of water from the wold hills.⁴⁸

The manor house at Cottingham, called Baynard castle, exhibited a fine specimen of feudal magnificence and massive grandeur; but it was destined, from the rigid principles of honour which influenced the mind of its noble proprietor, to a premature and unnatural destruction. The distinguishing vice in the character of king Henry VIII. was an unlimited passion for the female sex, which absorbed within its vortex all those genial feelings of which the monarch was not otherwise deficient. He possessed some virtues, but they were implicitly sacrificed if they stood in the way of this all-devouring passion. His cupidity was universally known, and its effects were vigilantly watched by the jealous suspicions of the proud nobility. Lord Wake had a beautiful wife, whom he loved with all the affection of a youthful bridegroom, and he lived a retired life at Baynard castle, out of the reach, as he supposed, of royal temptation; when one day his energies were suddenly roused and excited into action by a notice that the amorous monarch, who was at Hull, would the next day honour him with a visit. It was equally impracticable to decline or evade the intended honour; and the baron foresaw that if the charms of his lady should make an impression on the heart of his royal visitor, disgrace, and perhaps imprisonment, or even death, would be his certain lot. No time was to be lost in deliberation. Something must be done, and that instantly. He determined therefore to preserve his honour and the virtue of his wife, at the

⁴⁵ Sion Evidences, No. I. i. n. 2^c.

⁴⁶ Rot. Scot. 11 Edw. IV. ⁴⁷ Stowe. Chron. p. 254.

⁴⁸ Rot. Pat. 13 Edw. IV. Dugd. Imbank. p. 135.

expense of his property. Should there be no house of reception on the morrow, it was impossible that the king could be entertained; he therefore sallied forth, at dead of night, with his blooming treasure on his arm, and gave private orders to his confidential steward to fire the castle. His commands were obeyed so effectually that the flames penetrated through every part of the fabric, and in the morning nothing remained of this hospitable mansion but a black pile of smouldering ruins. The baron beheld the sad spectacle with an eye of unaffected grief, for it had been the loved scene of his bridal happiness, and a spot consecrated to the sweets of domestic retirement; but he held the sacrifice light and unimportant, when he contemplated the lovely prize which he had thus preserved from contamination. The tidings were conveyed to Henry that Baynard castle had been consumed by *accidental* flames; and the king's generous nature incited him to tender, as an unconditional present to lord Wake, the sum of £2000. towards the restoration of his patrimonial mansion. His lordship modestly declined the offer, for his objections were insuperable against receiving either the visits or the presents of a monarch whose friendship and enmity were equally to be dreaded; and he prudently removed his establishment to a distant residence, where he might be exempt from a connection, which he could not contemplate without feelings of considerable alarm. Thus sank this noble edifice into ruin; and nothing now remains but moats and ramparts, inclosing an area of about two acres, to mark the spot where this distinguished nobleman made so vast a sacrifice to preserve the honour of his family from violation.

He dying without male issue, the extensive manor of Cottingham was divided into three parts as a marriage portion to his three daughters, who inherited the beauty and virtues of their mother, and were respectively united to the duke of Richmond, the earl of Westmoreland, and lord Powis. Hence the three portions acquired the names which they still retain, of Cottingham Richmond, Cottingham Westmoreland, and Cottingham Powis.

The convent of Haltemprise fell about the same time. At the visitation instituted by king Henry VIII. it was found to contain a prior and twelve canons,⁴⁹ and the

⁴⁹ LIST OF PRIORS.

1327	Thomas de Overton	1338	William de Wolfreton
1328	Robert Engayne	1349	Robert de Hicklyng
1331	John de Hicklyng	1357	Peter de Harpham
1332	Thomas de Elvaley	1362	Robert de Hicklyng

value of its endowments was £178. Os. 10½d. according to Speed, while Dugdale makes the annual income only £100. Os. 3d.⁵⁰ It was dissolved 32 Henry VIII. and granted to Thomas Culpeper.⁵¹ In 1553, there remained in charge £7. 13s. 4d. in corrodies; and £18. in annuities, besides pensions of £6. 13s. 4d. each to William Runhtonne, William Brown, and Thomas Synderstonne.⁵² The building has wholly disappeared,⁵³ and the site belongs to the family of Ellerker; to which it was granted 36 Henry VIII.⁵⁴

In Cottingham there existed an ancient guild, dedicated to Saint George, which was connected partly with the convent of Haltemprise, and partly with the merchants, who were thus associated for general and individual benefit; and another guild of Corpus Christi.⁵⁵ At this period, however, the guilds at Cottingham, together with the suppressed chantry of Saint Saviour in the church were assigned to Francis Aslabie, esquire,⁵⁶ and William Lee, the incumbent of the latter, had a pension for life of £4. 4s. 4d. out of the profits.⁵⁷

	Robert de Claworth		1471	William Mounsell
1391	William de Selby		1502	William Kirkham
	Richard Worleby		1506	John Wymmersley
1424	John Thwenge		1518	Nicholas Haldesworth
1441	Thomas Dalehows		1528	Richard Fauconer
1457	Robert Holm		1531	Robert Colynson.

⁵⁰ The fact is that one of these writers speaks of the *gross*, and the other of the *clear* income.

⁵¹ Tan. Notit. York. xlix. Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 29 b.

⁵² Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 272.

⁵³ Tickell says, "there is still at Haltemprise a good farm house, which appears to be either a part of the monastery, or built out of the materials of it, and upon the same place it formerly stood. Also a large arched drain, which plainly appears to have belonged to this monastery; and the moat which surrounded it is yet to be seen." Hist. Hull, p. 180.

⁵⁴ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 5 b, 35 b.

⁵⁵ "Guilds were of two kinds, secular and ecclesiastical. The secular guilds, under their primary acceptation, appear to have included the entire aggregate of the merchants and traders of a city or town, and were called *Gilda Mercatoria*, but afterwards as the principal trading towns increased in population, the respective craftsmen, artizans, dealers, &c. who inhabited them, obtained charters for incorporating their various callings, or in other words, for engrossing and monopolizing all the business of their own burgh or city, to the exclusion of non-freemen. Though these associations received the name of merchant-guilds, yet, in the earlier period of their institution, the maintenance of their peculiar *arts and mysteries* was commonly blended with ecclesiastical observances; and it was not till the times subsequent to the Reformation that they could be properly regarded as strictly secular." Mad. Firm. Burg. p. 191.

⁵⁶ Rex xvj Octobr. conc' Francisco Aslabie Ar. dm'm nup' Gylde Sc'i Georgij, Corporis X^{ti} et Sⁱ Salvatoris in ecel'ia p'ochial' de Cottingham &c. tenend' o'ia preter' domū d'c'e nuper Gylde de Cottingh^m p' pl^{nam} p'tem feod' militis et pred' Gylde in Soccag' ut de Eastgrenewiche p' fidelitat' tantū A^o 6^o Edw. sexti p'te viij^a Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 13 a.

⁵⁷ Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 290.

The contemplative mind cannot but reflect, while viewing the deserted site of the once magnificent buildings which graced the town of Cottingham, on the uses to which they were formerly appropriated. The pealing anthem of praise, awakening the solemn stillness of midnight, and elevating the soul to something of a higher character than a cold and formal devotion, the daily alms and regulated prayers, characterized the solemn convent; while the castle was enlivened by the baronial feast, the shout of revelry, and the minstrel's cheerful harp, attended by that symbol of security, the heavy tread and sullen clank of the mailed soldier as he kept his solitary guard, and paced, with measured step, the terraces or battlements. These days are past; the inmates of the castle and the monastery, baron and monk, minstrel and soldier, are equally mouldered into dust; the massive structures themselves have vanished from our sight, and not a single vestige remains to tell us of their form, their grandeur or extent. So prophetically true are the words of our immortal bard:

“ The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
And all which it inherit, shall dissolve;
And like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind!”⁵⁸

The village of Cottingham is situated in the wapentake of Harthill, and division of Hunsley-Beacon. It is about six miles to the north west of Hull, and contains a population of 2479 souls, according to the return of 1821, being an increase from 1811 of 180 persons, male and female.

The church is an elegant cross building, dedicated to Saint Mary, having a remarkably light and beautiful tower, rising majestically from the centre in the perpendicular style of architecture, ornamented with eight pinnacles which afford a rich and picturesque appearance. Each side of the tower is furnished with two noble bell windows; each having two stages, and distinguished by pointed heads. The buttresses are diagonal, and the parapet embattled. It contains four bells.

The west façade has a neat and plain front, with a pointed arch doorway, and a window above, and also a window at the end of each aisle, all of which have pointed arches and simple ramified tracery. In the south front the porch has

⁵⁸ Tempest, Act IV.

a plain doorway, with a square room over it, the parapet having an open battlement, as has also the parapet of the nave aisle. The south transept window is a tall and handsome modern introduction in the perpendicular style; and the chancel windows in this front exhibit a mixture of the perpendicular and decorated styles. The east window is distinguished by perpendicular tracery. In the north front the parapets of the choir and nave aisle have open battlements to correspond with those on the south side; and the transept window is tall, divided by mullions into five lights, and slightly marked by perpendicular tracery.

The interior exhibits no character which differs materially from other respectable village churches. The nave and south transept are fitted up with pews for divine service. The south transept window is perpendicular, with some decorated work sparingly introduced. Its dimensions are 30 feet by 14 feet, and it is neatly glazed with light lozenge-shaped panes, and several small stained designs fill up the centre, and surround an inscription containing the date of this recent improvement. "THE REV. JAMES DEANS, VICAR; WILLIAM WITTY AND THOMAS STAINTON, CHURCHWARDENS. A. D. 1825."⁵⁹

The north transept is separated by a partition of boards, which deducts from the general effect that would otherwise be produced by the neat and uniform appearance of the interior. The chancel is spacious;⁶⁰ the east window is divided into seven lights, and ornamented with perpendicular tracery; and the four windows on each side have three lights each. The original construction of this church may be about the time of Edward I.

⁵⁹ Here are represented Jesus Christ and the four Evangelists; below which are figures of the three Theological Virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Joseph, the reputed father of Christ, is also depicted; Matthew at the receipt of custom; David and Goliath; and pictures of the Lord's Supper, and the Crucifixion; all executed with some taste, but they are too small, and too far from the eye to be critically examined.

⁶⁰ The only ancient monument of importance is a stone without a date, lying near the north wall of the chancel, and inlaid with brass work. It contains the following metrical inscription, in old church text, engraven on a purfled brass fillet, which circumscribes the work.

*Huius erat rector domus hic Nicolaus humatus
Factor et erector, deiunda queso beatus
Porro, vices Christi gestans dedit ecclesiae
Prebendas isti Beberliaci quoque sanctae
Famelicos pavit rixantes pacavit
Rudos armavit feneratam nam geminavit
Sed quia labe carens sub celo nullus habetur
Datum virgo parens aie pete ponicietur.*

The living is a vicarage, in the collation of the bishop of Chester. The Rev. James Deans, the present vicar, was inducted in the year 1808; and the clear annual value as certified to the governors of the bounty of queen Anne is £42.⁶¹ The Rev. Edward Dudley Jackson is the curate.⁶²

The following is a tolerably correct list of the incumbents and temporary patrons of this church.

DATE OF INST.	NAME OF INCUMBENT.	PATRONS.
Rectors.		
	Osmund de Stuteville	Nicholas de Stuteville
1272	John Bygot	John Stuteville
1311	John de Hothum	Edw. II. pro John de Wake
1316	Theobald de Treles	Thomas de Wake
1345	Egidius de Treas	John, earl of Kent
1362	Nicolas de Louth	Edward, prince of Wales
1383	Thomas de Hanby	Edmund, earl of Kent
1396	John de Notyngnam	Ibidem
1418	John de Dalton	Lucy de Wake, his widow
1432	Nicolas Dixon	King Henry VI.
1461	Robert Dobbess	King Edward IV.
1472	Thomas Barrowe	King Edward IV.
1501	Andrew Foreman	King Edward VII.
1514	Leonard de Spinell	King Henry VIII.

⁶¹ Cler. Guide, p. 46.

⁶² In ancient times it was a rectory, in the successive patronage of the Stutevilles, the Wakes, and the canons of Haltemprise, and the annual value was £66. 13s. 4d. Taxatio. P. Nich. IV. The latter, soon after the advowson became vested in their convent, about the year 1338, with the consent of the archbishop of York, appropriated to themselves the profits of the rectory, and endowed a vicar with a fixed stipend, payable out of the first fruits of the church. The advowson was subsequently vested in the king, who assigned it to the duke of Gloucester. Rot. Parl. 14 Edw. IV. but it returned to the crown, and remained in the royal hands till the dissolution. The profits of the rectory were assigned by king Richard II. to the vicars choral of York; and on the 22 June, 1485, they were appropriated by the archbishop to the custos of the house of vicars choral in the church of Saint Peter in that city, saving a convenient portion for the vicar to be thereunto presented by the regents and non-regents of the university of Cambridge; also for the indemnity of his cathedral church, the archbishop reserved to himself and his successors the annual pension of 40s.; to his dean and chapter, 10s; and to the archdeacon of the East-riding,

DATE OF INST.	NAME OF INCUMBENT.	PATRONS.
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Vicars.

1587	Patrick Houghton	Bishop of Chester ⁶³
1610	Ralph Williamson	Idem
1617	John Houghton	Idem
1622	Edward Gibson	Idem
1653	Durand Hotham	Idem
1656	Arthur Noell	Idem
1661	Joseph Robinson ⁶⁴	Idem
1662	Thomas Fox	Idem
1673	Henry Holmes	Idem
1699	Walter Hickson	Idem
1722	Thomas Mease	Idem
1756	Hewthwaite	Idem
1767	Wilkinson	Idem
1789	Stephen Thirlweel	Idem
1808	James Deans	Idem

It is customary in this village to decorate the church at Christmas with evergreens,⁶⁵ in commemoration of our deliverance from sin, death, and hell by the

20s. at Martinmas and Pentecost, by equal portions; also two barrels and two hogsheads of herrings; and two quarters of wheat, to be made into loaves, and to be distributed every Lent amongst the poor of the parish for ever. Torre's MSS. p. 1231. At present the rectory forms a portion of the bishoprick of Chester.

⁶³ In Bacon's *Liber Regis*, p. 1143, it is said that the patronage was vested in the bishop of Chester, A. D. 1537.

⁶⁴ He was ejected in the succeeding year, and died broken hearted.

⁶⁵ The practice of decorating houses with evergreens was prevalent long before the establishment of christianity. It was used in this island by the primitive inhabitants; under the injunction of the druidical priesthood, in the month of December, when the trees of the wood were leafless, and all nature divested of its beauty; that the sylvan deities, destitute of shade and protection in their native groves, might assemble in these decorated habitations, and become the guardian genii of the domestic party in that inclement season. The evergreens were ritually cut and consecrated before use. The chief Druid, attended by crowds of the people, went into the woods on the night of the winter solstice, and cut with a golden sickle a branch of the mistletoe of the oak, called *Ghiah* in the Celtic language; and carried it in procession to the sacred grove. The people at the same time cut branches of evergreens for themselves, and carried them home, after they had been consecrated by the chief Druid. Hales. Chron. vol. i. p. 153. in notâ. This is said to have been the origin of decking our churches and houses with evergreens at Christmas. Others

advent of Jesus Christ. This very ancient custom is highly laudable and deserving of imitation in every Christian church throughout the world; for it has an extensive reference to every thing our holy faith holds dear. It is practised as a memorial of the nativity of Jesus Christ, who came into the world to proclaim *peace* and *joy*; to work out *immortality* for man; and to obtain a *conquest* over the powers of darkness by his *sufferings*, *death*, and *resurrection*. The church at Cottingham therefore is decked with *Laurel* as an emblem of *peace* and *conquest*; with *Holly* as an emblem of *joy*, with *Ivy* and *Yew* as symbols of *sorrow* and *death*; while the unfading verdure of the whole is an apt representation of the *resurrection* from the dead, and the endless bloom of *immortality*.

In this village are two dissenting chapels; one used by the Wesleyan Methodists, which was originally erected at the sole expense of Thomas Thompson, esq. and enlarged in 1814; and the other, used by the Independents, was built in 1819. A poorhouse was erected in 1729, on a site presented to the parish for that purpose by Mr. Robert Burton; but its utility is partly superseded by the judicious erection of cottages on some charity land belonging to the church, which, with convenient gardens, are appropriated to the use of poor and industrious families at a nominal rent. Thus twenty families are provided for, who would otherwise be very burdensome to the parish; for here they live, in a sort of independence, contriving to maintain themselves by hard labour and the produce of their gardens; and thus preserve their families from the future odium of having been nurtured in their infancy as a parish charge.

Here also are two friendly societies, the one for males, which is an old institution, and the other for females, which has been established within the last ten years; a free school for the education of ten poor children supported by Mr. Kirby's charity; a Sunday school established by the present vicar about fifteen or sixteen years ago; and a dole of £10. a year, left by Mr. Robert Mills, which is distributed amongst the poor at Christmas. A retreat for the insane has been opened in this village by Mr. Mrs. and Miss Taylor; into which patients may be admitted on very reasonable terms, and attended by medical gentlemen of the first respectability. They are classed according to their rank in life, or the nature of the malady; and the greatest attention is given to promote their health, comfort, and general welfare.

suppose that the custom refers to the willow branches and bands with which the first Christian churches in Britain were built; Gent. Mag. 1765; or to the eastern custom, named by the Evangelists, of cutting down branches from the trees, and strewing them in the way of any joyful procession. Ibid. 1783.

Chap. II.

LECKONFIELD.

THIS has been a celebrated situation from the earliest peopling of the northern parts of the island; and received the name it still retains from the local purpose to which it was appropriated. Its enclosed area was the sacred theatre in which the rites of initiation into the druidical mysteries were solemnized; and *Lleçen-Fylliad*, the flat stone in the gloomy shade, was no other than the consecrated situation of the Cromlech or Adytum, in which the aspirant performed his probationary noviciate.¹

Leckonfield retained its sacred character after the pompous rites of druidism had given way to a more mild and genial religion; a chapel to the church at Burton

¹ Amongst the Druids, initiation was one of the most important ceremonies of religion. It was with them what ordination was in the primitive Christian church. No person could officiate as a Druid, a Bard, or a Eubate, without passing through this preliminary rite. It was an indispensable qualification for all offices of trust or profit amongst our ancestors the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain, and could not by any means be evaded. Much greater importance was attached to initiation, than Christian ordination can claim in the present laxity of ecclesiastical discipline, when this sacred rite is esteemed, by many professing Christians, as little better than a superstitious and unmeaning ceremony. But initiation, amongst the ancient inhabitants of Britain, was never thus depreciated during the long period of druidical supremacy; and even retained some portion of its influence after the abolition of the system. Dav. Druid. p. 281, 282. Hence it is rather extraordinary that so few antiquaries in their dissertations on the monuments of our ancestors have directed their attention to this important point, which formed, not only amongst the Druids, but with the priests of all other idolatrous nations, the most indispensable ceremony of religious worship; Iambl. de Myst. s. 6. c. 5. (Cicero. de leg. l. 2. c. 14, says, INITIAQUE ut appellantur, ita re verè principia vita cognovimus) for without initiation no one could perform, or assist at the performance of sacred rites. Borl. Corn. b. 2. c. 8. It were certain death to offer a private sacrifice without the concurrence and actual presence of an initiated person. Cæsar. l. 6. Diod. Sic. l. 5. c. 31. Galtr. Hist. Poet. l. 3. c. 4. Thus every establishment was furnished either with secret caverns, or temporary buildings above ground, within a consecrated enclosure for this purpose, to which the Cromlech was an indispensable appendage. Borl. Corn. b. 3. c. 9. Toland. p. 98. Davies. p. 391.

was erected by earl Addi² for the use of early Christians here;³ and forty years after the conversion of Edwin,⁴ the limits of the druidical sanctuary were converted into an episcopal seat by the erection of a palace for the occasional residence of the archbishops of York.⁵ At the parochial division of the diocese the chapel became a parish church.

In Domesday the account of this village is most satisfactory. Here we learn that it was divided between the earl of Morton, William de Perci, and the canons of Beverley under the archbishop of York.

Lands of the Earl of Morton.

In Lachinfelt Gida had one manor of ten oxgangs to be taxed, and one plough may till it. Nigel has there one plough in the demesne, and four villanes with half a plough. A fishery yielding 400 eels. Wood pasture one mile long, and the same broad. Value in king Edward's time thirty shillings, the same now.⁶

Land of William de Perci.

III. Manors. In Lachinfeld, Osber, and Ulfiet and Osber had three carucates and five oxgangs of land to be taxed, where there may be three ploughs. William has now there two ploughs, and eight villanes with one plough and a half, and ten fisheries yielding 2400 eels. Wood pasture two miles long and two broad. Value in king Edward's time thirty shillings, now forty shillings.⁷

Land of the Archbishop of York.

In Lachinfeld St. John (of Beverley) has two oxgangs of land.⁸

In the reign of king John, Henry Percy married Isabel de Brus, and had in gift from her brother Peter de Brus, certain lands in Leckonfield, on the easy condition that on Christmas-day in every year he should attend upon the lady of Skelton castle, and conduct her in state to mass.⁹

In 1308, Henry Percy obtained a licence to fortify his castle at Leckonfield;¹⁰ and in 1313, his son entailed the lordship and the advowson of the church on the heirs male of his body.¹¹ The annual value of the living at this time was ten pounds.¹² King Richard granted to Henry Percy, whom he created earl of Northumberland, a charter for a weekly market at Leckonfield every Tuesday;

²Gent. Ripon, p. 74. ³Lel. Coll. vol. iii. p. 101. ⁴A. D. 667. ⁵Brompton. p. 790.

⁶Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 80.

⁷Ibid. p. 169. ⁸Ibid. p. 57. ⁹Cott. MSS. B. Mus. Jul. F. C. fo. 455.

¹⁰Rot. Pat. 2 Edw. II. ¹¹MS. penes C. Fairfax. fo. 69 b.

¹²Taxat. Eccles. P. Nich. 11 Edw. II.

and an annual fair to be held on the eve and day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the seven following days.¹³

It should appear that Henry Percy, the second earl, made Leckonfield his principal residence, as several of his children were born there. It was the native place of his son Henry, afterwards the third earl, who was born on St. James's day, 1421, as it was also of Thomas, created baron Egremont by Henry VI. in consideration of his public services. He was born on the day of St. Saturinus, 1422. Katherine, the earl's second daughter, was born at Leckonfield on the 18th day of May, 1423; and here also were born his son George, afterwards a canon of Beverley, on St. Sampson's day, 1424; Ralph, on the 11th of August, 1425, and finally, William, his youngest son, afterwards bishop of Carlisle, April 7th, 1428.¹⁴

The advowson of the living was given to the abbey of Alnwick, by Eleanor,¹⁵ the wife of the third earl of Northumberland, who was slain in Towton Field, on Palm-Sunday, 1461. The event of this battle placed Edward IV. on the throne of England, and the Northumberland estates were alienated, because the earl had died "in harness" against the house of York. The manor of Leckonfield was granted to George, duke of Clarence, in tail general.¹⁶ In 1469, the estates were restored to Henry Percy, the only son of the late earl, who took up his residence at Leckonfield; and was subsequently slain at Cockledge by the mob, and buried splendidly in Beverley minster.¹⁷ His successor kept a hospitable house at Leckonfield, regulated according to the system prescribed in the famous Northumberland household book, which contains a curious and minute description of his princely manner of living in the baronial style of the times.

In 1503, Henry Algernon Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, was appointed to attend the king's daughter to York, for the purpose of consummating a marriage which had been solemnized by proxy between this princess and James IV. king of Scotland;¹⁸ and in 1517, the same nobleman received a royal command that he

¹³ Rot. Chart. 5 Rich. II.

¹⁴ Collins. Peerage, Brydges, vol ii. p. 280.

¹⁵ Inquis. ad qd. dam. 35 Henry VI. The advowson was subsequently assigned by queen Elizabeth to Thomas Crompton and Henry Best, "nup' monaster' de Anwick, &c." Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 8 a.

¹⁶ Rot. Chart. 1 Edw. IV.

¹⁷ Vid. ut supra. Par. II. cap. 6. p. 172.

¹⁸ In pursuance of this requisition, the earl met her two miles from the city, "well horst upon a fayr corser, with a forr cloth to the grounde of cramsyn velvett all borded of orfavery; his armes vary rich in many places, uppon his saddle and harnays, his sterrops gylt. Hymself arrayd

and his countess should conduct the dowager queen of Scots to York on her return home;¹⁹ to which the earl returned a spirited answer, dated from his castle²⁰ of

of a gowne of the said cramsyn; the opnyngs of the slyves and the collar of grett bordeaux of stones, hys boutts of velvett black, hys spours gylt and in many places maid gambads plaisants for to see; ny to him two foteman ther jackets of that sam as before to hys Devyses. And before hee him had 3 hunsmen mounted upon fayr horsys there short jackets of orfavery and harnays of the said horsys of that same rychly drest; and after them rode the maister of hys horse arayd of hys liveray of velvyt monted upon a gentyl horse, and campanes of sylver and gylt, and held in his haund annother fayr corser of all thyngs, his harnays apoynted as before is said. Wyth hym in hys company was many noble knyghts, that is to weytt, sur John Haystyngs, sur John Penythton, sur Lancelot Thirlekeld, sur Thomas Curwen, sur John Normanville, sur Robert of Aske, all knyghts arayd of hys sayd liveray of velvett with some goldsmyth warke; grett chaynnes and war wel mounted, some of ther horse harnes full of campaynes, some of gold and silver, and others of sylver. Also ther was hys officer of armes, named Northumberland Heraull, arayd of his sayd liveray of velvet berring his cotte sens the mettyng tyll to hys departyng thorough all the entryng and yssue of good towns and citez. Also others gentylmen in such wys arayd of hys said liveray, sum in velvet, others in damaske and chamlett, the others of cloth, well monted to the nombre of three hundreth horsys."

Thus with many other noble attendants the queen arrived at the city, and the next day after mass, "within the grett chammer was presented before hyr my lady the countesse of Northumberland, well accompanyd of many knyghts and gentylmen, and ladyes and gentylwomen, the quene kissing hyr in the welcommynge; and as soon as sche was com in hyr chammer she begoun to dynne, tromperts and other instruments rang to the aunccyenne manere lastyng the said dynner." Drake. Ebor. Append. xviii.

¹⁹ Lodge. Illustr. Brit. Hist. vol. i. p. 20.

²⁰ The reader will not regret that I have subjoined copies of the mandate of king Henry VIII. on this occasion, and the very curious specimen of evasion contained in the earl's answer through the earl of Shrewsbury. The first is endorsed, "Cope of the King's L^{re} 4517."

Right trustye and right well beloved cousin, we grete youe well. And forasmuch as we understand that at the tyme of the laite repayre hither of our derrest sister the quene of Scotts, ye, accord^s to our Lres to you then addressed, right thankfully acquitted yourself in geving your attendaunce for her conductinage and honorabill conveyance, we therefore geve unto you our special thanks. And whein it is appoynted that our s^d derrest sister shall now retourne into the realme of Scotland we wot and deasyre you to put yourself, and our cousine the lady yo^r wiffe, in a redines likewis to accompany and conduit hir at this hir said retourne, from our cite of Yorke, where she intendith to be the xxixth daie of this monneth instaunte, so to attend upon hir to New borrow, whereby ye shall deserve o^r fur^r thanks to be remembred accord^{gly}. Geven under o^r signet, at o^r manor of Richemond vij daie of Maii.

THE EARL'S ANSWER.

My owne goode Lorde. After my moist hartie reco'menda'con I recom'end me unto you And my L^{de} I have sent youe by my trusty s'uante, this berer, the copy of my L're from the Kings Grace; whin his graces pleasour is y^t my bedfellow and wiffe shuld attend upon y^e Qⁿ of Scottis fr^m Yorke to Newburrow. Whin, my L^d I assertheigne you of suretie she is not in caise to ride; wherfoir boith she and I must besich yr good L^dship to make hir excuse to his grace to pardon hir, seing sche may noon outhirwis doo; for glad she woulde have doone if she had might; and, as for myself, I shall, acc^s to his graces comaundement, give mine attendaunce of hir Grace notw^s. I have sende yr Lordeschip y^t Copy of my Lettir, whiche, as I take it, is to bring hir Grace from Yorke to Newburrow; whin, I pray your good Lordeschip to send me yr advice; for I meane by my s^d Lettir to mete hir wit^t Yorke, and so to awaite upon hir Grace to Newborrow, for exchewing of fur^r charge, seing I am not appoynted to bring hir into Yorke. My Lorde, I send you not myn

Leckonfield. And in 1541, king Henry VIII. and his new queen Catherine Howard, with a gallant train of attendants, visited the earl at this castle.²¹

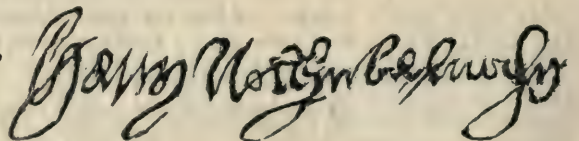
The Percys being at length attainted, part of the estates were conferred on John Dudley, who was created duke of Northumberland, and succeeded to the castle and estates at Leckonfield in 1551, as we learn from a manuscript of a visitation by Tonge in the succeeding year.²² But Dudley having been concerned in acts of treason against queen Mary, he lost his titles and his life in 1553; and the Northumberland honours and estates were restored to Thomas Percy, the seventh earl.

The time was now rapidly approaching when this magnificent castle was doomed to fall a prey to the hand of desolation. The ninth earl was fined £30,000. by the star chamber court, and imprisoned fifteen years in the Tower for omitting to administer the oath of supremacy to his relation Thomas Percy, of Beverley, who was concerned in the unfortunate plot of the 5th of November, when he admitted him into his establishment as a gentleman pensioner. This heavy fine impoverished him so much that his northern castles were suffered to decay; and at length the buildings at Leckonfield were totally demolished, and the valuable materials removed.

The castle is thus described by Leland²³ as it stood about the year 1538. "Al the way bytwixt York and the parke of Lekenfeld ys meetely fruitful of corne and grasse, but it hath little wood. Lekingfeld is a large house, and stondith withyn a great mote yn one very spacious courte. Three partes of the house, saving the

owne Lettir, becaus I have sende it up to London already, a sennight ago, and hath noone annswer, for (to tell yr good Lordeschip the playnes) to be excuside, if I may, from y^s busines, but of a suretie, my L^d y^s Copy is word for word. My L^d methinke I nede not to be put to y^s busines, if they wo^d have pondered y^e charge y^t they have put of late unto me, ande y^e paymentis that I have made of late. Written at Lekingfeld the xxiiijth daie of Maii.

To myn owne goode Lorde,
my Lorde of Shrowsbury,



²¹ Tickell. Hull, p. 185.

²² This paper is now in the Herald's college, and was "begone at the manor of Lekonfelde, John Eggesfylde then keeper there, under the byghe and myghtie Prynce John, Duke of Northumberland, &c." Peck's Collectan. vol. ii. p. 253.

²³ Leland. Itin. vol. i. p. 50.

meane gate that is made of brike, is al of tymbre. The fourth parte is made of stone and sum brike. I saw in a little studying chaumber ther caullid Paradice, the genealogie of the Percys. The park thereby is very fair and large and meetely welle woddid. Ther is a fair tour of brike for a lodge yn the park."²⁴

²⁴ As the reader may be curious to know how our nobility were accommodated with apartments in their largest mansions, a list is subjoined of all the rooms of every kind that were in Leckonfield manor house, taken from the Surveyors' Inventory, made in the year 1574. The furniture of these apartments consisted of long tables, benches, cupboards, and bedsteads; and it is observable that in fourscore rooms, there do not seem to have been more than three or four destined for the reception of the noble owners and their guests; these were probably, the drawing-chamber, the new chamber, the carved chamber, and the great chamber, or dining room; all the rest were merely offices, or cabins to sleep in. The great chamber contained only "a long table upon a frame, a cupboard with a door;" and the hall "six great standing tables, with six formes, three cupboards, two dores, nether locks nor keys."

1. The gallery.—2. The chapel.—3. My lord's chamber.—4. The gentlewoman's chamber.—5. The nursery.—6. My lady's closett.—7. The drawing chamber.—8. The new chamber.—9. The great chamber.—10. The carved chamber.—11. Paradice and the lower house.—12. The hall.—13. The pantry.—14. The buttery.—15. The larder.—16. The scullery.—17. The new larder.—18. The kytchen.—19. The pastry.—20. The chamber over the hall.—21. The inner chamber.—22. The chamber over the pantry.—23. The utter chamber.—24. The laundry.—25. The milk-house.—26. John Bone's chamber.—27. My lady's buttery.—28. The green tower.—29. The auditor's chamber.—30. The upper chamber.—31. My lady Percy's chamber.—32. The musician's chamber.—33. The utter chamber.—34. The bayne.—35. The bakehouse.—36. The brewhouse.—37. The garners.—38. The chamber adjoining to the milne.—39. The groom's chamber.—40. The bingham's chamber.—41. The smithie.—42. The stable tower.—43. The stables.—44. The chamber over the gate.—45. The utter chamber.—46. The porter's lodge.—47. Alfourth tower.—48. The towre's chamber.—49. The clarke's chamber.—50. The checker.—51. The spicery.—52. The storehouse.—53. Edward Graies chamber.—54. John Coke's chamber.—55. The chamber under the clarke's chamber.—56, 57. The two next chambers.—58. The gardyners chamber.—59. The ewery.—60. The study at the starehead.—61. The next chamber called the scolehouse.—62. The wardropp.—63. The wardropp of beds.—64. The storehouse under the wardropp.—65. Dudlaye's towre.—66. Mr. Mychell's chamber.—67. The bayley's chamber.—68. The carters' chamber.—69. Jenytt Personnes chamber.—70. Personne Rallyff's chamber.—71. Stokaies.—72. Peter Garnet's chamber.—73, 74, 75. Three next chambers.—76. Mrs. Percy's chamber.—77.—William Twathe's chamber.—78. The corner chamber.—79, 80, 81. Three next chambers.—82. Carlton's chamber.—83. The next chamber.—84. The hawks mew.

The ceilings of many of the rooms were adorned with paintings, accompanied with a profusion of moral verses. In the garret at the new lodge was a metrical dissertation on ancient music, inscribed on the ceiling and walls, consisting of 132 lines, and concluding with these distichs:

The modulacion of musyke is swete & celestiall,
In the speris of the planetis makynge sounde armonical,
If we moder oure musyke as the frew tune is,
In hevyn we shall synge *Osanna in excelsis*.

In the ceiling of the highest chamber in the garden, were painted thirty couplets on the motto of the family, *Esperance en Dieu*, concluding thus:

Esperance en dieu in hym is all,
Be thou contente, & thou art above fortune's fall.

In the year 1574, the surveyors reported that the decay of the house at Leckonfield was much greater than that at Wressel; that if repaired it would be necessary to take down the roof and new timber it, &c.; and conclude their report by observing that "they cannot speke of the particular harmes of the said howse, the the waste is so universal."²⁵ Thenceforward it was probably never repaired; but after some time it was taken down for the repair of Wressel; for an account was sent up to the succeeding earl of Northumberland in the reign of James I. of the quantity of timber, painted glass, carved images in the ceilings, &c. which had been removed, by his order, from Leckonfield to Wressel castle.²⁶

This village is placed in a romantic situation. The parkish appearance afforded to it by the taste and munificence of the noble family who made it their residence for so many centuries, contributes much to heighten the general effect. A rivulet of beautiful water runs through it; and altogether the scenery possesses a charm which is more easily felt than described. The site on which the castle stood is surrounded by the remains of the ancient moat, which formerly was wide and deep and full of water. It contains an area of about four acres, and is a rich green pasture.

The village is situated in the wapentake of Harthill, and division of Hunsley-Beacon; two miles and a half N. N. W. of Beverley, and eleven miles and a half from Hull. The population in 1811 was 290 souls, and in 1821, 367. The living is a discharged vicarage in the patronage of the earl of Egremont. Value in the king's books, £8.²⁷ Incumbent—Rev. W. Ramsden. The profits of the vicarage were formerly very small, but it has received two augmentations from the governors

On the roof of lord Percy's closet were 142 moral verses, by way of dialogue, designed to inculcate the necessity of practising virtue in early life; the roof of "my Lordis Library" was decorated with 92 lines on the love and fear of God; and in the side garret of the garden were 74 verses, containing "the Counsell of Aristotell which he gave to Alexander Kinge of Macedony," which had the following conclusion:—

Si sic vivaris eternum extendes in secula nomen;

After this mater yf thou thy lyf spende,

Thy name shal be immortall unto the worldes ende.

²⁵ The above description of the manor-house or castle is taken from the 4th vol. of the Antiquarian Repertory, into which it has been transferred from the Northumberland household book, and is therefore of unquestionable authority.

²⁶ On cleaning out the moat which surrounded the castle, called the "New Lodge," in 1826, a dagger was found of the length of 15 inches, which appears to have had a sheath covered with a thin plate of fine gold, part of which adheres to it still. Several stag's horns were found at the same time. The dagger is now in the possession of Richard Almack, esq. Long-Melford, Suffolk.

²⁷ Cler. Guide, p. 98.

of Queen Anne's Bounty; and an annual stipend is added by the munificence of the patron. The church has a small tower and three bells, but no inscriptions of any importance. It has recently undergone a thorough repair; but owing to the inexcusable neglect of leaving the windows without casements, and excluding the external air, it is so dreadfully damp that some of the pews are entirely rotten. The architecture is plain and neat. On the south side is a porched entrance, on the west of which is one window, and on the east, two; all of which are square headed without dripstones, and containing three lights each, separated by stone mullions. The chancel has a small door with a pointed arch surrounded by a sweeping cornice, supported by brackets with heads; and this is situated between two pointed windows which exhibit some faint traces of the decorated style. The tower, placed at the west end, is of brick; it has a semicircular window, with a cornice and corbel head on the keystone; and is partially covered with ivy, as is also the east end of the chancel. The windows on the north correspond with those on the south side. Within the church we find monuments to the memory of William Waines, esq. 1742, and John Lee, 1772.

This parish exhibits a singular instance of a church not wholly surrounded by a churchyard. The village has a day and Sunday school for poor children of both sexes, but neither feast, nor fair, nor publick charity.



Ancient Elm Tree, on the Green, Bishop-Burton.

PERCY FAMILY.¹

THE truly noble family of Percy, so renowned, not only in the annals of England, but also in the history of Europe, is descended from one of the Norman chieftains, who came over with William the Conqueror in 1066, and like other Norman families, derived its name from their principal place of residence in France. In Lower Normandy are three towns or villages of the name of Percy, the chief of which is situate near Villedieu, in the election of St. Lo. Hence the family took the name of De Percy.

Mainfred, a Danish chieftain, made irruptions into France before the year 886, which was the era of Rollo's expedition that ended in the conquest and peopling of Normandy in the year 912. Galfred or Geoffery, son of Mainfred, assisted Rollo in the conquest, and obtained considerable possessions in this new duchy. From him descended four generations before the conquest of England in 1066. These, when surnames began to be taken up by the French nobility from their lands and castles, were successively named, William de Percy, son of the first Geoffery; Geoffery de Percy, son of William; William de Percy, son of Geoffery; Geoffery de Percy, son of William, who had two sons, William and Serlo, both of whom accompanied their duke William, and assisted in the conquest of England.

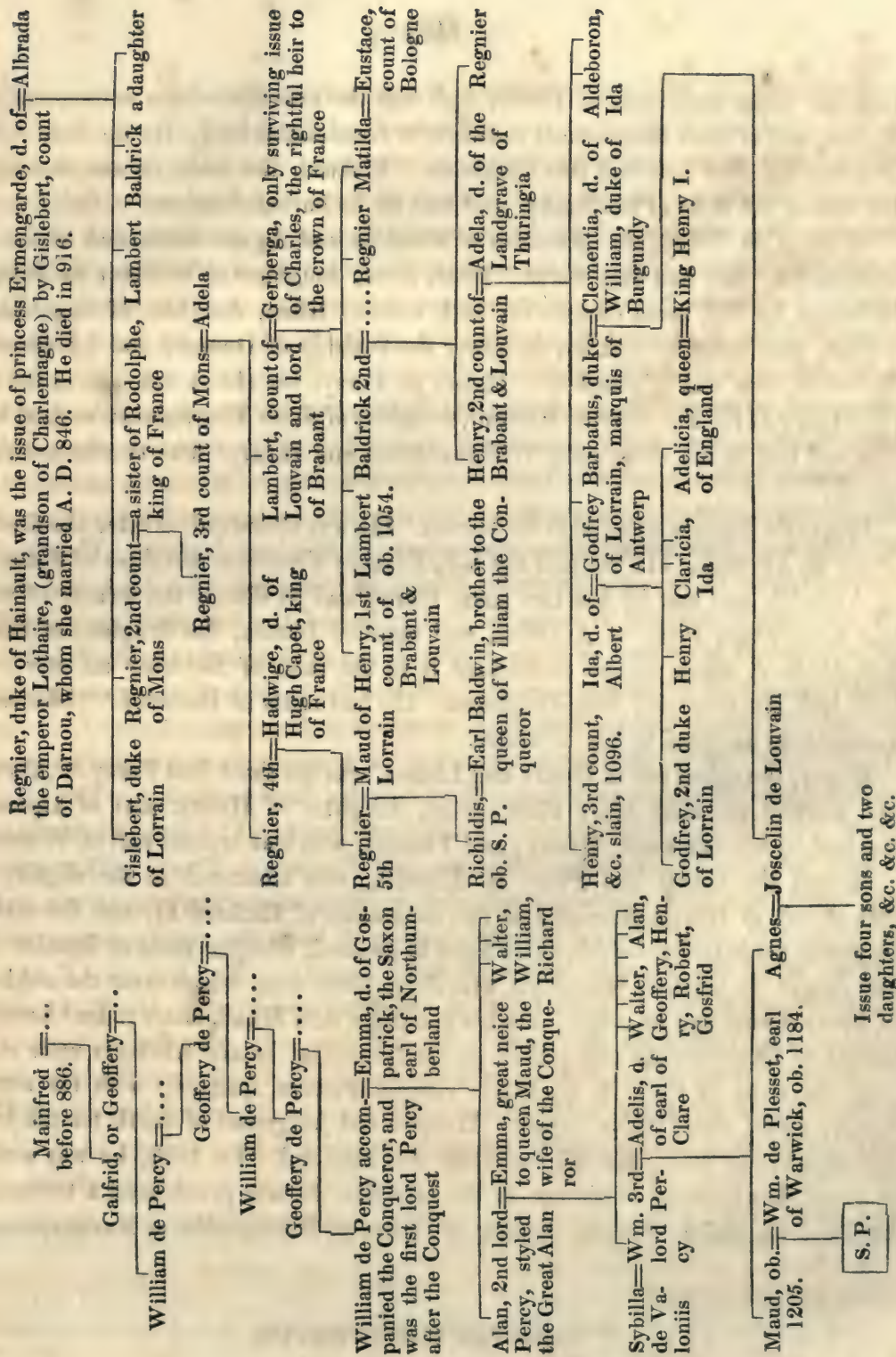
William de Percy, being much beloved by the Conqueror, and one of his barons, obtained from that king very large grants in his new dominions. He married Emma, the daughter of Gospatrick, the great Saxon earl of Northumberland, and left issue by her, Alan, Walter, William, and Richard de Percy. Alan was the second lord Percy from the conquest, and from his heroic achievements was styled, the great Alan. He married Emma de Gaunt, who was nearly related to the reigning family, by whom he had seven sons.

William, the eldest, succeeded him as the third lord Percy. He distinguished himself in the battle of the Standard.² He had four sons, who died without issue, and two daughters, Maud and Agnes; the former of whom dying without issue, the baronial rights became vested in the youngest. She married Joscelin de Louvain, who was the brother of Adelia, the queen of Henry I. king of England, and descended from a long race of sovereign princes, kings, and emperors.³ He

¹ This account has been drawn up principally from Collins's Peerage, edited by sir Egerton Brydges, K. J. vol. ii. Percy.

² Vid. ut supra. p. 87.

• The descent of these two ancient and noble families will be more clear from the following pedigrees:—



took the name and arms of Percy, and was the ancestor of the subsequent lord Percys, and of their descendants the earls of Northumberland. By the lady Agnes, Joscelin had four sons and two daughters. Richard, the youngest son, during his life was at the head of his family, and had all its baronial rights.

William de Percy, the grandson of Joscelin and Agnes, succeeded to the title and estates. He had two wives. First, Joan, daughter of William de Briwere, by whom he had three daughters; and, second, Ellen, daughter of Ingelram de Balliol, who brought with her in dower the lordship of Dalton; and by whom he had seven sons and a daughter. Henry de Percy, his eldest son, succeeded him, (33 Henry III.) He married Eleanor, daughter of John Plantagenet, earl of Warren, and had by her three sons, William, John, and Henry. The two former dying young.

Henry de Percy succeeded to the barony. He was afterwards created the first lord Percy of Alnwick. He married the lady Eleanor Fitzallan, daughter of John, earl of Arundel, and had by her two sons, Henry and William, the former of whom was second lord Percy of Alnwick, and married Idonea, the daughter of Robert, lord Clifford, whose superb monument is in the choir of Beverley minster. She bore him six sons and four daughters. He had rents in Beverley.⁴ Idonea had Leckonfield assigned to her in dower.

Henry, the eldest son of Henry and Idonea, was the third lord Percy of Alnwick. He married the lady Mary Plantagenet, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster, and had by her two sons. Henry; and Thomas, who was created earl of Worcester.

Henry, the fourth lord Percy of Alnwick, was advanced to the dignity and title of earl of Northumberland at the coronation of Richard II. and the earldom by patent made transmissible to his heirs in general, whether male or female. This earl fought the battle of Otterburn, 21st July, 1388, from which event the old ballad of *Chevy-Chace* had its origin. On his marriage with Maud, sister to lord Lucy, her barony of Cockermouth was settled on condition that he and his heirs male should bear the arms of PERCY, *or*, a lion rampant, *azure*, quarterly with the arms of LUCY, *gules*, three lucies, *argent*. He received judgment of death for the loss of Berwick to the Scots, but the execution was remitted. In 1399, he was sent for to court, but refusing obedience to the mandate, he was proclaimed a traitor, and banished the realm. On the landing of Henry of Bolingbroke at Ravenspurn, the

⁴ Inquis. Post. Mort. 26 Edw. III.

earl and his son, the high-spirited Harry Hotspur, joined him, and through their exertions he became Henry IV. The earl had now a grant of the Isle of Man, to hold by carrying the Lancaster sword, worn by the king on landing in Holderness, before him at the coronation.⁵ 4 Hen. IV. he and his son rebelled, and the latter was slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, but the earl was pardoned, and 6 Hen. IV. restored to his lands. The next year he again rebelled, and joined Mowbray, earl marshal, and Scroop, archbishop of York; they lost their lives, and he fled into Wales, but soon returned and set up his standard at Thirsk, in Yorkshire. He was defeated and slain, 29th February, 1408, on Bramham Moor, by sir Thomas Rokeby, the high-sheriff. His head was placed on London bridge, and his quarters on the walls of London, Lincoln, Berwick, and Newcastle; and his forfeited estates were given to John, duke of Bedford. Hotspur having been slain at Battlefield, near Shrewsbury, his son Henry, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, was restored to his possessions by king Henry V. with the title of second earl of Northumberland, and he did homage in the parliament at Westminster, 3 Henry V. The duke of Bedford had 3,000 marks assigned to him in lieu of the estates. It appears that the young earl was in high favour at court, as king Henry VI. in 1448, made a progress to Saint Cuthbert's shrine at Durham,⁶ and visited the earl at Leckonfield for some days.⁷ In 1455, he was slain at the battle of Saint Albans, and buried in the abbey there. He had several children by Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland;⁸ and was succeeded by his eldest son

Henry Percy, as the third earl of Northumberland; who, by means of his great uncle Cardinal Beaufort, married a rich heiress, who brought with her three baronies in fee, viz :—those of Poynings, Fitzpayne, and Bryan; and in the 25th Henry VI. he had a special livery of all the castles, manors, and lands belonging to them. This nobleman adhered firmly to the fortunes of king Henry VI. during the unnatural contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which ended in the exaltation of Edward IV. and the death of this earl in the battle of Towton Field. In the parliament held on the 4th November following, he was attainted, with king Henry VI. Margaret his queen, and Edward, called prince of Wales.

⁵ To commemorate the landing at Ravenspurn a cross was erected at Kilnsea, which is now in the park at Burton-Constable. A print of the cross may be seen in Thompson's Holderness.

⁶ Surtees. Hist. Durham. ⁷ Tickell. Hull, p. 109.

⁸ The beautiful ballad, called "The Hermit of Warkwork," by the late bishop of Dromore, is a romantic history of the adventures and marriage of this earl.

Henry Percy, fourth earl of Northumberland, only son and heir of the preceding earl, being in his minority when his father was slain, was kept in the Tower of London till the year 1469, when he was restored to his estates and dignities, and constituted warden of the east and middle Marches towards Scotland. In 1482, he had the chief command under the duke of Gloucester, of the army appointed to act against the Scots. He laid siege to Berwick, and made a successful irruption into the heart of the city of Edinburgh, which was saved from the horrors of fire and sword, by the earnest solicitations of the duke of Albany, and the cession of Berwick castle. In 1485, 3 Rich. III. on the landing of Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, he was summoned by king Richard to attend him with all the forces he could raise in the north. He was accordingly in Bosworth Field on the day of battle; but probably disgusted with the cruelties of that bloody monarch, he is said to have acted a neutral part, and kept his troops from engaging at all in the fight. Hereupon, as Hall informs us, he was incontinently received into favour, and made one of the council to king Henry VII. This distinguished nobleman fell a victim to the avarice of his sovereign; and was slain at Cockledge by the mob; and the unfeigned regret of the whole country was the only atonement which his family received.

Henry Algernon Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, was only eleven years of age at the death of his father, yet in the preceding year, on the 21st November, 1488, he was the first created knight of the Bath, with Arthur, prince of Wales; the king honouring the solemnity with his presence. He married Katherine, daughter and co-heir of sir Robert Spencer, knt. by whom he had three sons and two daughters. She survived him, and by her will dated 14th October, 1542, she bequeaths her body to be buried at Beverley, in the tomb of the late earl her husband. The late bishop of Dromore had a letter written by the next earl, in which he says that Cardinal Wolsey had wrote to prohibit his attendance on his father's funeral at Beverley.

The next earl was the supposed lover of Anne Boleyn.⁹ In 1530, the earl, with sir Walter Wash, was commissioned to arrest Cardinal Wolsey; and the

⁹ On the divorce of this unfortunate lady, the earl being sent to, denied any pre-contract with her, and wrote secretary Cromwell the following letter. "Master Secretary, This shall be to signify unto you, that I perceive, by sir Raynold Carnaby, that there is a supposed pre-contract to be between the queen and me. Whereupon I was not only heretofore examined upon mine oath, before the archbishop of Canterbury & York, but also received the blessed sacrament upon the same, before the duke of Norfolk, & other, the king's highness council learned in the

next year he was elected a companion of the most noble Order of the Garter. He wrote a letter in 1537 from Leckonfield, on occasion of a rebellion in the north, to the corporation of Hull, requesting assistance.¹⁰ In the same year, his brother, sir Thomas, having been in the pilgrimage of grace, was hung at Tyburn; and the earl dying without issue, bequeathed all his lands to the king.

The peerage of the noble house of Percy having thus become extinct; it pleased queen Mary by her letters-patent to restore it in 1557, in the person of Thomas, son of the said sir Thomas Percy, who thus became the *seventh* earl of Northumberland. In the first year of Elizabeth, he was constituted general warden of the east and middle Marches towards Scotland; but afterwards being betrayed into a rebellion against the queen, he was beheaded at York, August 22nd, 1572. He married Anne, daughter of Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester, and by her had only one son, who died young. He was therefore succeeded by his brother Henry Percy, as the eighth earl of Northumberland, who had eminently distinguished himself against the Scots during the reign of Mary. In 27 Elizabeth, however, he was committed to the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in an attempt to favour the escape of Mary, queen of Scots, and was found dead in his bed June 21st, 1585, shot with bullets. He married Catherine, eldest daughter of John Neville, lord Latimer, by whom he had issue eight sons and three daughters.

Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, succeeded his father in his honours and estates, and was promoted to the highest distinctions his sovereign, James I. could confer, in the midst of which, when he seemed to be in a state of prosperity beyond what any of his progenitors had experienced for many generations, he suddenly experienced a fatal reverse, and was plunged in difficulties and troubles which clouded the remaining part of his life. This was by the discovery of the gunpowder plot in the very evening before the 5th November, 1605, when it was to have taken place. As one of the principal conspirators was Thomas Percy, a relation of the earl's, and one of his principal officers, the earl became obnoxious to the government, and suffered extremely both in his person and his fortune. He was at first confined to his house on suspicion; and subsequently committed to the

spiritual law; assuring you Mr. Secretary, by the said oath and blessed body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be my damnation if ever there were any contract, or promise of marriage between her and me. At Newington Green, the 13th day of May, in the 28th year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry VIII. Your assured

H. Northumberland.

¹⁰ Tickell. Hull, p. 165.

Tower, where he remained a prisoner fifteen years, and sentenced to pay a fine of £30,000. which was mitigated to £20,000. This sum the earl found a difficulty in raising, and therefore the king seized on his estates. The fine was at length paid by instalments without any remission, but the earl did not recover his liberty till the 18th July, 1621. He married Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, and had issue four sons and two daughters.

Algernon Percy, tenth earl of Northumberland, succeeded to his family honours and estates in 1632, and three years afterwards was installed a knight of the most noble Order of the Garter with great magnificence. This nobleman took an active part in the civil war; and after the restoration was constituted lord lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Sussex, and lord lieutenant of the county of Northumberland. He married first, the lady Anne Cecil, second daughter of William, earl of Salisbury, by whom he had five daughters; and secondly, the lady Elizabeth Howard, second daughter of Theophilus, earl of Suffolk, by whom he had one son and one daughter.

Josceline Percy, his son, eleventh earl of Northumberland, married the lady Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Thomas, earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer of England in 1662, and succeeded his father in 1668. But two years afterwards, having overheated himself with travelling on the continent, he died without male issue, in the midst of the brightest hopes which this promising young nobleman had excited in the breasts of all good men, that he would prove a shining ornament of his noble house, and an honour and support to his country.

By this unfortunate event the male line of the Percys ended, and the lady Elizabeth, his only surviving daughter, succeeded to the baronial honours of her ancestors. She married, and had issue by his grace Charles Seymour, duke of Somerset, and was one of the most brilliant ornaments of queen Anne's court. Her granddaughter, the lady Elizabeth Seymour, daughter of Algernon, duke of Somerset, was married on the 18th July, 1740, to sir Hugh Smithson of Stanwick, baronet, who succeeded to the earldom of Northumberland, assumed, by act of parliament, the name and arms of the noble and illustrious family of Percy, and took his seat in the house of peers 2nd March, 1750. His lordship successively passed through the principal honours of the state, until in 1766, he was elevated to the ducal rank, and appointed to the high office of master of the horse to his majesty. He died in 1786, and was succeeded by his eldest son

Hugh, second duke of Northumberland, who, having devoted himself early to a military life, was in the war in Germany, and then gave presages of that skill and

courage which were afterwards so nobly displayed in the service of his country in the war in America, and which, in the important action of Lexington, and the reduction of Fort Washington, &c. have consecrated his grace's name to posterity. He married first, the lady Anne Stuart, third daughter of John, earl of Bute, by whom he had no issue, and was divorced from her by act of parliament in 1779. Secondly, he married Frances Julia Burrell, sister to lord Gwydir, by whom he had issue three sons and six daughters. He was succeeded by Hugh, third duke of Northumberland, who was born in the year 1785; and at present enjoys all the honours of his noble family.

Titles. The most noble and puissant prince, Hugh, duke and earl of Northumberland; earl Percy, lord Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitzpayne, Bryan, and Latimer, and baron Warkworth, of Warkworth castle.

Arms. Quarterly: the first and fourth quarterly, first and fourth, *or*, a lion rampant, *azure*, being the armorial bearing of the ancient dukes of Brabant, and second and third *gules*, three lucies or pykes, for Lucy: the second and third, *azure*, five fusils in fess, *or*, for Percy.

Crest. On a chapeau, *gules*, turned up *ermine*, a lion passant, *azure*, his tail extended.

Supporters. On the dexter side, a lion *azure*, on the sinister, an unicorn, *argent*, collared gobonè, *or* and *azure*, with a chain appendant and reflecting over his back, *or*.

Motto. *Esperaunce en Dieu.*

Chap. III.

North and South-Burton—Walkington—Risby—Scorbrough—The hamlets comprised within the Liberties of Beverley, viz.—Molescroft, Storkhill-cum-Sandholm, Tickton-cum-Hull-Bridge, Weel, Woodmansey-cum-Beverley-Parks, Thearne, and Eske—Botany of the district.

NORTH AND SOUTH-BURTON.

THESE ancient villages were selected by the Britons as the consecrated depository of their mortal remains. Secluded in situation, they were eagerly appropriated to this purpose, and here the graves of the Druid and the chieftain are still distinguished by imperishable memorials.¹ The etymology of the name is derived from this appropriation; and to the Celtic *Beorh* or *Bwr*, a place of graves; the Saxons, who loved to mark any particular situation by a name of their own, subjoined the adjunct *ton*, a town, calling it *Bwr-ton*, *Burton*. It was subsequently occupied by the Romans; and two tessellated pavements, constructed by that people, have been recently discovered in the more southerly village.²

About the beginning of the eighth century, we find *North-Burton* the seat of *Addi*, a Saxon earl; and *South-Burton* the residence of earl *Puch*. John of

¹ Vid. ut supra. Par. I. c. 1. In addition to the excavations already mentioned, Richard Almack, esq. of Long Melford, Suffolk, informs me that he opened a tumulus in *South-Burton*, 20th June, 1826, and found skeletons lying in different directions, at the depth of four feet from the surface. "This barrow," he adds, "was about seventy yards in circumference, and eight or ten feet deep. It appeared to have been previously opened in the middle, I believe by a deputation from the Antiquarian society some years since, and therefore I opened it nearer the side. The bodies were apparently of young men, with *sound white teeth*."

² Gent. Ripon, p. 77. Drake. Ebor.

Beverley, when archbishop of York, consecrated churches at both these places; and the advowson of the former church was presented by its noble proprietor, to the new establishment of Saint John of Beverley.³ To each of these noblemen's families the archbishop rendered an essential service, by his prayers and benedictions for the sick;⁴ and about this period, oratories were erected at Scorbrough and Leckonfield, both within the parish of North-Burton; which in process of time became churches, by the subdivision which erected these two hamlets into independent parishes.⁵

The account which we have of Burton, in the Domesday Survey, is as follows.

Land of the king—East-riding.

Manor. In Burtone, Carle had fourteen carucates and a half to be taxed. Land to seven ploughs. Four pounds.⁶

Land of the archbishop of York.

These Berewicks, Schitebi, Burtone (Skidby, Burton) belong to this manor. (Beverley.) In these are thirty-one carucates to be taxed, and there may be

³ Bede. l. 5. c. 5. *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 104. The annual value of this church, in the taxation of Pope Nicholas, was £20.

⁴ These services are thus recorded by Bede, on the authority of Berthum, abbot of Beverley. The lady of earl Puch had languished for a considerable time under an acute disease, until she was prevented by extreme weakness from leaving her bed. At this period, St. John of Beverley came into the parish to consecrate the church; after which the earl invited him to dinner. The bishop refused on the plea that he must return to the monastery; but the earl being more than commonly urgent, he at length consented, and went with Berthum to dine at his house. The holy man sent the sick lady some of the water which had been blessed in the consecration of the church, with directions to drink part of it, and with the remainder to wash the part which was most in pain. These orders having been obeyed, to her great astonishment, the lady, not only found herself delivered from her tedious distemper, but perceived that her former health and strength were returned. She immediately arose, presented the cup to the bishop; and, adds the honest abbot, continued the service of drinking to us, as she had begun, till dinner was over. Bede. l. 5. c. 5.

Another time, being called to consecrate earl Addi's church; he was requested to visit one of the earl's domestics, who had lost the use of his limbs, and was otherwise so dangerously ill that present death was apprehended; and even the coffin was prepared for his interment. He was a valuable servant, and the bishop was induced to go in and pray for him. After prayers, he gave him his blessing, and said, "mayst thou soon recover." Afterwards, as they sat at table, the sick youth sent to his lord desiring to have a cup of wine to quench his thirst; which was given to him after receiving the bishop's blessing. The youth had no sooner drank the wine than he felt himself healed of his infirmity; and rising from his bed, he clothed himself, and saluted the bishop and the other guests, saying that he should be happy to share in their entertainment. The earl rejoicing at his recovery, desired him to sit down, and he spent the day in merriment; and afterwards lived many years in a good state of health. Bede. l. 5. c. 6.

⁵ *Lel. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 101. ⁶ *Bawd. Dom. Boc.* p. 30.

eighteen ploughs. The canons have there in the demesne four ploughs; and twenty villanes with six ploughs; and three knights three ploughs.⁷

In Burtone twelve carucates and six oxgangs to be taxed, and there may be seven ploughs. Ulviet had one manor there. Now Saint John has in the demesne three ploughs; and twelve villanes with three ploughs. Value in king Edward's time fifty shillings; at present forty shillings.⁸

Lands of the earl of Morton.

In Burton is one carucate to be taxed in the soke of Welleton. Nigel held it, but he has now given it up.⁹

Claims in Yorkshire—East-riding.

Nigel Fossard held one carucate of land in Burton, a manor of Saint John of Beverley, which was Morcars, and the soke is in Welton, he has now relinquished it.¹⁰

Soon after this survey it is probable that South-Burton would be distinguished by its present appellation of Bishop-Burton, for we find it an episcopal residence in 1294; and the year following John le Romaine, archbishop of York, died there.¹¹ In 1201, Sibylla de Valoniis, relict of the third lord Percy, gave to the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem the manor of North-Burton.¹² In 1289, Peter de Lyndayle, chaplain of North-Burton, did fealty at the provost's court at Beverley, for two messuages and six oxgangs of land.¹³ In 1327, the king confirmed to Thomas de Burton and his heirs, six bovates of land in South-Burton field, as they were given to Roger, the son of John de Burton, by the archbishop of York, on payment of an annual rent of twenty shillings.¹⁴ And in 1347, an ordinance respecting the chantry at Wynestead was ratified by the archbishop at Burton.¹⁵ Subsequently we find that John de Beverley, and others, held for the benefit of a chantry priest, forty acres of land in North-Burton and Ravensthorp;¹⁶ Richard de Ravenser, canon of Beverley, and other clergymen, held for the church of Saint John of Beverley, six messuages, two tofts, and six shillings rent at North-Burton and Beverley;¹⁷ and William Louth, chaplain, and others, conveyed to Robert

⁷ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 55. ⁸ Ibid. p. 56. ⁹ Ibid. p. 81.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 237.

¹¹ Drake. Ebor. p. 430.

¹² Tan. Notit. York. XII. 2.

¹³ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 2. p. 49. a.

¹⁴ Rot. Pat. 20 Edw. II.

¹⁵ Given under this our signature at *Burton, near Beverley*, on the xxiiij day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1347, and the fifth of our pontificate. Vid. Thompson. Swine, p. 263.

¹⁶ Inquis. post. mort. 40 Edw. III. ¹⁷ Ibid. 51 Edw. III.

Leolff a windmill, and other property at North-Burton.¹⁸ 6 Edw. VI. the manor of North-Burton was assigned by the king to John, duke of Northumberland,¹⁹ but it was alienated by his successor queen Mary.²⁰

It should seem that North-Burton became very early distinguished by the name of Cherry-Burton; for we find by a presentation to the rectory, that it was thus denominated in the reign of king Henry VIII.²¹



The Seat of R. Watt, Esq. at Bishop-Burton.

SOUTH, OR BISHOP-BURTON is situated in the wapentake of Harthill, three miles west of Beverley. The church has a tower with three bells, and is dedicated

¹⁸ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 59.

¹⁹ Ibid. l. 3. p. 13. a.

²⁰ Collins. Peerage, by Brydges, vol. ii. p. 315.

²¹ Rex &c. venerabili viro Præposito Ecclesiæ nostræ Collegiæ Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco Comitatus nostri Eborum, ejusve in absentia Officiali sive Commissario suo aut alii in ea parte potestatem et auctoritatem sufficientes habenti cuicumque Salutem. Ad Ecclesiam parochialem de *Cheriburton* alias Northburton dicti Comitatus nostri Eborum vestræque et dictæ Ecclesiæ nostræ Collegiæ jurisdictionis peculiaris; Per liberam resignationem Reverendi in Christo patris Edmundi Londiniensis Episcopi ultimi Rectoris ejusdem, jam vacantem, et ad nostram præsentationem pro hac vice, ratione prærogativæ Coronæ et dignitatis Regalis nostræ, per Præfecturam dicti Edmundi ad Episcopatum Londiniensem, pleno jure spectantem; Dilectum nobis in Christo Thomam Tompson Clericum Capellanum nostrum vobis præsentamus; Intuitu charitatis rogantes, quatenus eundem Thomam ad Ecclesiam parochialem prædictam admittere, ipsumque Rectorem in eadem cum suis Juribus et pertinentis universis rite instituere; cæteraque peragere quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio, velitis cum favore.

In cujus &c.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, quinto die Februarii.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.

Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 713.

About the same period it is termed Cherryburton in the Provost's Register. l. 3. p. 13. a. l. 4. p. 16.

to All Saints. The living is a discharged vicarage, in the patronage of the dean and chapter of York. Value, in the king's books, £5. 6s. 8d.²² The present incumbent is the Rev. William Taylor.

The church is situated on the summit of a bold hill, which rises gradually from an open space in the centre of the village, and commands a beautiful prospect of a country diversified by hill and dale, and enjoying the advantages of "wood and water." It exhibits to the stranger an unequivocal appearance of having been the residence, "in olden time," of families, which by their wealth and taste have covered the village with the venerable shade of antiquity and sylvan grandeur. In the valley beneath is a small lake, past which runs the broad turnpike road, and beyond that is an ancient tree of immense size and of the species called witch elm, which the villagers regard with the awe and jealousy of a sacred palladium. It measures forty-eight feet in circumference, and time has rent the majestic trunk so effectually that children at play may hide themselves without difficulty within the extended recesses. (See an engraving of the tree, p. 479.)



Bishop-Burton Church.

The nave of the church has recently been rebuilt with stone; the tower and chancel are old. The style adopted in the renewed parts is in strict accordance with the original building. The north front has four good pointed windows in the nave aisle, with bold dripstones supported by corbel heads; they are of the decorated character, and separated from each other by massive buttresses. In the upper

²² Cler. Guide, p. 19.

story are the same number of square headed windows protected by weather cornices and ornamented heads. The chancel has three old windows without much character. This description may serve for the south front of the nave also, except that in the place of one of the windows it has a pointed entrance door, and at the east end of the aisle a low building for a vestry with a small square topped window. The chancel has two windows on the south side with square heads and dripstones. Each window is divided into two lights by a stone mullion. The tower is at the west end, and the elevation is made by string courses into three stories. The bell windows have two lights. The interior of the nave is neatly pewed, and is supported on each side by four arches and octagonal pillars.²³

At a distance from the church a monument has been erected in the fields with this inscription, *Orate pro anima magis (ter) Richard Whorlton*; the history of which is entirely lost. The stone is undoubtedly of ancient date, and has the appearance of a stump cross, but whether originally placed in this situation, or removed from some contiguous religious building at the dissolution of the monasteries, is quite uncertain. It is clear that no interment has been deposited beneath the monument, for in the month of July, 1827, Richard Watt, esq. the present lord of the manor, accompanied by the vicar, and proper assistants, took up the pillar, and excavated to a considerable depth beneath the surface, but they found no indications of sepulture, except a single bone, which was pronounced to be the tibia of a man. The stone was replaced, and every thing left in its pristine situation.²⁴ (See an engraving of the cross, p. 105.)

²³ The church contains several ancient inscriptions, which record the death of the more distinguished inhabitants; who, while living, used this sacred edifice as a house of prayer; and when their spirit returned to Him who gave it, left their mortal remains to be deposited in the holy ground which had been the consecrated scene of pious vows and humble adoration. On a brass plate in the chancel is the following. *Hic Jacet dñs Petrus Johesni quond vicari istius Eccleie qui obiit 26 die mens Martii anno dñi 1460 Cujus aie propitiatur deus Amen.*

On another brass plate in the chancel is the following inscription, though somewhat defaced. The ladye Isabell Ellerker, daughter of Richard Smeth Saye, esq. was mared to sir Jhon Ellerker, knt. by whome she had yshewe Wm. Ellerker. The saide sir John Ellerker died the 1 of June, —10 after whose deathe she marryed Xpofor Estoft, esq. one of the Quenes Majesties Honorable Councell, establish'd in the North, by whome she had — Estoft, the said Xpofor died the 14th Maie 1566. The lady died the 20th day of Nov. 1579. Other monuments to the memory of Sarah Watt, 1788; Richard Watt, 1803; Bethell Robinson, 1824, and Anne his wife, 1813; and two hatchments, the one of Roger Gee, esq. and the other of Richard Watt, esq.

In the nave is an inscription in old church text, somewhat defaced, to the memory of Johanna, the widow of Radulphus Rokeby, esq. who died the 2nd day of June, 1521.

²⁴ There is very little doubt in my mind but this is the remains of a sanctuary cross; the inscription being a subsequent work, and totally unconnected with the primitive intention of the monument, though some think it has been erected to commemorate a murder.

Here is a Sunday school, supported principally by the benevolence of Mr. Watt, where a hundred children of both sexes receive instruction on the Madras system, the benefits of which are already apparent in the improvement of morals, and the general veneration for the Lord's day, which has succeeded, within the last few years, to riot and disorder and profanation of the sabbath. There is also a charity for six poor persons, called Hansby's hospital;²⁵ it contains, at this time, three men and three women who have each ten guineas a year, and a chaldron of coals. The parish contains also a small dissenting meeting-house, used by the people called Baptists, and they have a Sunday school for their own children. Here is also a free school for the instruction of ten boys, endowed with eleven acres of land, purchased with £100. left by Mrs. Elizabeth Gee, in the year 1714. The nomination is in the vicar. Present master, Mr. Mark Cook.

In this parish was the hospital of Killingwoldgraves, situated in a romantic valley adjoining the high road. It was in existence, chiefly for women, so early as 1166;²⁶ and was dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene. Its value, 26 Hen. VIII. was £13. 11s. 2d. in the gross, and £12. 3s. 4d. in the clear sum.²⁷ William, who is called *Pharen. epis.* was admitted master of this hospital, 20th March, 1399. William de Scardeburgh, 3rd June, 1411. Richard Bowet, a relation of the archbishop of York, 15th October, 1414.²⁸

The lordship contains upwards of four thousand acres of land, which have been inclosed more than half a century, and have recently undergone a succession of improvements under the liberal example and encouragement of Richard Watt, esq.

²⁵ On the south of the village, and at no great distance from the church, is a close known by the name of Knight-garth, which still retains the marks of having once been the site of a range of ancient buildings, supposed to have been the old palace or residence of the archbishops of York. The land is now in mortmain, and belongs to Hansby's charity. A deep ravine adjoining this field, which has been recently planted, is subject to sudden eruptions of water after rainy seasons, which bursts forth in such prodigious quantities that all the low parts of the country are flooded for many miles. It continues to flow till the reservoir is exhausted, when it ceases, and remains entirely dry, perhaps for many years, until some immoderate and incessant fall of rain once more surcharges the cavernous receptacles in the earth, and again produces another temporary inundation.

²⁶ Archbishop Roger's grant to them bears date in the above year.

²⁷ Tanner however says, that it was valued at no more than forty shillings per annum, according to Stevens, vol. i. p. 57.

²⁸ Vid. Dugd. Monast. vol. vi. p. 650. Tan. Notit. York. LXIII.

who resides on his estate. The population in 1811 was 515, and in 1821 it had increased to 534 souls.²⁹

A tolerably accurate list of vicars is subjoined.

A. D. before		A. D.	
1460	Peter Johnson	1719	William Anderson
1564	Edward Alford	1729	Robert Hewitt
1613	Nicholas Byrch	1730	Thomas Leake
1652	John Johnson	1787	Robert Rigby
1685	John Johnson	1823	Henry Kelley
1689	Robert Weburne	1826	William Taylor

²⁹ The following extracts from the register of this parish may not be altogether devoid of interest. It commences in 1562.

1653 The register was at this time put into the hands of laymen until the year 1660, when Charles II. was restored to the crown.

1653 The register of marriages by the justices of the peace during the tyrannical rule of the parliament and the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell.

Be it remembered that at this time the marriages were usurped by the justices of the peace, (to the abating of the minister's power and right) by the order of y^e long lyved parlt and so continued till an. 1659, for the space of 6 years.

The form of publishing the banns of marriage.—Neighbours; John Robinson, husbandman, of Bishop-Burton, the son of William and An Robinson of the same, intendeth to take to wife Jane, of the same, spinster, the daughter of Edward and Ann Wilson, if any person can alledge any thing against it let them repaire to me and enter the same, this the ——— time of publication.

1661 John, son of Richard Wardworth, was bap^d Nov. 7. This child was bap^d with god-fathers and godmothers, which had been laid aside generally for many years.

1663 The church steeple was taken down and made square, and the great bell cast.

1669 July 7, upon a Wednesday, betwixt 2 and 3 in the afternoon was an earthquake, which was but momentary, a pulsus terræ, but was felt more forcibly and of longer continuance in the western parts of Yorkshire.

1676 Mr. Toby Hodson, of his own proper charge set up the communion rails, which had been neglected and ruinated from the time of the rebellion till last year.

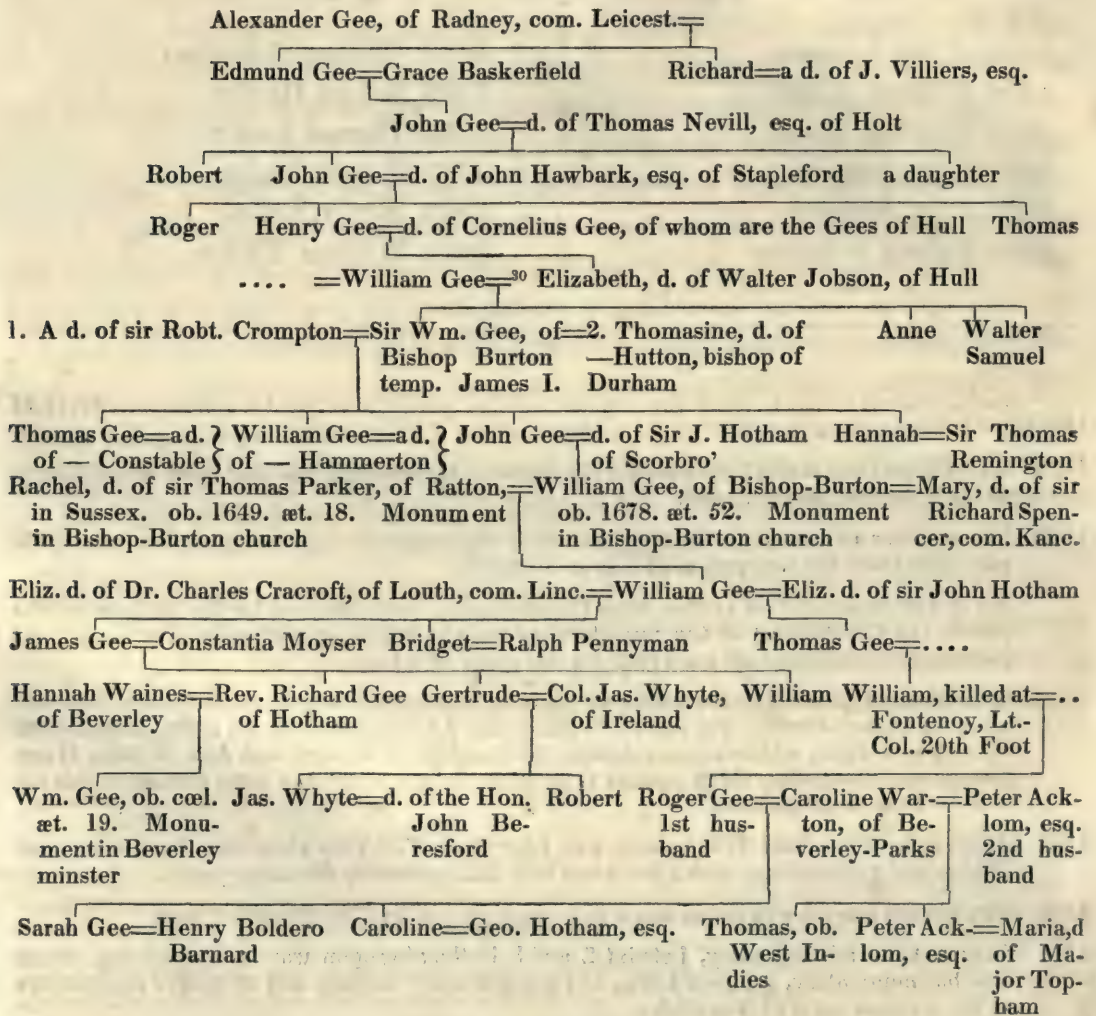
1679 Jan. 11. By tempest the great elm tree was broken down.—See p. 491.

1739 Dec 9. The sentence of excommunication was publicly denounced against Alice Hunter and Nicholas Deane, by the then vicar of this parish, Thomas Leake.

1774 May 29. A sentence of excommunication was published against H——— P———. July 3, H——— P——— was absolved.

PEDIGREE OF GEE, OF BISHOP-BURTON.

Arms. *Gules*, a sword in bend, handle in base, *or*, blade, *proper*.



NORTH, OR CHERRY-BURTON, by some called Sheriff-Burton, is also in the wapentake of Harthill, three miles north-west of Beverley. It is a healthy village,

³⁰ He was appointed a special commissioner by royal patent, (42 Eliz. m. 24.) *De Schismate suppressendo*. Rym. Fæd. vol. xvi. p. 386.

situate at the southern extremity of the wolds, and enjoys a pure and bracing air; 26 miles from York, 7 miles from Weighton, 15 from Hornsea, and 12 from Hull. The church, which exhibits some marks of a high antiquity, blended with modern improvements of different styles and ages in its numerous repairs, is dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, and the living is a valuable rectory in the patronage of H. Ramsden, esq. The annual value in the king's books is £23. 6s. 8d.³¹ and the present incumbent is the Rev. Henry Ramsden. Curate, the Rev. H. W. Hunter, M. A.³²

The tower of the church was taken down and rebuilt in 1786, partly by subscription, and partly by a parochial rate. It contains two bells. "In the year 1800," to use the language of the parish register, "the church was beautified and repaired, both inside and outer, and a new porch erected, and handsomely fronted with stone, at the expense of the rector, Robert Darley Waddilove." The interior varies little from that of village churches in general; the nave is separated from the chancel by an open screen of carved wood work. The windows are chiefly modern, except in the east and west, and they are of an early period.³³ The stand for the hour-glass still remains fixed against the wall on the left hand side of the pulpit.³⁴

The rectory was formerly in the patronage of the college at Beverley, but was transferred to the crown at the dissolution of that establishment, where it remained until the reign of James; and afterwards it came to the Hothams and others. It is discharged from the payment of procurations and synodals.³⁵

³¹ Cler. Guide, p. 31.

³² I beg leave to thank Mr. Hunter for his copious communications relative to this village; from which the following account has been principally compiled.

³³ We meet with no monuments of any importance in this church. The following admonitory inscription, however, deserves to be noticed. On a plain stone tablet at the end of the nave, the spectator is addressed as by a voice from the tomb.—Sum quod eris; fueramq; quod es. W. Pierson, 1720.

³⁴ It was formerly the custom for the length of the sermon to be regulated by the hour-glass. When the priest mounted the pulpit the glass was turned; and his sermon came to a period when the sand was wholly exhausted.

³⁵ MSS. of Archbishop Sharp.

The following is a close list of Rectors from the Reformation.

A. D.	RECTORS' NAMES.	BY WHOM PRESENTED.
1530	Edmund Bonner ³⁶	Canons of Beverley ³⁷
1541	Thomas Thompson ³⁸	King Henry VIII.
1562	Samuel Culverwell	Queen Elizabeth
1612	Thomas Micklethwayte ³⁹	King James I.
1664	Thomas Gayton	Sir John Hotham
1681	John Johnson ⁴⁰	William Gee, esq.
1703	Robert Barker	His brother
1728	Thomas Gee	Thomas Gee, esq. of York

³⁶ Biog. Brit. This Bonner was the famous (infamous?) persecuting bishop of London in the time of queen Mary. He is said to have condemned no less than two hundred protestants to the flames in the space of three years. He died at length in prison, during the reign of Elizabeth.

³⁷ In this parish was a chantry, dedicated to the Holy Trinity; the incumbent to which was instituted by the provost of Beverley. Ex. Reg. Prap. l. 1. p. 3. At the dissolution, William Lacocke, the incumbent, had a pension of £3. 12s. 0d. Willis. Hist Abb. vol. ii. p. 290. The only remaining vestige of this institution is a small piece of ground adjoining the rectory close, called the Chantry garth, which before the inclosure belonged to lord Egremont, but by an exchange was assigned to the lord of the manor David Burton Fowler, esq. who subsequently sold it to Mr. Ramsden, whose property it now is.

³⁸ Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. m. 21.

³⁹ At page 2, of the old register of Cherry-Burton, occurs a list of fifty-six names, beginning with "Thomas Micklethwayte;" and ending with this remark, "All these tooke the Scottish covenant under Mr. Thomas Micklethwayte." He was a member of the Westminster assembly.

⁴⁰ Many curious entries appear in the register books during the incumbency of this gentleman; a selection from which I subjoin.

May 26, 1682. Anne Baker did penance publicly.

1684. On Wednesday y^e 12 of November were seene two sunnes in y^e firmam^t betwixt twelve and one of y^e clock att Bp. Burton. Memorandum. Upon Sunday febr. 12 1687 there happened about halfe a quarter before foure in y^e after noone, after sermon, a sudden violent pulsation, or, as it were, a mighty thump in the earthe y^t is a kinde of earthquake w^h resembled the report of a cannon, with some noise before and after, and causing the earth and the buildings thereon to shake, but it lasted but a moment in this place.

febr. 24, 1689. This day att y^e suns rising were seene two suns when y^e sun was about a quarter of an hour risen, the appearance of the second sun or parelia was seemingly att 60 yards distance, on the north-east of y^e true sun.

Dec. 8th, 1692. About 2 a clock in the night was a violent tempest of wind w^h overthrew y^e chantry helmes and the chymney of y^e lodging parlour at the parsonage house, w^h was reedified the July following.

1696. In february or March were seene two sons in the morning tide.

A. D.	RECTORS' NAMES.	BY WHOM PRESENTED.
1736	Christopher Burton	John Burton, esq. of Kirkthorp
1740	Thomas Barker	Elizabeth Barker, of Beverley
1775	Robert Darley Waddilove ⁴¹	Reps. of Robert Waddilove
1828	Henry Ramsden	H. Ramsden, esq.

The inhabitants of Cherry-Burton entertain a superstitious belief, that when the head of a family dies, it is necessary to clothe the *bees* in mourning on the funeral day, to secure the future prosperity of the hive. An instance of this observance took place in the month of July, 1827, on the death of an inmate only in a cottager's family. On the day of interment the important ceremony was performed with great solemnity. A scarf of black crape was formally appended to each beehive; and an offering of pounded funeral biscuit soaked in wine was placed at its entrance; attended, probably, with secret prayers that the sacrifice might be efficacious to preserve the colony from fatuitous destruction.⁴²

The village feast is annually observed on the last Sunday in the month of July, being an unusual instance of deviation from the common practice of appropriating the anniversary of the consecration of the church as a perpetual festival. The hilarity of an old English harvest home is also enjoyed by the inhabitants of

⁴¹ "Robert Darley Waddilove, M. A. F. A. S. of Clare-hall, Cambridge, vicar of Topcliffe, in this county, and chaplain to the honourable and right reverend Dr. Robert Drummond, archbishop of this province; and also to the right honourable Thomas, lord Grantham, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Spain, was inducted into this rectory of Cherry-Burton, the 9th day of March, 1775, by George Croft, master of the grammar-school in Beverley, and fellow of University college, Oxford; in the presence of Wm. Browne, M. A. rector of Silverton and Rowe, Devon, and John Baker, parish clerk of Cherry-Burton. August, 1779, Dr. Waddilove returned from Spain, and in October, was appointed domestic chaplain to Dr. William Markham, lord archbishop of this province, who had been his master at Westminster school. On the 25th July, 1780, he was prebendary of Ripon; 22nd February, 1782, prebendary of York; 3rd March, 1786, archdeacon of the East-riding; 19th November, 1791, dean of Ripon." From the parish register.

⁴² Honey was anciently a symbol of death; Porph. de Ant. Nymph. p. 261; and thus funeral cakes were usually combined with honey. Virgil terms the funeral cake, *melle sopocatam et modicatis frugibus offam*. Bees are said to have been emblematical of new born souls, or in other words, of spirits at the moment of their departure from the body; but they were used in the idolatrous initiations to typify only the souls of the just. Porph. p. 262. Hence the above custom, for which no determinate reason can be assigned, may have a reference to some idolatrous superstition observed by the primitive inhabitants of the island; the custom itself, like innumerable others, having survived the knowledge of the causes which gave it birth.

Cherry-Burton with primitive observances. The custom is laudable, because it is an act of thanksgiving to God for his goodness in preparing for the use of man, "the kindly fruits of the earth."⁴³

The charities of this village are not numerous. In the year 1723, Hodgson Johnson, M. D. of Cherry-Burton, left two pounds annually, chargeable on a house and premises in the parish, to be given on the 5th day of November, by the overseer of the poor for the time being, in equal portions, to four of the most indigent inhabitants, in coals or other fuel for the winter. And in 1740, Ann Johnson, of Beverley, left by will the sum of forty pounds to the minister, churchwardens, and overseers of Cherry-Burton, to be invested in land or other good security, and the proceeds distributed at Christmas annually amongst four poor inhabitants of the parish.

The population has sustained a gradual increase from the return in 1811. In that year the return specified that the number of families was 71; males, 196; females, 162; total number of souls, 358. In 1821, the number of families was 78; males, 226; females, 191; total, 416; since which period the increase has been proportionably progressive. The number of marriages, baptisms, and burials from 1811 to 1826 inclusive, is exhibited in the following table.

A. D.	MARRIAGES.	BAPTISMS.	BURIALS.	A. D.	MARRIAGES.	BAPTISMS.	BURIALS.
1811	—	13	9	BROUGHT UP	6	102	47
1812	—	15	1	1819	2	10	4
1813	2	12	2	1820	1	15	9
1814	—	21	5	1821	3	11	4
1815	—	8	3	1822	1	15	8
1816	2	11	9	1823	3	12	2
1817	1	10	8	1824	6	14	7
1818	1	12	10	1825	3	20	4
				1826	2	13	1
	6	102	47	TOTAL.	27	212	86

⁴³ It was particularly enjoined in the Mosaic law, that a solemn feast should be held unto the Lord when the people had gathered in the fruits of the land. Deut. xvi. c. 13 v. *Scenopegia*, quod celebrant in gratiarum actionem propter convectas Fruges in mense Septembri. Tunc enim gratias agebant Deo, &c. Theophylact in 7. C. Joan. It is true, some anti-christian practices have been introduced into this festival; which, however, are used with no other view than to inspire increased mirth, at a season when all sadness is prohibited. The straw figure, commonly called a harvest doll, which is sometimes exhibited in these pageants, mounted in state upon the horse nearest to the waggon, when the last load is taken from the harvest field, is undoubtedly a representation of Ceres, the goddess of husbandry. This figure is attended by groups of boys,

WALKINGTON.

Walkington, anciently in the fee of the provost of Beverley, is situated in the wapentake of Hunsley-Beacon and deanery of Harthill, nine miles from Hull, and two and a half from Beverley; and at the Norman Conquest was divided amongst the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, and the king's thanes.

Land of the archbishop of York. In Walchington there are eight carucates and one oxgang to be taxed, where there may be four ploughs. Eldred, archbishop, held this for one manor. The canons of St. Peter at present have, under Thomas, archbishop, in the demesne one plough, and fourteen villanes and eight bordars with six ploughs. Value, in king Edward's time, 40s.; now 30s.¹

The land of the bishop of Durham, in Walkington, consisted of nine carucates to be taxed, and formed a berewick to Welton.²

Land of the king's thanes. Manor. In Walchington, Gamel had one carucate of land to be taxed. Land to half a plough. The same has it himself, and it is waste. Value, in king Edward's time, 5s.³

Claims in the East-riding. The soke of four carucates of land in Walchington belonged to Welleton, but king William gave the undisturbed possession of it to archbishop Eldred, the wapentake (jurors) witnessing the king's writ for that purpose, which they saw and heard.⁴

Subsequently to this period we possess various accounts of the village, which are highly satisfactory, as they point out the principal proprietors from time to time, and the local situation of their respective possessions. From the voluminous matter which lies before me, I select the following.

3 Edw. I. At a court held at the Hall Mote, in Dalton, on the Wednesday next after the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, Ivo de Cottingham, appeared to give pledges for having broke the lord's park at Walkington, and other trespasses. Edmund de Riplingham was his surety.⁵

generally elevated upon the load, who announce her approach by a continued shouting, to attract the notice of the inhabitants. In the evening all is feasting and revelry; the master and the servant meet at the same table, and mutually congratulate each other on the happy termination of their labours. The expectation of this reward animates the men to exertion throughout the harvest; and it is to their activity and persevering industry that the farmer must be principally indebted for a prosperous ingathering.

¹ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 45. ² Ibid. p. 60. ³ Ibid. p. 225.

⁴ Ibid. p. 239.

⁵ Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 1, p. 17.

14 Edw. I. Edrueltus de Ergham gave to the provost of Beverley, at his court, one mark on the tranfer of a carucate of land in Walkington, late the property of his mother.⁶

2 Edw. III. William Cantes came into court and paid a relief of two marks for two messuages and a toft and six oxgangs of land in Walkington;⁷ which he subsequently assigned, together with another messuage, and 13s. 2d. rent, to James Jordan, as appears from a roll of 3 Edw. III. The charter was exhibited in the provost's court by the purchaser, who did the usual homage, and paid the fees.⁸

49 Edw. III. William Frost did homage at Beverley for his tenement at Walkington;⁹ and in the next year we find sir William de Ergham Chivaler residing there.¹⁰ And 2 Rich. II. William Frost made fealty for two tofts, a dovecote, and three oxgangs of land with the appurtenances, which were formerly the property of Adam, the son of John Thornton Copandale; and for two oxgangs of land which he had purchased of sir John de Meaux Chivaler.¹¹

26 Henry IV. By an inquisition it appears that sir Thomas de Comberworth Ch^r. held at Walkington, of the provost of Beverley, by military service, one messuage and nine oxgangs of land, with the appurtenances, late the property of lady Ergham; and also three tofts called dovecote-garth;—that William Germain held three tofts, late the property of John de Middleton, and one toft near to some land of the provost called Brentingham Place, and two oxgangs in Walkington field, late the property of John de Middleton, and one toft called Gok Place, adjoining Northgate, late in the tenure of William Frost;—that John Bedford had a capital messuage, at the north end of the village, late the property of William Frost, and also a piece of ground on which stood a dovecote, purchased by the said William Frost of Adam, the son of John Thornton Copandale, and also a piece of arable land called Wypenny croft, containing two acres;—that John Brompton had a piece of herbage near the Hall croft and King-lane, a tiled messuage at the corner of Northgate, with Westgate on the north, and one oxgang called Pottersland, late the property of Alice Barker;—that John Copandale, of Beverley, held there a piece of herbage adjoining King-lane;—that the chapter of St. John of Beverley held two oxgangs in Walkington field;—that the brethren and sisters of the guild of Corpus-Christi held a messuage and croft adjoining the above, late in the tenure of Thomas Golding, and the messuage

⁶ Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 1. p. 16. ⁷ Ibid. p. 17. ⁸ Ibid. p. 16. ⁹ Ibid. 41.

¹⁰ Ibid. 16. ¹¹ Ibid. p. 22.

occupied by William Thyrsk, lying in the east part of Northgate ;—that Thomas, the son of John Ward, of Beverley, held land in this parish ; and also the vicars-choral of the collegiate church of Saint John.¹²

6 Edw. VI. The king assigned the manor of Walkington to John, duke of Northumberland,¹³ on the attainder of the Percy family in the person of its only surviving branch sir Thomas Percy, knight.¹⁴ But this nobleman, who was also earl of Warwick, having forfeited his titles and his life for treason against queen Mary, on the accession of queen Elizabeth, the manor of Walkington, amongst other property, was confirmed to his successor Ambrose, earl of Warwick, 23rd June, 6 Eliz.¹⁵ And subsequently it was assigned over in trust to Roger Rowte and Edward Downing ; 12th March, 33 Eliz.¹⁶ At present, the bishop of Durham, and H. G. Barnard, esq. are in possession of the manorial rights.

The church is a neat edifice, dedicated¹⁷ to All Saints, and has been recently restored. The tower contains three bells. The living is a rectory, in the patronage of the Rev. Daniel Ferguson, the present incumbent, who was instituted in

¹² Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. l. p. 61, 62. ¹³ Ibid. l. 3. p. 131. a.

¹⁴ Collins. Peerage, by Brydges. vol. ii. p. 314. ¹⁵ Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 3. p. 14. a.

¹⁶ Ibid. l. 3. p. 15. b.

¹⁷ The feast of dedication is celebrated annually in this village, and is usually denominated the "The Tansey Feast." These feasts, which primitively were with greater propriety termed "*wakes*," first took their rise from the meeting of the people at the dedication of churches ; which ceremony was performed on the saint's day in whose honour the church was built. On the preceding evening came the religious people to *watch* and pray all the night ; and this watching or *waking* was annually kept on the eves of the saint's days. The first intention of this watching was good and holy, but by degrees, greater numbers attending, less devotion and reverence were observed ; till at length, from hawkers and pedlars coming thither to sell their petty wares, the merchants came and set up stalls and booths in the churchyards ; and not only those, says Spelman, who lived in the parish to which the church belonged resorted thither, but others from all the neighbouring towns and villages ; and the greater the reputation of the saint, the greater were the numbers that flocked together on this occasion. Dugdale, in his Warwickshire, gives us the following quotation from an old manuscript legend of Saint John the Baptist ; 'and ye shal understand and know how the *evyns* were first found in old tyme. In the beginning of holi church it was so that the pepul cam to the cherche with candellys brennyng, and wold wake, and coome with light toward to the chirche in their dovociions, and aftir they fell to lecherie and songs, daunces, harping, piping, and also to glotony and sinne ; and so turned the holinesse to cursydnesse, wherefore holy faders ordeined the pepul to leve that waking, and to fast the evyn. But hit is callyd *vigilia*, that is *waking* in Englishe, and it is callid *evyn*, for at evyn they were wont to come to chirche.' The unseemliness of these riotous wakings becoming at length offensive to the religious people, they were suppressed, and the people meeting in the day, regular fairs were kept annually on the saint's day. The direct time of the prohibition of these nocturnal visits to the church is not known ; but, says Dugdale, I do conclude it to have been very ancient." Strutt. Man. and Cust. vol. ii. p. 98.

the year 1808. Value, in the king's books, £24. 13s. 4d.¹⁸ In the chancel are monuments erected to the memory of the Rev. Randal Hancock, L. L. B. rector, 1777; and Elizabeth his wife, 1783; with Ann and Jane their daughters, 1773. And on a neat marble slab on the south wall is an inscription to the memory of Elizabeth, the wife of J. Middleton Clowes, rector, 1803.



Walkington Church.

Here is a very good rectory house a short distance from the church, with gardens and plantations tastily disposed, which is occupied by the rector. The parishioners enjoy the benefit of a charity school, supported from the produce of a bequest of Mr. Sherwood, left in the reign of Henry VIII. which now yields a clear annual income of £100.; and also of a Sunday school, at which about seventy children of both sexes receive instruction. The latter was established by the present rector, and is supported by voluntary contribution.

¹⁸ Cler. Guide. p. 177.

A Catalogue of the Rectors of Walkyngton.

TEMP CREAT.	RECTORES ECCLE.	PATRONI.	VACAT.
Kal. Jan. 1287.	Mr. Phil. De Alverton Subd.	Pr. & Cont. Dunelm.	
Id. Sep. 1293.	Will. de Hoton, Pbr.	ijdem	P' Resig'
Mar. 1297.	Dns Johes de Bolton Cap.	ijdem	P' Mort'
Kal. Mar. 1330.	Mr. Johes de Hirlawe acolitus	Rad. Com. W. land	
	Dns Joh. de Cornubia.	Pr. & Cont. Dunelm.	
Non. Oct. 1332.	Dns Will. Dareytus	ijdem	P' Resig'
Sep. 1349.	Dns Will. de Wasyngham.	ijdem	P' Mort'
Nov. 1349.	Dns Johes de Henlay Cler.	ijdem	P' Resig'
	Mr. Robt. Woderofe		P' Mort'
Nov. 1393.	Dns Johes Burnham Pbr.	Rad. Neville	
		Dom. de Raby	P' Resig'
Jan. 1396.	Dns Will. de Hoton	Pr. & Con. Dun.	
	Dns Johes Bolton		P' Resig'
24 Jan. 1420.	Mr. Johes Wyles Pbr.	Rad. Com. W. land	P' Resig'
Apr. 1431.	Dns Will. Alkebarrow Pbr.	Joan Com. W. land	P' Resig'
26 Sept. 1459.	Mr. Edm. Mynskyp, M. A.	Ric. Com. Sarū	P' Resig'
20 Oct. 1487.	Dns Robt. Wood Cap.	Rex. H. 7 in minori-	
		tate. Edwi. Comts.	
		Waren	P' Mort'
8 Febr. 1494.	Dns Ric. Wilson	H. 7 Rex	
	Johes Newcome Vel. Newton		P' Mort'
Nov. 1576.	Fr. Nalton Cler	Tho. Barrington Mil.	P' Mort'
Dec. 1616.	Wm. Chauntrell, M. A.	Fr. Barrington Mil.	
		and Bar.	
19 Sep. 1662.	Johes Nelson Cler.	Gilbt. Foster, Gen.	P' Mort'
16 Apr. 1667.	Johes Burnet Cl. M. A. ¹⁹	Johes Barrington Mil.	
		and Bart.	
	Randall Hancock		
1777.	J. Middleton Clowes ²⁰		P' Mort'
1807.	Daniel Ferguson	Rev. D. Ferguson	P' Mort'

RISBY.¹

This village, at the conquest, was assigned to the archbishop of York, who had there when the survey was taken six carucates of land to be taxed, and there were probably three ploughs; but was entirely waste² from the devastations to which the

¹⁹ Extracted from Torre's Peculiars, p. 1237.

²⁰ The latter part of this catalogue is necessarily defective; for the parish registers were transmitted to London about 50 years ago, to be produced in evidence in some litigated case, and were never returned.

¹ Rys, a small twig or branch. Jamieson. Dict. in loc. ² Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 56.

county of York had been subjected by the cruel mandate of the conqueror.³ At the same time, it appeared during an investigation of sundry claims in the East-riding, that Gamel had four carucates of land in Risbi, which in the time of king William he sold to archbishop Eldred; the soke of this land formerly laid to Welleton, but archbishop Thomas had king William's writ, by which he granted the undisturbed possession of that soke to Saint John of Beverley.⁴

The land now soon became distributed amongst private proprietors, but being in the fee of the provost of Beverley, was subject nevertheless to the customary services in his court. In 1275, Edward de Ryplingham gave one mark to the court for possession of land at Risby, late the property of Richard de Rinfield.⁵

There is reason to believe that the family of Stuteville built or enlarged the manor house about this time, for a place of residence capable of containing an establishment of servants and retainers; although it appears that sir Robert de Stuteville, knight, was involved in many disputes before his title to the property could be recognized.⁶ In 1286, Ralph de Wingfield released certain lands and tenements in Risby to Dno Peter de Cestria and Ralph de Ryplingham.⁷ The house and premises now passed into the hands of the Risby family,⁸ but not without some disagreement respecting the validity of the title, which was referred for decision to the court of the Beddern at Beverley.⁹ They were held by this family till the year 1448, when we find them, together with almost the whole lordship, in the possession of Stephen de Haitfield, lord of Haitfield, in Holderness; and several parts of the property are particularly specified under the respective denominations of "a capital messuage, and 34 acres of land near Risby field; various pieces of herbage, called Beatrix Garth, Apple-garth, Gray Connegarthe, &c. &c."¹⁰ From the Haitfields this property soon became vested in the Ellerkers,¹¹ who now hold it; for it appears that in the early part of the reign of Edward IV. John Ellerker did suit and service at the provost's court for a fenced close called Apple-

³ Sax. Chron. p. 174. ⁴ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 239.

⁵ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 24. ⁶ Ibid. l. 1. p. 25. ⁷ Ibid. l. 1. p. 26.

⁸ By a copy of an old seal, the arms of the Rysceby family were, *Argent*, a saltire engrailed, *sable*, inter 4 roses, *gules*. Sigillum Will'i de Rysceby. This seal is appended to a charter, signed Will'i de Ryscebi. Dat. apud Rysceby, anno regis Henrici quarti.

⁹ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 29. ¹⁰ Ibid. l. 2. p. 79. a, b.

¹¹ It is probable that Stephen Haitfield held this property as a trustee for the heiress; because it is well known that the Risby estates became vested in the Ellerker family by a marriage with the daughter and heiress of William Risby, in the year 1401.

garth, nine oxgangs of land called Woldflatt; a fenced close called Pighill, near to a road called Beverley Gate; a toft called Sharwyndcroft, and seven oxgangs of land in Risby field;¹² and in the year 1480, John Ellerker died seized of the manor of Risby, the capital messuage, and thirty-six acres of land adjoining,¹³ which constituted, at that time, the park.

The property remained in the male branch till the year 1655, when John Ellerker dying without issue male, it descended to sir James Bradshaw, of Broomborough, Cheshire, who married Dorothy Ellerker, his daughter. His son, Ellerker Bradshaw, also dying without male issue, bequeathed the Risby estates to his relation Eaton Mainwaring, who took the surname and arms of Ellerker by act of parliament. His only son, Roger Mainwaring Ellerker, died at the age of twenty-four unmarried; and the lordship was divided amongst his four sisters. The present representatives of the family are two unmarried ladies.

Risby Park, about three miles S. W. of Beverley, is a romantic spot, well wooded and salubrious. The fine old mansion was deserted after the death of E. M. Ellerker, esq. and his son, and was soon afterwards destroyed by fire. It was, however, subsequently rebuilt in a handsome modern style; and the gardens and premises laid out according to the prevailing taste of the age; but was unfortunately burnt to the ground a second time about forty-five years ago during the absence of the family, and has not since been restored.

The following is the most accurate pedigree of this family which I have been able to obtain.

¹² Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 2. p. 54. a. ¹³ Ibid. l. 2. p. 84.

Sir Ralph Ellerker,¹⁴ of Risby, high-sheriff of the county of York, ob. 1509 = Catherine, d. of sir John Constable, of Burton-Constable

Edward Ellerker = Eliz. d. of sir R. Constable, of Everingham

Sir Ralph Ellerker, of Risby, knighted by king James at York, Ap. 17, 1603. = Ann, d. of Thos. Dalton, of Nuttles, esq. Robert Francis William John Eleanor Ann Margaret

Ralph Ellerker = Eleanor, d. of Thomas Metham, of Metham James = Frances, d. of Allan Percy Edward Robert Henry John

John Ellerker, ob. 1655 = Dorothy, d. of Lancelot Roper, of Hull = Thomas Cracroft

Dorothy, sole heiress = Sir James Bradshaw John Nathaniel, ob. æt. 14.

Ellerker Bradshaw, ob. 1742 = Rebecca, 2nd d. of sir Edward Northy, knt. attorney-general Isabella Dorothy Elizabeth Frances Susannah

Lucy Bradshaw Rebecca Bradshaw Eaton Mainwaring, to whom the property was bequeathed, took the name and arms of Ellerker = Barbara, d. of Abraham Dixon, of Belford, Northumberland

Alice Abraham both died young Roger Mainwaring Ellerker, ob. æt. 23 cæl. Elizabeth unmarried Charlotte mar. Geo. Viscount Townsend Arabella mar. Thos. Lord Onslow Harriot unmarried

¹⁴ Another sir Ralph Ellerker, of Risby, who flourished about the same period, is mentioned on a monument in Rowley church, as follows. "Near this place lie the remains of sir Ralph Ellerker, of Risby, whose grandfather, John Ellerker, of Ellerker, married the daughter and heiress of William Risby, of Risby, esquire, 1401. The said sir Ralph Ellerker, with his three sons, Ralph, William, and Robert, for their gallant behaviour at Flodden Field, were there made knights. He died Jan. 1, 1540. Sir Ralph, the eldest, attended king Henry viii. into France at his own expense. He commanded at the siege of Bullogne, where he took the dauphin of France's standard, was made marshall governor of the said town, and lies buried in St. Mary's church at Bullogne. Henry viii. for his gallant behaviour, gave the device of the said dauphin's standard to him and his posterity. 2 dauphins addorsed." An account of the meeting of sir R. Ellerker and the king is given in Rymer, vol. xv. p. 53, taken from the Cotton library, B. M. Calig. E. iv. fo. 100. John Ellerker, of Risby, is mentioned, Claus. 10 Hen. IV. m. 27. in the writ of dowry of Lucy, widow of Edmund, earl of Kent, as Attornati Johannis de Neuyll et Elizabethæ uxoris ejus. But the family is mentioned much earlier in the publick records of the kingdom. In the year 1313, Johan and Nichol de Ellerker had letters-patent super pardonatione mortis Petri de Gaveston. Rot. Pat. 7 Edw. II. m. 15. And in 1335, John de Ellerker was despatched to Ireland by the king, to superintend the levying of a subsidy of soldiers, to be provided by the prelates of Ireland for the Scottish wars. In this writ he is denominated, Dilecto clerico nostro, Thesaurario nostro Hiberniæ. Rot. Scot. 9 Ed. III. m. 36. And in 1341, a writ de denariis solvendis per procuracione cardinalium, was addressed to the same person by the style of, Rex, dilecto Clerico suo, Johanni de Ellerker, Receptorum decimæ Biennalis, nobis nuper per Clerum Eborum Provincia, concessæ, Salutem, &c. Rymer. vol. v. p. 236, 270, 277.

Arms and quarterings:—

1. Ellerker. B. fretty A. chief, A.

2. Reseby. A saltire ingrailed, sable, inter 4 rosettes, gules.

3. Moretowne. A. 3 birds, gules.

4. Grindall. Ermine a cross floree, gules.

Crest. Two demy griffs erased, addorsed, or, on a wreath, collared, b.





SCORBROUGH,

formerly in the fee of the provost of Beverley, is a small village, the ancient seat of the Hothams, now decayed. It is situated in the wapentake of Harthill, five miles north of Beverley. It is mentioned before the conquest, and a chapel or oratory is said to have been built here by the earl Addi.¹ When the record called Domesday was compiled, the whole village of Scorbrough consisting of six carucates of land, was affirmed to belong to William Malet, and that he possessed them in the demesne.² In another part of the same record, however, it is said that William de Perci holds Scorbrough of the bishop of Durham, where he has a mill, and three villanes with half a plough.³

The precise period when the ancient family of Hotham first became possessed of Scorbrough is not correctly known; nor is it material to the present enquiry, as we are certainly informed, from an unerring source, that they were established here before the time of Edward I.; for at the very beginning of that reign we find that John de Hotham de Scorbro' Chivaler, had a suit at law in the provost's court respecting some houses and land in Molescroft.⁴ John de Hotham, his grandson, was in holy orders, and received letters of protection to accompany king Edward II. into foreign parts.⁵ He was speedily advanced from canon of York⁶ to the bishoprick of Ely; and afterwards he became treasurer of the Exchequer and lord chancellor of England.⁷ From Thomas Hotham, the great nephew of this eminent ecclesiastic, descended the Hothams of Scorbrough.

In the civil wars we find the house at Scorbrough fortified and protected by a military garrison; but the timid policy of its distinguished proprietor during the unhappy dissensions which agitated the country at this calamitous period was fatal to the lives of both himself and his son; and the garrison at Scorbrough was ordered to take possession of the town of Beverley, in the name of the parliament.⁸ After this period the house was suffered to fall to decay; and at this time not a vestige remains to mark the spot on which it stood.

The village, however, still retains a picturesque appearance; and the fine timber trees which grace and dignify its precincts, form a permanent memento of its

¹ *Lel. Col.* vol. iii. p. 101. ² *Bawd. Dom. Boc.* p. 238. ³ *Ibid.* p. 61.

⁴ *Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev.* l. 1. p. 39. ⁵ *Rot. Pat.* 6 Edw. II.

⁶ *Rym. Fæd.* vol. iii. p. 408. ⁷ *Banks. Dorm. Baron.* vol. i. p. 345.

⁸ *Rush.* vol. v. p. 276.

former greatness. The church, dedicated to Saint Leonard, is placed in a sweet, secluded spot, embosomed in a pleasant grove of trees, where the soul of the pious worshipper may be poured out in fervent prayer, uninterrupted by external occurrences; and the incense of a contrite heart may be offered up to the throne of divine mercy in its purest fervour, with unmixed attention and undivided homage.⁹ The living is a discharged rectory, in the patronage of the earl of Egremont; its value, in the king's books, is £7.;¹⁰ and the present incumbent is the Rev. Peter La Tour. The population is 88 souls.

LIBERTIES OF BEVERLEY.

The liberties of Beverley comprise six townships, forming the parish of Saint John, over which the jurisdiction of the borough magistrates extends. These are Molescroft, Storkhill-cum-Sandholme, Tickton-cum-Hull-Bridge, Weel, Woodmansey-cum-Beverley-Parks, and Thearne. They surround the town of Beverley on every side except the west, and formerly constituted part of the possessions of Saint John.

MOLESCROFT.

This is a very ancient hamlet, probably coeval with the town of Beverley, as we find one of the sanctuary crosses of king Athelstan erected here; but we possess little knowledge of its state before the conquest. At that period it belonged jointly to the archbishop and the canons of Beverley under him; and consisted of three carucates taxable, and two ploughs; with two villanes and one plough.¹ In another part of the same record it is specified, that the archbishop had there three carucates of land to be taxed.²

Considerable information exists in the old provost's books respecting the possession and transfer of property in Molescroft, which was sometimes called Mylcroft,³ probably from the mile-cross which marked the sanctuary limits in this quarter. In 1327, William de Cave de Santon did homage and fealty in the provost's court, for a close in Molescroft called Maudlinridings.⁴ A few years afterwards

⁹ In the church are the following arms:— Barry A. and B. a canton, (broken) HOTHAM.

¹⁰ Cler. Guide. p. 148.

¹ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 56. ² Ibid. p. 276. ³ Rot. Parl. 7 Edw. IV.

⁴ Ex. Reg. Præpos. Bev. l. 1. p. 15.

we find a capital mansion called Woodhall⁵ belonged to John Ermyt; and very soon Robert de Woodhall, Roger de Woodhall, William de Woodhall, sir Edmond de Heslerton, knight, sir John de Heslerton, knight, sir Thomas Thessed, knight, made suit at the court of the Beddern for this mansion, and land in Molescroft.⁶ About the same time (1371) Ingelram de Nafreton did homage for twelve acres of land in Molescroft, lately let to farm to Robert Turner of Beverley.⁷ Five years afterwards sir Simon de Heslerton, knight, did homage for the Woodhall *juxta* Beverley, and his land in Molescroft;⁸ and also John de Levenyng, chaplain of the chantry of the blessed Virgin, for his tenement in the same place.⁹ In 1377, a precept was issued enabling William Frost to hold lands and a tenement in Molescroft, late the property of John Rede, and one oxgang lately belonging to William de Anlaby, by military service.¹⁰ In the next year, John de Levenyng did homage in the chapel at Molescroft for lands and tenements there, which he held by military service.¹¹ Sir Thomas de Sheffield, knight, in 1387, conveyed some tenements, near the Woodhall in Molescroft, to sir Ralph de Haslerton, knight, to hold of the provost of Beverley by knight's service.¹² John Bedford had two tofts here in the reign of Henry VI. which were occupied by Thomas Wittie and John Hardy, lying between a common way which leads past the windmill, &c.;¹³ he had also a capital messuage near Woodhall, called Estoft,¹⁴ which lately belonged to William Frost.¹⁵ At the same time John Denton had a toft and a croft here, occupied by William Chappel, which were situated by a common way that led through the middle of the village towards Bishop-Burton.¹⁶ Guido Roos held three oxgangs of land called Fairfayri, lying in the field called Pighill, in the fee of the provost, of which the lord of Woodhall was the mesn.¹⁷ The sisters of Killingwoldgraves had an oxgang of land lying in a field called

⁵ The probable site of Woodhall is a square piece of ground adjoining Pighill-lane, which is now moated and used as a garden. It is said that this mansion was subsequently the residence of some member of the Warton family.

⁶ Ex. Reg. Præp. l. 1. p. 15. ⁷ Ibid. p. 35. ⁸ Ibid. p. 41.

⁹ Ibid. p. 42. ¹⁰ Ibid. p. 15. ¹¹ Ibid. p. 18. ¹² Ibid. p. 18. ¹³ Ibid. l. 2. p. 78. a.

¹⁴ This was also termed "a capital mansion." The foundations of some old buildings at the end of Pighill-lane were dug up in 1824, which probably were the site of this building. Two Roman coins were found, and some ancient smooth "wall tiles," which I am told were Roman; but this is scarcely credible. As I have not seen them, however, I am unable to pronounce any thing certain on the subject.

¹⁵ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 2. p. 78. b. ¹⁶ Ibid. p. 78. a. ¹⁷ Ibid. p. 79. a.

Maudlinryding;¹⁸ near which was an ancient mill belonging to the Hothams.¹⁹ In the reign of Elizabeth here were two windmills, both of which were granted to John Farnham.²⁰

Here was formerly a chapel with a chantry, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which was instituted before the reign of Edw. II. for we find, in the sixteenth year of that monarch, that Philip Ingleberd held lands and a messuage in Beverley and Molescroft for this chantry;²¹ and we have already seen that 2 Rich. II. John Levenyng, the chaplain, did homage apud Molescrofte in *Capell ib'm p' terr' et tent'z que tenet ib'm de d'no.*²² At the dissolution, Robert Mote, the incumbent, had a pension of £4. 11s. 8d.²³

Molescroft contains at present a population of 111 souls,²⁴ who attend divine service in the minster.²⁵

STORKHILL-CUM-SANDHOLME

is a hamlet in the parish of St. John, and is thus mentioned in Domesday. *Berewick.* In Estorch the archbishop has one carucate of land to be taxed. Land to two oxen. Two villanes have there one plough.²⁶ Subsequently the land was alienated to other proprietors, who held by service at the provost's court. Thus the bailiff of this court, in 1354, seized and entered on a messuage at Stork, by the death of Richard de London, which was held by William de Wele who had neglected to render the customary relief of eels, and to perform all other requisite services.²⁷

¹⁸ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 2. p. 79. a.

¹⁹ Ibid. l. 1. p. 39.

²⁰ Ibid. l. 3. p. 18. a.

²¹ Inquis. ad quod dam. 16 Edw. II.

²² Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 18.

²³ Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 2S9.

²⁴ Return of 1821.

²⁵ The parishes of Beverley, in addition to the great distance which many of the inhabitants of St. John's reside from the church, are interwoven in a most intricate and curious manner. Their intersections do not tend so much to the convenience as the *benefit* of the parishioners, if extended exercise be considered an advantage. The inhabitants of Molescroft pass the open doors of the church of St. Mary on their way to their own parish church, the minster; and many of the parishioners of St. Nicholas, whose legitimate place of worship is St. Mary's, in like manner, pass the minster on their way thither. In the summer season this is attended with no inconvenience, but is rather replete with gratification. It is pleasant on the Sabbath day to see the streets crowded with human beings, devoutly proceeding to the house of prayer to celebrate their deliverance from moral slavery and eternal death; it is pleasant for friend to salute friend as they cross each other's path when passing to their respective churches; but in winter, when the rain falls, or the bleak wind rushes with thrilling coldness through the streets, some friendly arrangements might give the inhabitants of each parish access to the nearest church, that no individual may be deprived of the delightful employment of joining in the public exercise of religion, by considerations of distance or extremity of weather, in that inclement season.

²⁶ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 58.

²⁷ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 28.

In the next year, Thomas Pople, the son of John le Stork, paid to the provost 400 eels for the resumption of his land, &c. at Stork.²⁸ In the reign of Henry VI. the chaplain of the chantry of Hull-Bridge had a messuage and six acres of meadow in Stork field; and the chaplain of the chantry at Thearn had a house and garden at Stork, with eleven acres of arable, four acres of meadow, and two of pasture. Robert Tyrwhite had a close called Manthohude, containing 30 acres of herbage; and Hugo Strye had a house at Sandholme adjoining the king's highway.²⁹

The population of this hamlet in 1821 was 48 persons.

TICKTON-CUM-HULL-BRIDGE.

In Domesday this hamlet is noticed as a Berewick. In Ticheton the archbishop has twelve oxgangs of land to be taxed. Land to six oxen. Three villanes have there half a plough.³⁰ A compotus of Robert le Sherburn, receiver of the provostry, 10 Edw. III. contains an account of an annual receipt of 3000 eels; of which the town of Beverley paid 100; *the hamlet of Hull-Bridge*, 800; and Berswick, 2400.³¹ In the reign of Henry VI. we find a gentleman's seat, called Smith's Place, in this hamlet; near which a person named Hugh Strye had three dwelling-houses.³² During the civil wars this house was converted into a military station, and occupied by a garrison of the king's troops, to the great detriment of its inhabitants.³³

²⁸ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 28. ²⁹ Ibid. l. 2. p. 57. a.

³⁰ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 58. ³¹ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 1. p. 24. ³² Ibid. l. 2. p. 57. a.

³³ From the depositions taken January 25, 1648, at the trial of Charles I. W. C. of Patrington, in Holderness, in the county of York, gentleman, aged forty-two years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith: That he this deponent, living at Hull-Bridge, near Beverley, in July, 1642, did then hear that forces were raised, about 3000 foot, for the king's guard, under sir Robert Strickland. And this deponent further saith, that about the 2nd of July, 1642, he saw a troop of horse come to Beverley, being the Lord's day, about four or five o'clock in the afternoon, called the Prince's troop; Mr. James Nelthorp being then mayor of the said town. And this deponent further saith that he did see that afternoon the said troop march from Beverley aforesaid into Holderness, where they received ammunition brought up the river Humber unto them. And this deponent further saith that the same night, being Sunday, there came about 300 foot soldiers, said to be sir Robert Strickland's regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Duncombe, and called the King's guard, unto this deponent's house, called Hull-Bridge, near Beverley, about midnight, and broke open, entered, and possessed themselves of the said house; and that the earl of Newport, the earl of Caernarvon, and divers others came that night thither to the said forces; and that the said night, as this deponent was then informed, sir Thomas Gower, then high-sheriff of the said county, came thither, and left there a warrant for staying all provisions from going to Hull to sir John Hotham; which said warrant was then delivered to this deponent, being constable, by lieutenant-colonel Duncombe. And this deponent further saith, that he was by the said forces put out of his house, and did, with his family, go to Beverley; and after that, viz. the Thursday following, to this deponent's best remembrance, he did see the king come to Beverley, to the lady Gee's house there, where he this deponent did often see the

WEEL

is described in Domesday as containing two carucates of land to be taxed belonging to the archbishop of York. Land to six oxen. Six villanes and one bordar had there one plough.³⁴ It contains now a population of 101 souls.³⁵

WOODMANSEY-CUM-BEVERLEY-PARKS.

Woodmansey is situated about a mile from Beverley, and has the appearance of a neat town. It is particularized so early as the reign of Edward I. who granted a licence to John Carter, authorizing him to assign a rent there of 2s. 6d. to the archbishop of York.³⁶

Beverley-Parks was anciently the park of the archbishop of York, named in the pleas of quo warranto temp. Edw. I.; and here, as at Southwell, he doubtless had a palace; for Beverley was an occasional place of residence for the archbishops; and Murdac resided here for many years together,³⁷ after the gates of his own city had been closed against him. It was subsequently the abode of the Warton's family. It is still well wooded, and exhibits some picturesque scenery.

The tithes of Beverley-Parks (decim' infr' p'ci B'verlaci) were granted in soccage, 18 Eliz. to John Farnham;³⁸ and six years afterwards they were transferred to Edward Downinge and Peter Ashton in soccage at a rent of 6s. 8d.³⁹

The present population of Woodmansey-cum-Beverley-Parks is 276 souls.⁴⁰

king with prince Charles and the duke of York; and that the train-bands were then raised in Holderness, who were raised, as was generally reported, by the king's command. And this deponent further saith, that the night after the said forces had as aforesaid possessed themselves of this deponent's house, colonel Legard's house was plundered by them, being upon a Monday, which aforesaid entry of this deponent's house was the first act of hostility that was committed in these parts. (?) And this deponent further saith, that after sir Robert Strickland's said company was gone from Hull-Bridge, having continued there about ten days, there then came to the said house colonel Wivel with about 700 foot soldiers, who then took up his quarters at Hull-Bridge aforesaid. And this deponent further saith that the warrant he now produceth to this court is the same original warrant aforesaid spoken of.

The aforesaid warrant mentioned in the deposition of the said W. C. is as followeth:—

It is his majesty's command that you do not suffer any victuals or provisions, of what sort soever, to be carried into the town of Hull, without his majesty's special licence first obtained, and of this you are not to fail at your peril. Dated at Beverley, July 3rd, 1642. THO. GOWER. Vi. Co.

³⁴ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 58. ³⁵ Census, 1821.

³⁶ Pet. in Parl. 18 Edw. I. 1290. ³⁷ Joh. Hagulst. Dec. Script. p. 282.

³⁸ Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. i. 3. p. 18. a. ³⁹ Ibid. p. 19. b.

⁴⁰ Return of 1821.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF WARTON, OF BEVERLEY-PARKS.

Arms. Or, a chevron *az.* charged with a martlet inter 2 pheons of the first. *Crest.* A squirrel sejant proper.

Lawrence Warton, of Beverley=Agnès, d. of Rodley Yarborough, com. Linc.

Michael Warton=Joan, d. of John Portington, com. Ebor.=Ralph Rokeby, 2nd husband.

Faith Rose Elizabeth Edward=Ann Wetherall Sir Michael Warton, knt.¹=Elizabeth Hansby² Lawrence Ann Rokeby=sir Jno. Hotham
Henry Michael Edward Meverel Michael Warton,³ 1612=Katherine, d. of Stephen Maltby, esq.

Sir Ralph Warton⁴ Michael Warton, esq.⁵=Hon. Susanna Powlet.⁶

Charles Elizabeth John⁷ Ralph Sir Michael Warton Mary=Sir James Pennynman, bart.⁸ Sir Jno. Newton=Susan=Sir Jno. Bright

Ralph=Bridget Gee⁹ Thomas Sir Warton Pennynman Warton, bart.¹⁰=Charlotte, d. of Sir William¹¹ James¹²=Dorothy, d. of W. Wake, A. B. of Canterbury

Charlotte=Wm. Bethel, esq. Dorothy=Rev. Jas. Worsley James, Philippa, Dorothy, Gertrude,
Charles, Charlotte,¹³ Harriot,¹⁴ Dinah,¹⁵
Mary,¹⁶ Margaret,¹⁷ Caroline¹⁸

Sir Jas. Pennynman¹⁹=Eliza Gray²⁰

Sir Wm. Pennynman²¹=Charlotte Robinson Charlotte,²² Frances,²³ James, Ralph, Charles, Henry Grey, Frederic, Elizabeth, Hannah S. P.

¹ Of Beverley-Parks, ob. Oct. 8, 1655, æt. 82. ² Daughter and co-heir of Ralph Hansby, esq. of Beverley. ³ Slain by a cannon shot, at Scarborough castle, during the civil war. ⁴ Of Saint Mary's parish, Beverley. ⁵ Grandson and heir of sir M. Warton, of Beverley-Parks. Baptized 1623, ob. 1688, æt. 65. His arms, impaled with his wife's, are on the N. side of the North-Bar. ⁶ Daughter of the right honourable John, lord Powlet, baron of Hinton Saint George, ob. 1682. ⁷ Second son, ob. 18th October, 1656, æt. 6. Monument in the Lady chapel, minster. ⁸ Arms of Pennynman. Gules, a chevron, ermine, inter 3 broken spears, argent. *Crest.* Out of a mural crown, gules, a lion's head erased, or, pierced through the neck with a broken spear. ⁹ Daughter of W. Gee, esq. of Bishop-Burton. ¹⁰ Fourth son of sir James. The coat on the monument in the minster is Pennynman Warton, quarterly impaled with Hotham. ¹¹ Ob. cælebs, April 17, 1768, and was succeeded by his brother, sir Warton Pennynman Warton. ¹² James, the second son, dying early, never had the title. His son succeeded sir W. Pennynman Warton. ¹³ Ux. Francis Boynton, second son of sir Frances of Agnes-Burton. ¹⁴ Ux. Henry Stapleton, of Wighill, esq. ¹⁵ Ux. George Hotham, esq. fifth son of sir Beaumont, of Scorbrough. ¹⁶ Ux. William Berry, esq. They had a daughter, Mary, who married Henry Ellison, esq. ¹⁷ Ux. Henry Maister, esq. of Winstead. ¹⁸ She married twice; first, Roger Gee, of Bishop-Burton, esq.; second, Peter Acklom, esq. ¹⁹ Was the representative for Beverley in four parliaments. ²⁰ Daughter of sir Henry Gray, bart. of Howick, Northumberland. ²¹ Now of Beverley and Ormesby, 1828. ²² Married three times; first, Charles, son of sir George Robinson; second, Mr. Watson; third, captain Boss, R. N. no issue living, 1827. ²³ Married twice; first, Charles John Berkley, of Beverley, M. D.; second, J. W. C. Robinson, esq. who was killed when hunting.

THEARNE

is a small hamlet, three miles south east of Beverley, containing a population of 90 persons;⁴¹ and is now the residence of William Wilkinson, esquire. It formerly had a chantry, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, endowed with a house, garden, and eleven ridges of land (*seliones terræ*) containing four acres of meadow and two acres of pasture.⁴² The manor was granted by charter of Edw. I. to Christiana, the widow of William de Finlay, and Robert de Wasteney, to hold to them and the heirs of the latter by customary service.⁴³

ESKE

is another small hamlet, within the liberties of Saint John of Beverley, containing a population of 18 or 20 souls. It is four miles to the north east of Beverley, and at the conquest was assigned to the archbishop of York, who had here at the general survey two carucates of land to be taxed, with land to one plough. Six villanes and one border had there one plough.⁴⁴ At present it possesses no peculiarity worthy of a more extended notice.

A brief sketch of the botany of the district whose topography is thus brought to an end, may properly find insertion here; because the immediate neighbourhood of Beverley from the varied diversity of its soil, and the inequality of its surface; sheltered by the Wolds to the north and west, and exposed to the easterly breezes which sweep the low, flat grounds of Holderness, once presented a field of no inconsiderable extent, to the pursuits of the botanist. Since the extensive drainage of lands on its eastern side throughout the whole of Holderness, it has, however, been materially curtailed in the production of its bog plants; while the improved state of cultivation sustained by the lands formerly covered with wood, has deprived us of many of those productions which are peculiar to such situations.

The plants which are chiefly found to the west and south of Beverley are sufficiently descriptive of the manner in which these lands were formerly occupied. In a line with all the ancient fences, and where the plough has never reached, there is scarcely a plant to be found that is not peculiar to wood and shade. The

⁴¹ Return of 1821. ⁴² Ex. Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 2. p. 57. a.

⁴³ Ibid. l. 3. p. 83. ⁴⁴ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 58.

anemone nemorosa, *hyacinthus non-scriptus*, *allium ursinum*, *mercurialis perennis*, *orchis moreo*, *polygala vulgaris*, with many of the tribe *Cryptogamia*, are to be seen matted together indiscriminately for miles in length. Several acres of land in Westwood and Hurn contiguous to the town, and formerly covered with wood, abound with most of them ; and through the whole of Beverley Parks, where the ground has not undergone the operation of the plough, they are to be met with in luxuriant profusion. Cultivation is the only means of eradicating them, for some are produced from bulbs which strike to a great depth ; and others, being extremely rank and offensive, they do not contribute to the sustenance of cattle, but materially impoverish the land on which they are produced. The evil is increased by the use of manure, which tends to the further growth and propagation of noxious plants which the farmer is anxious to eradicate from the soil.

It may here be observed that in allotments where newly planted quickwood fences have been made, on clean land that has been for years in cultivation, the botanist may look in vain for this class of plants ; as they are to be found only in the old banks which still remain ; and along the line of those fences consisting of blackthorns, hazels, briars, &c. which certainly were never planted by the hand of man. In the operation of clearing land for cultivation which was occupied by extensive woods, this natural grown brushwood was left as a boundary procured without expense ; and allotments were separated by fences which still remain after a long succession of years. This will account for the undisturbed possession of the plants which have just been enumerated.

The low, marshy grounds of Figham and Swinemoor, extending for a considerable distance westward, were once rich with an abundant display of bog plants, many of which are now become extinct. The Wolds may be said to have varied but little in their productions, except where they have been disturbed by the plough. The following catalogue contains most of the rarer plants which are found in the two situations, connected with, and extending a few miles round Beverley.

Æthusa sinapium—Fool's parsley

*¹ *Agrimonia eupatoria*—Agrimony

Agrostemma githago—Corn cockle

Ajuga reptans—Corn bugle

* *Alchemilla vulgaris*—Ladies' mantle

Alisma ranunculoides—Less thumbwort

¹ It will be observed that the asterisk (*) denotes the plant to be medicinal. Several of these are still retained, and many are expunged from the British Dispensatories ; but which, from the active pursuits of the Medico-Botanical Society in London, will perhaps soon be re-instated.

Alisma plantago—Water plantain
 * *Allium ursinum*—Ramsons
Anagallis tenella—Bog pimpernel
Anthyllis vulneraria—Kidney vetch
Antirrhinum cymbalaria—Ivyleaved snapdragon
 * ——— *linaria*—Wad flax
 * *Asperula odorata*—Sweet woodruff
Astragalus glycyphyllos—Wild liquorice
Avena fatua—Bearded oat
 * *Betonica officinalis*—Wood betony
Bidens tripartita—Trifid doubletooth
 * *Bryonia dioica*—Red berried briony
Butomus umbellatus—Flowering rush
Campanula trachelium—Canterbury bells
 ——— *glomerata*—Clustered bellflower
Caltha palustris—Marsh marigold
Carduus eriophorus—Woolly headed thistle
 ——— *tenuiflorus*—Slender flowered thistle
Carex pulicaris—Flea seg
 ——— *remota*—Remote seg
 ——— *paniculata*—Panicked seg
 ——— *hirta*—Hairy seg
 * *Centaurea cyanus*—Blue bottle
 * *Chironia centaurium*—Less centaury
Cichorium intybus—Wild succory
Cicuta virosa—Water hemlock
Comarum palustre—Marsh cinquefoil
 * *Conium maculatum*—Common hemlock
Cucubalus behen—Spattling poppy
Daphne laureola—Mezereon
 * *Datura stramonium*—Thorn apple
 * *Digitalis purpurea*—Foxglove
Dipsacus fultonum—Teasel
Drosera rotundifolia—Roundleaved sundew
Echium vulgare—Common vipergrass
Eriophorum vaginatum—Single headed cotton grass
 ——— *polystachion*—Peduncled cotton grass
 * *Eupatorium cannabinum*—Hemp agrimony
 * *Euphrasia officinalis*—Common eyebright

Euphrasia odontites—Red eyebright
Fumaria caprioides—Wall fumitory
Galium palustre—White lady's bedstraw
 ——— *religinosum*—Marsh goosegrass
 ——— *mollugo*—Madder goosegrass
Galeobdolon luteum—Yellow archangel
Gentiana campestris—Field gentian
 ——— *pneumonanthe*—Calathea violet
Genista tinctoria—Dyer's weed
Geranium pratense—Meadow cranesbill
 ——— *cicutarium*—Hemlock cranesbill
 * *Geum urbanum*—Common avens
Gnaphalium dioicum—Mountain catsfoot
Hieracium pilosella—Mouse ear hawkweed
 ——— *villosum*—Hairy hawkweed
 ——— *subandum*—Shrubby hawkweed
Hottonia palustris—Water violet
 * *Humulus lupulus*—Wild hop
Hypericum perforatum—St. John's wort
 ——— *quadrangulare*—St. Peter's wort
 * *Hyoscyamus niger*—Henbane
 * *Inula helenium*—Elecampane
 ——— *dysenterica*—Fleabane
 * *Lactuca virosa*—Stinking lettuce
Lathyrus aphaca—Yellow lathyrus
 ——— *pratensis*—Tare everlasting
 ——— *sylvestris*—Wild lathyrus
Linum perenne—Perennial flax
 * ——— *catharticum*—Purging flax
 * *Lithospermum officinale*—Gromwell
 ——— *arvense*—Corn Gromwell
Lotus corniculatus—Bird's foot clover
Lychnis dioica—Red flowered campion
 ——— *flos cuculi*—Meadow pink
Lycopsis arvensis—Wild bugloss
 * *Lysimachia nummularia*—Moneywort
 * *Lythium salicaria*—Purple willow herb
Malva moschata—Musk mallow
 * *Menyanthes trifoliata*—Marsh trefoil
Melica nutans—Mountain melica
Myriophyllum spicatum—Spiked water milfoil
Nymphaea lutea—Yellow water lily

Oenanthe crocata—Hemlock dropwort
 ——— *fistulosa*—Water dropwort
Ononis spinosa—Thorny restharrow
Ophrys anthropofera—Green man orchis
 ——— *muscifera*—Fly orchis
 ——— *apifera*—Bee orchis
Orchis bifolia—Butterfly orchis
 ——— *maculata*—Spotted orchis
 ——— *morio*—Meadow orchis
 * *Oxalis acetocella*—Wood sorrel
 * *Papaver rhæas*—Common poppy
Parietaria officinalis—Pellitory of the wall
Pedicularis sylvatica—Common lousewort
Pinguicula vulgaris—Common butterwort
Polygala vulgaris—Milkwort
Polygonum persecaria—Spotted snakeweed
 ——— *bistorta*—Great bistort
Potamogeton perfoliatum—Perfoliate pond-
 weed
 ——— *compressum*—Flatstalked pond-
 weed

Potentilla argentia—Silvery cinquefoil
Ranunculus flammula—Less spearwort
 ——— *lingora*—Great spearwort
 ——— *aquatilis*—Water crowfoot
Reseda luteola—Woad
Sagittaria sagittifolia—Arrowhead
 * *Saxifraga granulata*—White saxifrage
 ——— *tridactylites*—Rueleaved saxifrage
Satyrion albidum—White satyrion
 * *Scabiosa succisa*—Devil's bit scabius
Scirpus pauciflorus—Sparing clubrush
Scrophularia aquatica—Bastard plantain
 * ——— *nodosa*—Great figwort
Scandix odorata—Sweet cicely
 ——— *pecten-veneris*—Shepherd's needle
 * *Solanum dulcamara*—Bitter sweet
 * *Spinea filipendula*—Dropwort
 * *Tormentilla reptans*—Creeping tormentil
Utricularia minor—Less hooded milfoil
 * *Verbascum thapsus*—Great mullein

In addition to the above, upon the authority of Woodville and others, the following, of a more common kind, may be inserted.

Achillea ptarmica—Sneezewort yarrow
 ——— *millefolium*—Common yarrow
Anagallis arvensis—Pimpernell
Artemisia absinthium—Wormwood
Arum maculatum—Wakerobin
Cardamine pratensis—Ladysmock
Crysanthemum leucanthemum—Oxeye
Daucus carota—Wild carrot
Erysimum officinale—Hedge mustard
 ——— *allicaria*—Sauce alone
Galium aparine—Cleavers

Leontodon taraxacum—Dandelion
Malva sylvestris—Common mallow
Phellandrium aquaticum—Water hemlock
Potentilla anserina—Silver weed
Prunella vulgaris—Self heal
Rosa canina—Dog's rose
Rumex acetosa—Sorrel
Ranunculus ficaria—Pilewort
Sisymbrium nasturtium—Water cresses
Sempervivum tectorum—Greater house leek
Glechoma hederacea—Ground ivy

Chap. IV.

 ABBEY OF WATTON.¹

THE first erection of this religious establishment appears to have taken place a very short time after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, although we are altogether at a loss to name its founder. A society of nuns was established here so early as the seventh century;² but we know little of its history at this remote period. The progress from heathenism, with all its monstrous absurdities, to the strict observance of Christian rites and ceremonies, accompanied by severity of discipline, and voluntary engagements to a life of abstinence and seclusion, was singularly rapid in some particular districts. Nor was the vow of celibacy, or the gloom and mortification of a monastic life, embraced for the sake of protection from the intemperate rage of heathen zealots, but it was undertaken by ladies of exemplary piety with the unostentatious design of retaining their purity inviolate, and avoiding alike the vices and temptations incident to publick life.

This monastery was visited by Saint John of Beverley in the time of Heriburg the abbess;³ from whence we may safely conclude that it had been in existence for some indefinite period before his time, and was then in a regular state of subordination and ecclesiastical discipline.⁴

¹ Wattun. id est, humida villa. Alured. X. Script. col. 415.

² Bede. l. 5. c. 3. ³ Ibid.

⁴ This visit is minutely described by Bede, as having been productive of a miraculous cure on Coenburg, a young nun, who was the daughter of the abbess. This young virgin laboured under a most grievous disorder, proceeding from a diseased arm where she had been bled, and which had swelled to such a bulk that it could not be grasped with both hands. She was confined to her bed, and it was feared that she would die from excess of pain. The abbess intreated the bishop to go into her chamber and give her his blessing, which she hoped would tend to alleviate her daughter's sufferings. He enquired on what day she had been bled, and was told on the fourth day of the moon, which he condemned as being very indiscreet and unskilful, quoting an observation of archbishop Theodore, that the operation of bleeding was extremely dangerous when the light of the moon and the tides of the ocean are increasing, and expressed a doubt

No further mention is made of Watton or its monastery until the Norman conquest by any of the ancient writers, although there are strong reasons for believing that the latter was destroyed by the Danes at the same time with Beverley monastery, and the holy inmates dispersed. This devastation took place about the year 870.

The Domesday survey contains the following notice of the village of Watton.

Lands of the earl of Morton.

In Wattune, Turchil, and Milegrim, Orm and Gamel had four manors of thirteen carucates to be taxed, and there may be seven ploughs. Nigel has there three villanes with two ploughs; a church and a priest. Meadow half a mile long and the same broad. The whole two miles long, and one broad. Value, in king Edward's time, £6.; now 6s.⁵

Land of the king's thanes.

Manor. In Waton, Tored had three carucates of land to be taxed. The same has it himself. Land to two ploughs.⁶

About the year 1148, or, as some suppose, in the summer of 1149,⁷ Watton Abbey was refounded by Eustace Fitz-John, at the instance of archbishop Murdac,⁸

whether his interference would convey any benefit to the patient under such inauspicious circumstances. The abbess dearly loved her daughter, who was designed for her successor, and with unaffected earnestness urged the holy man to pay her a visit. He at length consented, and entered the young lady's chamber accompanied by Berthun, with the words of benediction in his mouth. The patient lay in great anguish, unable to bend her arm; and after the bishop had spent some time in prayer, he solemnly gave her his blessing and departed. As they were sitting at table in another apartment, a servant acquainted Berthun that Coenburg desired to see him. He immediately attended her summons, and found her apparently restored to health. She requested his permission to call for something to assuage her thirst; and after they both had drank, she informed him that the prayers and blessing of the holy bishop had effected her cure; that her pains were wholly departed from her, and being thus miraculously delivered from torture and death, she gave praise to the Saviour for his abundant mercies. Bede. l. 5. c. 3.

⁵ Bawd. Dom. Boc. p. 79. ⁶ Ibid. p. 225. ⁷ MS. penes me.

⁸ Vid. ut supra. p. 89. An occurrence took place in this convent in the twelfth century, which would form a subject for a romance, and is inserted here as a striking illustration of the manners and customs of the religious orders at this remote period of time. It is more minutely recorded by Alured, abbot of Rievaulx, than I shall be willing to transcribe; and that author vouches for its accuracy in every particular. "Let no one," says he, "doubt the truth of this account, for I was an eye witness to many of the facts, and the remainder were related to me by persons of such mature age and distinguished piety, that I cannot doubt the accuracy of the statement."

Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, had placed a young girl of about four years old in the convent of Watton to be educated as a nun, and to take the veil when she should arrive at a proper age. As she advanced in years, her fine form increased in beauty, and probably excited the envy and even hatred of the more homely sisters of the convent. She displayed a vivacity which was deemed unbecoming the sacred office she was destined to fill; and the abbess in vain

as a penance for his crimes, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin. The new institution supported thirteen canons and thirty-six nuns of the Gilbertine order, but

endeavoured to correct a propensity to wit and humour, and perhaps satire, which would have been more suited to a worldling than a damsel dedicated to solitude and the service of God; for her levity of conduct plainly indicated that her inclinations were averse to a life of monastic seclusion; and having arrived at years of maturity, she manifested a decided indifference to the avocations of the pious sisterhood, and preferred the most ludicrous amusements to serious and dignified pursuits.

The management of the convent was committed by charter to the lay brethren of the adjoining monastery, and on some particular occasions they were allowed admission into the mansion of the nuns. At these times the young lady would approach as nearly as the laws of the institution would permit, and under the pretext of attending to their employment, would survey their persons with all the archness of curiosity, and not unfrequently, as is highly probable, would convert the most sacred duties into a subject of ridicule.

Amongst the periodical visitors thus officially introduced, was a young man of an athletic form and handsome person. He soon became a principal object of attention to this unhappy female; and in return she was regarded by him with interest at least, if not with affection. These sentiments imperceptibly increased to the warmth of reciprocal attachment, and the fire of mutual love insinuated its soft and poisonous influence into both their vital frames. The weighty secret was communicated to each other by tokens which could not be misunderstood, and these silent intimations led to an interesting and confidential intercourse. They contrived to meet by stolen interviews; and appear to have been actuated, during the infancy of their attachment, by the dictates of pure and virtuous love.

The signal by which the lady was apprized that her lover expected her without, was the simple contrivance of throwing a stone on the tiles of the upper apartments which she occupied; and this was understood as an intimation that all was safe, and that she might venture out to meet him without fear of detection. A repetition of these stolen interviews, shrouded under the darkness of the night, soon led the way to consequences which were not at first so much as contemplated by the erring pair. Suspicion was excited amongst the sisterhood of the convent; and the young man, apprehensive of personal consequences, abandoned the monastery and retired to the employments of a secular life. This circumstance confirmed the very worst fears of the pious nuns, and it was resolved that the young lady should be summoned to appear before the assembled sisterhood, and publicly charged with transgressing the conventual rules, and violating the laws of the monastic order. Unable to conceal her fault from the prying eyes of the assembly, she boldly confessed it.

Astonished at such an open avowal of her shame, the sisterhood were inflamed with zealous resentment against the unprotected female who had thus brought a stain upon the house. They mutually regarded each other, as if to learn what course to adopt in this difficult dilemma; and at length, laying aside all attention to decorum and dignity of character, they simultaneously clapped their hands, and, like a bevy of enraged fiends, violently rushed upon the unhappy transgressor; tore the polluted veil from her head, and committed a dreadful assault upon her person, although she was now far advanced in a state of pregnancy. These *merciful virgins of heaven* then deliberated on the punishment which ought to be inflicted on the trembling delinquent. Some proposed that she should be immediately committed to the flames; some that she should be flayed alive; others, that she might be impaled on a stake, and roasted to death before a fire of hot burning coals. These transports of intemperate rage which manifested themselves amongst the younger sisters, were somewhat restrained by the more prudent and aged matrons. Some punishment was however considered absolutely necessary to vindicate the honour of their order, and to convince the world of their own purity and abhorrence of this detestable crime. The fair culprit was therefore divested of her clothing, and stretched prostrate at her length upon the floor. In this helpless situation,

subsequent benefactions considerably increased the number. This order had been just established in England by Gilbert of Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, an

without either pity or compassion, the nuns most inhumanly scourged her naked body with rods till the streaming blood ran upon the floor.* She bore the chastisement with heroic fortitude and unshaken constancy.

A dark, close cell or dungeon, in a confined and secluded part of the convent, was prepared for her reception. Here she was securely pinioned to prevent the possibility of escape. Her feet were fettered with two ring bolts and a chain. To these were fastened two other ponderous chains, one of them being fixed to a massive block within the dungeon, the other extended beyond the aperture of the cell door, and was secured by a lock. Her food was bread and water, and that administered with bitter taunts and continual reproaches; for the nuns suffered under a continual apprehension of publick scoffs and indiscriminate imputations of guilt; and had they not been restrained by their superior, this dread would have vented itself in severity of punishment, and would probably have terminated in the death of the persecuted lady.

The fair penitent meekly endured this accumulation of mental and bodily suffering, for hope, that consolation to a sinking soul, could scarcely beam the feeblest ray of comfort through the almost impenetrable clouds of guilt which at this dire moment overwhelmed her; and with patient humility she acknowledged herself worthy of yet more severe punishment.

The general distress of this *pious* community appears to have arisen from the difficulty of concealing the offspring of this illicit amour, and of keeping themselves unspotted in the opinion of the world. The expediency of punishing *both* offenders was suggested, by expelling the young lady, and imposing the weight of the connection on her seducer. But in order to accomplish this measure it was necessary to discover the place of his retreat; and the penitent, being altogether humbled and subdued by degradation and punishment, was induced to reveal this secret; and informed them that the youth, ignorant of her fate, would doubtless attend, at the usual times, the place of their accustomed intercourse, in the hope of meeting her there, for though he had left the monastery, he still remained in the immediate neighbourhood in disguise; for they had promised to deliver her over to him, if she would disclose the place of his concealment.

Possessed of this valuable information, they now resolved to inflict upon the seducer a most horrible punishment. With this intention they summoned the brethren of the adjoining monastery, and making them acquainted with the chief parts of the case, requested their assistance to secure this bold violator of the honour of their convent. For this purpose one of the monks, disguised in female attire, to represent the deluded fair one, appeared at the accustomed hour near the place of assignation, while others of their party waited in ambush, ready to rush out and seize the culprit on a signal concerted between them.

The young man fell into the snare that had been laid for him. He came as was expected, and, deceived by the dress and the veil, accosted the man in language tenderly addressed to the object of his affection. He was soon undeceived, for the monks, bursting from their concealment, executed summary vengeance on him with their cudgels; and afterwards carried him to the convent. The younger part of the nuns, inflamed with a furious zeal, demanded the custody of the prisoner, on pretence of gaining further information. Their request was granted, and taking him to an unfrequented part of the convent, they committed on his person such brutal atrocities as cannot be translated without polluting the page on which they are written. Religion, morals, and female decorum were all most shockingly outraged; and to increase the horror and infamy of the transaction, the pregnant lady was brought forth to be a witness to the abominable scene, and insulted in a new and unheard of manner. Yet this was done at a time when her situation

* Amongst our Saxon ancestors the usual punishment of adultery, and perhaps also fornication, was a severe whipping, and sometimes lacerating the body with knives and other sharp instruments. This discipline was occasionally inflicted with such unrelenting severity, that the unhappy offender has expired in excess of agony and suffering. Turn. Ang. Sax. vol. iv. p. 13.

active and zealous ecclesiastic, who was afterwards canonized as a saint. His rule was a modification of those used by the Benedictines and the Augustines; the

filled the sisterhood with distressing anxiety, lest the cries of a new born infant, hourly expected, should reach the ears of the profane.

At this period of her sufferings it was, that the miserable woman found consolation from a quarter where it was least expected. Archbishop Murdac, who first placed her in the convent, had now been dead some years; but he appeared to her in a dream, and taxed her with the crime of loading his memory with daily curses. However terrified and reluctant to acknowledge the truth of this charge, she at length confessed that she had done so, because he was the author of all the miseries she now endured. The bishop laid the blame on the lady's own conduct, and recommended her to use confession and repentance, with the daily repetition of certain psalms, which having enumerated, he seemed to vanish away. Consoled by this vision, the suffering lady in the morning related what had happened to her stern visitors, and committed to memory the psalms which had been recommended to her notice.

The approach of her painful hour was still the object of universal anxiety and concern, for the pangs of labour came on, and all was prepared for her delivery. On the following night her troubled sleep again was visited by consoling dreams, which were attended with consequences which she could not anticipate. The venerable prelate once more appeared before her, accompanied by two comely women, who, *with the holy aid of the archbishop, safely delivered her of an infant, which they bore away in their arms*, covered with a fair linen cloth. On the return of her guardians in the morning, they were struck with astonishment to find the lady restored to her former youthful appearance, and vehemently charged her with adding to her many crimes, (*tot sceleribus tuis*) that most shocking one of murdering her new-born infant! They heard her account of the transaction, but gave it no credit. The miserable bed and bedding to which she was chained, were diligently but unsuccessfully searched; and unable to form any decided opinion on the wonderful event, they related the particulars to the father of the convent.

Still the offending lady remained fast bound with double irons, and unable to move her body, but amidst the melancholy clank of her numerous bolted fetters and chains. But these were soon removed, she knew not by what authority; for two compassionate beings entered her cell the next evening, and taking off the chain by which she was most grievously bound, departed without speaking a word. In the morning, the nuns who attended upon her, finding her at liberty, questioned her severely; but still incredulous respecting her account of the transaction, searched diligently for the missing chain, but it was no where to be found. Soon after one of her bolt chains fell off, and in succession all the rest, except one chain by which her foot was confined. These circumstances being reported to the superior of the convent, he attended in the poor girl's dungeon, and himself examined all the particulars of her story; and being struck with astonishment at such evident tokens of a *miraculous* interference in her behalf, he invited Alured, abbot of Rievaulx to assist him in a public investigation of the facts. The two holy men together visited the afflicted lady in her dismal cell, minutely examined the shackles of iron which had fallen from her legs, heard her history from her own mouth, and declared their conviction that nothing less than the power of God could thus have effected her release. Some one present suggested the propriety of again fastening the chains upon her limbs, but Alured checked this presumptuous desire, and advised them rather to wait with patience and submission, in the hope that he who had freed her from her other chains would deliver her from that also by which she was still confined. After which, recommending himself to the prayers of the holy sisterhood, and at the same time administering suitable consolation from the word of God, Alured retired. But in a very few days the venerable superior of Watton Abbey informed him by letter, that the last chain by which the prisoner was bound had also dropped off, and requested his further direction and advice. To this Alured finally replied. "What God hath cleansed call not thou common; and whom he hath loosed, thou mayest not bind."

nuns following the least rigid institutions of Benedict, and the monks those of Augustine, to each of which were subjoined some new rules added by Gilbert himself.⁹

Eustace Fitz-John gave to this monastery the lordship of Watton, whether in lands or waters, meadows, pastures or marshes; and all its appurtenances, whether within the domain or without, in pure and perpetual alms, for his salvation, and that of his wife Agnes de Cestria; and for the souls of his father and mother, his sons and his daughters, his brethren, his servants and friends, to hold freely for ever, without being subject to any exactions or secular services.¹⁰ This charter was subsequently confirmed by others, given to the monastery by his wife Agnes, the daughter of William Constable Cestriæ;¹¹ of Robert, the son of earl Constable Cestriæ, of Watton,¹² and of Roger de Lacy Constable Cestriæ.¹³

The canons and nuns inhabited buildings within the same inclosure, but separated from each other by a party wall; and, as appears from a charter of archbishop Murdac,¹⁴ the former were appointed to "serve the nuns perpetually in terrene as well as divine matters."¹⁵ The habit of the canons was a black cassock with a

This circumstance is elevated by the honest abbot into a miracle; but it would be an indignity offered to the good sense of any considerate person to suppose that there can exist more than one opinion respecting the sequel of the narrative. That the natural order and economy of things should have been diverted from their accustomed course in so abrupt and fantastic a manner, without any motive of superior interest, appears unworthy of the dignity and wisdom of the Supreme Being. The former part of the narrative presents a faithful picture of the feelings and practice of the sisterhood on such occasions, under the advice and protection of their spiritual guides; for if the pious abbot had considered their conduct towards this unfortunate lady and her paramour in the least reprehensible or indecorous, it is not probable that he would have related it with such disgusting minuteness.

⁹ Tan. Notit. Pref. xix. ¹⁰ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Dodsw. vol. ix. p. 113. ¹¹ Ibid. vol. ix. p. 113.

¹² Ibid. vol. ix. p. 114. ¹³ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 114. ¹⁴ Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 412.

¹⁵ The charters granted to this monastery at different periods were very numerous; and the rents and income arising from property thus conveyed were far from being inconsiderable. The convent also possessed the advowsons of several churches; and for all his lands and tenements the abbot anciently paid a stated custom or tax (*gabulag'*) to the king. Rot. Hund. The following abstracts of charters in the author's possession are subjoined, as they may be interesting to some of his readers.

William Fossard gave to the church at Watton three carucates of land in Horswold, free and quit of Danegeld, with permission of the king. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Dodsw. vol. ix. p. 116.

Alexander Fitzwilliam de Santon gave and confirmed to the convent of Watton, in pure and perpetual alms, and free from all secular services and exactions, all his land in a valley near Sonelic, in the eastern part of the Garlands. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 353. The same person gave also to this convent certain lands in Santon. Dugd. Mon. vol. ii. p. 800.

Thomas Fitzallen de Multon, for the salvation of his soul, and those of his ancestors and successors, gave to the church of the blessed Mary, at Watton, an annual rent of forty shillings,

white cloak over it, and a hood lined with lamb skin. The nuns wore a black robe with a scapulary of the same, under which was a tunic of undyed wool; and when they went to the choir, or appeared abroad, they had over all a black cowl, besides the usual veil.

chargeable on his estates for ever, to provide twenty *shifts*; (*camisias*) and one mark annually, payable to the lady Constantia his granddaughter, then prioress, for her better maintenance; and after her death, the said mark to be applied towards furnishing the nuns with hoods and veils. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 356.

A royal charter was granted to the prior and convent of Watton by king Henry III. for free warren in Watton and Sancton, in Yorkshire, and Ravenstandale and Langedale, in Westmoreland. Rot. Chart. 36 Hen. III.

Alexander Fitzpeter de Cana gave to this convent half a carucate of land in Houton, and a toft, with the appurtenances, lately the property of William, the son of Golle; two oxgangs of land with the appurtenances, in Yuevtorp, formerly belonging to Adam Sumer; half a carucate of land in Cana, which Peter de Cana, his father, held of Gundrea Fitzwilliam de Useflet, with all the tofts thereto appertaining; a toft which was occupied by Renneri, and another occupied by Gamelli de Grena. And also three oxgangs of land, with the appurtenances, in Riplingham. To hold freely and quietly on payment of an annual quit rent of two shillings. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 355.

James, the son of Gilbert de Midilton, gave to the convent half a carucate of land, in case Avicia, whom Thomas, the son of Henry de Nouentoft, had taken to wife, should have no issue. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 308.

Agnes de Thurkelby, the widow of William de Preston, gave, in pure and perpetual alms, one messuage and two oxgangs of land, with the appurtenances in Helperthorp. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 309.

William Dalizoune gave, by royal licence, to the prior of Watton, certain lands with the appurtenances in Hoton, Cranswick, Tranby juxta Hessle, North-Dalton, and Beverley, to hold to himself and his successors for ever. Inquis. ad quod dam. 19 Edw. III.

William, the son of Odinelli de Aubeny, gave to the church of Saint Mary, at Watton, half a carucate of land, with the crofts, tofts, and appurtenances in North-Dalton. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 323.

Jacob, the son of Roger de Frynill, gave all the lands, pastures, and possessions which the monks of Watton held in his fee, in the village and territory of Etton, for ever. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 315.

The prior of Watton and John the Bastard held one fee of the honour of Peter de Malo Lacu in Killingwick. Testa de Nevil.

Thomas de Everingham gave and confirmed to this convent, in pure and perpetual alms, all the land which they held of him in Hessle and Westlanges. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 313.

Philip de Weston, dean of York, in 1348, gave to the prior and convent of Watton, a messuage, five tofts, eight oxgangs of land, and two other oxgangs in Hugate, to hold to them and their successors for ever. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 305.

Sibilla, the widow of Robert Salvayn, gave to the prior and convent of Watton, all the right and claim which he possessed in one toft and two oxgangs of land in Helperthorp. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 305.

Peter de Newton, in 1347, held divers lands and tenements for the prior and convent of Watton, at Beverley and several other places. Inquis. post. mort. 21 Edw. III.

William Fitzwilliam, the son of Peter de Anelabie, gave to the convent all his fees in Anelabie and Santon; and covenanted that he would never more vex the prior, under pain of four marks to the fabric of Watton church. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 302.

The ladies who inhabited this convent were numerous, and in the year 1326, William de Melton, archbishop of York, consecrated fifty three nuns at one time. They did not, however, escape censorious reflections. The publick opinion of their

Lecia, the widow of William, the son of Peter de Anelabie, relinquished all claim which she possessed, either in her own right or in the name of dower, to any lands or tenements in Santon, which her late husband or his ancestors gave to the convent, with all the appurtenances within the village or without. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 302.

Galfrid de Mandeville gave to the convent, in pure and perpetual alms, sufficient pasturage for twelve sheep in Kirkholm. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 299.

Peter de Ros, archdeacon de Karlel, in the year 1377, gave to the house at Watton twelve oxgangs of land, in the tenure of William de Vesci. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 188.

Jordanus de Etton gave to the convent all his land in Harthill and Westlanges for ever, subject to an annual payment of twelve-pence. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 305.

Miles Basset gave to the nuns of this house, for the souls of his lord and lady, Richard de Sanford and Matilda de Baiocis his wife, for his own soul and those of his ancestors, nineteen acres of land in Mediana Hanfeld, with common of pasture. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 305.

Asce, the son of Asce de Flixton, gave to the convent, in pure and perpetual alms, a toft in Hugate, containing in length nine perches, with a footpath of six rods; and in breadth towards the north three perches, with a footpath of thirteen rods; and towards the south two perches, with a walk of fourteen rods. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 306.

Robert, the son of Richard de Yerdeburg, gave to God, the blessed Mary, and the convent of Watton, in pure and perpetual alms, all the land in his fee, which the prior then held by the donation of Hugh Fitzarnold, in the village of Germethorp, free from all suits and services whatsoever. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 308.

Thomas, the son of Geoffery de Etton and his wife, gave to the convent 195 acres of land in Etton field, with the appurtenances, free from all secular services, in pure and perpetual alms, for the eternal good of their souls, and those of their fathers, mothers, and ancestors. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 315.

Walter Fitzrobert, the son of Nigel de Wiverton, gave to this establishment land in Shireburn, thirty-one perches in length and twelve rods in breadth, in pure and perpetual alms, for the salvation of his soul, and for the souls of his father, mother, and ancestors. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 326.

William Fitzgilbert, of North-Dalton, gave to the convent, in pure and perpetual alms, all his husbandry in Crossdales, which extended from Stampittes to Deepdale, containing about five oxgangs, free from all secular services. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 354.

Robert, of North-Dalton, the son of William de Cana and Matilda his wife, gave to the canons half a bovate of land, with tofts, crofts, and appurtenances, in North-Dalton, in pure and perpetual alms. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 354.

Richard, abbot of Melsa, gave to the abbey of Watton half an acre of land in Wyke super Hull, in exchange for two tofts in Crancewyk, and three tofts in North-Dalton. Lib. Melsa. fo. 192.

Adam Fitzarnold de Sunderlandwyk gave freely one plough land in Sunderlandwyk field, containing sixteen perches, in pure and perpetual alms. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 354.

Alexander Burdon, transferred from himself to the nuns serving God at Watton, in pure and perpetual alms, the homage and service of Robert Fitzallen de Skegness, and his heirs, in one carcate of land and one toft, with the appurtenances in Santon. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 354.

William, the son of Serto de Middleton, relinquished by charter all claim to an annual rent of sixpence, which had been paid to him by the canons out of a mill situated in Middleton field, belonging to the convent of Watton, and also all other rights which he had formerly enjoyed in the said mill. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 355.

William, of North-Dalton, knight, gave to the blessed Mary of Watton, six acres of arable land in Dalton field, situate at a place called Dikes Gate, for his own salvation, and for the souls of all his relations, past, present, and to come. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 355.

conduct and morals was rather loose, and a reform was called for, before matters were pushed to the extremity of dissolution by the necessities or the cupidity of an avaricious monarch. The estimated amount of the annual income, possessed by the canons of Watton, 26 Hen. VIII. was £453. 7s. 8d. according to Speed, but only £360. 16s. 10½d. according to Dugdale.¹⁶ Robert Holgate, bishop of Landaff, was commendatory prior at the dissolution, and surrendered it 9th December, 1540.¹⁷ He afterwards became archbishop of York. The site of the abbey, and its venerable remains, were granted in the 3 Edw. VI. to John, earl of Warwick;¹⁸ in the reign of Elizabeth we find it in the possession of John Farnham;¹⁹ and afterwards king James confirmed the abbey and manor to sir Thomas Earlkyn, knight;²⁰ from whom the property passed to the Bethell family, one of which is at present the principal proprietor.

At this time the abbey exhibits no traces of its early erection. It is composed of brick and stone, and may probably have been rebuilt in the early part of the Tudor period. It consisted of the abbey, a large and massive building, with towers and pointed arch windows, and an oriel or bay window of imposing appearance ;

Adam, the son of William Bacon, by a formal deed, relinquished all right and claim on John de Etton, prior of Waltham, to lands which formerly belonged to Berliu Bacon his grandfather, and to all lands which should of right descend to him or his heirs from that source. Dodsw. vol. vii. p. 356.

Robert Constable, of Flamborough, gave to the brothers and holy nuns at Watton, four oxgangs of land in Hilderthorp, in pure and perpetual alms, and quit of all secular services whatsoever.

Ibid. vol. ix. p. 315. I have by me, in addition to the above, several copies of leases granted by this convent ; but as they possess nothing of extraordinary interest, the reader will not regret that they have been omitted.

¹⁶ Burt. Mon. Ebor. p. 412. Vid. Bacon. Lib. Reg. p. 1142.

¹⁷ Willis. Hist. Abb. vol. ii. p. 286.

¹⁸ Tan. Not. York. CXX. Rex Sexto Januar' Joh'em Comit' Warr' int' al' Capel' de Watton cū p'tin in Sancton, Etton, Sutton, Craneswick, Hugate, et North-Dalton p'cell' mon' de Watton pred' Tenend' in Capite, &c. 3 Edw. VI. Ex Reg. Præp. Bev. l. 3. p. 176.

¹⁹ R^{na} XX^o Julij conc' Jo. Farnham inter al', mod' de Watton. Tenend' de Eastgrenew^{ch} soc' Anno xvij^o Eliz. p^t viij^u Ibid. l. 3. p. 18 a.

²⁰ Rex x Novemb^r conc' Tho. Earlkynn mil' mon' de Watton cū p'tin' ac maner' de Watton, &c. tenend' de Estegrenew^{ch} in Com' Kanc' soccag' ac redd' £68. 7s. 4½d. 2 Jas. Ibid. l. 3. p. 18 b.



North-West View of Watton Abbey.

a nunnery of the same, surrounded by a range of cloisters and other buildings which are now entirely dilapidated and gone to decay; the whole surrounded by a moat, which inclosed upwards of twenty acres of land; one branch of which ran under both the monastery and the convent, each being furnished with private staircases within the buildings which communicated with the water; and it was broad and deep enough to be navigable for a small boat.²¹ The abbot's kitchen stood to the west of the abbey, and is now denoted by a hollow square which is sunk about two feet below the present surface of the ground. The whole area within the moat is full of old foundations, which certify that the original buildings have been alike extensive and magnificent. More than two centuries ago the materials of these decayed buildings were consigned to the corporation of Beverley, and conveyed away by them to repair the minster.²² The abbey itself has suffered

²¹ About forty years ago, as the Rev. Francis Lundy, of Lockington, was sitting at dinner with the late William Bethell, esq. at Watton Abbey, they were surprised by an extraordinary noise beneath the dining table, for which they could not account; and they were at length so much annoyed by it, that they sent for a workman to take up the floor; when, to their great astonishment, they found that an otter which inhabited the moat underneath the abbey, had established her nest beneath the boards of the floor, and had there deposited her litter of young ones, by whose uncouth cries it was that the dinner party had been disturbed.

²² Records of Beverley. 1 July, 1613.

great dilapidations, but enough remains to arrest the steps of the antiquary; and to attract the attention of every one who feels an interest in the religious institutions of our forefathers.

The interior of the abbey is spacious and roomy, and some of the apartments are decorated with tapestry of tolerable execution. The vaults ran probably under one entire wing of the building, though a part only are now remaining. They were formed of plain groining, and had communication with various parts of the interior, as well as an external door, which opened into the gardens. One spacious central chamber, which is now closed up, extended across the whole building; and the remains of massive decorated windows shew that it was originally devoted to grave and solemn purposes. A circular staircase is connected with this apartment, which extends from the summit of the building into the waters beneath its base.



East View of Watton Abbey.

The nunnery was situated westward of the abbey, and is now converted into stables. It occupied a tract of about eleven acres; and this space still remains

fenced, and designated by the name of "The Nuns." On the south side of the premises are the remains of strong walls of stone, terraces, and fortifications, which were probably erected during the civil wars; for it is certain that the abbey was used by the royalists as a military station, and was attacked and much battered by Cromwell, from Barf, or Barrow Hill, about two miles from this front.

Tradition says, that a subterranean passage existed in old times, which formed a communication between the convent and a holy well at Kilnwick, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and called "The Lady's Well;" and that the nuns performed many wonderful cures by the agency of this miraculous water. And a chamber is pointed out in the abbey, said to have been the scene of a most atrocious murder during the civil wars. This room is faced throughout with a strong wainscoting of panelled oak; in one side of which is a closet door, corresponding so exactly with the wainscoting as not to be observed; and was doubtless, in its primitive state, a secret entrance, which opened by a private spring, and communicated with a narrow staircase, still in existence, that descended into the moat or river which runs underneath the building. A lady of distinction, so says the legend, during the unhappy contest between Charles I. and his parliament, secreted herself in Watton Abbey, with her infant child, and jewels and other portable property to a great amount. Her retreat having been discovered, a few soldiers, at dead of night, proceeding in a boat to the staircase which led to her chamber, entered it by the secret door, and, unimpressed by her beauty, or the unoffending simplicity of her lovely infant, unmoved by her tears and supplications, cruelly murdered both, took possession of her valuables, and conveying away the bodies by the secret staircase, they were never heard of more.²³

²³ This legend has given rise to a belief that the wainscoted room is haunted. The lady appears *without her head*, (which, it is hence supposed, was severed from her body by the ruffians) bearing the infant in her arms, and placing herself at the foot of the bed, stands for some time inanimate as a statue, and then suddenly disappears. So fond is the murdered lady of this chamber that she pays it a nightly visit, and appears to regret the occupation of it by any other individual; for though she never attempts to disturb its sleeping or waking inmate, yet when the bed is left vacant she does not fail to take possession of it for the night; and it is generally found pressed and disordered in the morning, although no earthly being has entered the room. So runs the story. It is however asserted, that some years ago, a visitor at the abbey, who knew nothing of this tradition, slept in the wainscoted room, and in the morning declared that he had been disturbed by the supernatural appearance of a lady, with garments stained with blood, and whose features bore a striking resemblance to those of a female portrait which hangs in the same room. This vision must therefore have been furnished with that appendage, equally useful and ornamental, the head.

An utensil or jar of coarse pottery was found in the gardens of these premises, at no great depth, in the year 1776, which from its elegance of form, and peculiarity of construction, may almost be pronounced of Roman or Saxon manufacture. It is now in the possession of Mrs. Legard,²⁴ the present occupier of the abbey. (See p. 81 for an engraving of the Jar.)

The modern account of Watton presents few interesting features. The abbey gardens are well laid out, and scientifically managed. Many parts of them display great floral taste, which must be attributed to the judicious superintendence of the young ladies who reside there; and the *tout ensemble* reminds us of one of those romantic fairy palaces with which our youthful fancy has been so much amused, in the bygone days of innocence and unclouded peace; and almost extorts the sigh of regret that the bright visions which then floated so gaily before our eyes, should ever have been exchanged for the care, and pain, and disquietude of actual commerce with the world.

The village of Watton is pleasantly situated on the road from Beverley to Driffield, and the surrounding scenery is picturesque and beautiful. Its church, which is built of brick, with a low tower and parapets, and exhibits the same style of architecture as the adjoining abbey, is dedicated to Saint Mary.²⁵ Watton is a perpetual curacy, in the patronage of R. Bethell, esq. of the clear yearly value, as certified in order to obtain the benefit of the augmentation acts, of £10. 10s. 0d.²⁶ The present incumbent is the Rev. John Earl. In the chancel are some monuments of the Bethells and the Dickinsons; and one erected to the memory of William Hall, in 1681.²⁷ The population in 1811 was 246 souls, and in 1821 the number returned amounted to 307.

²⁴ I beg here to return my best thanks to Mrs. Legard, for the politeness which I received from herself and family on my visit to Watton Abbey. Every possible facility was cheerfully afforded which might contribute to illustrate this ancient and interesting fabric.

²⁵ This style of architecture is visible also in Kirk-Ella church, in the old house at Beswick, in Beverley priory, and other places in this neighbourhood, and were probably all the work of one and the same architect, who appears to have had full employment in the East-riding of Yorkshire at this particular period.

²⁶ Cler. Guide, p. 181.

²⁷ Like Cottingham and other villages in the neighbourhood, the church is decked with evergreens at Christmas; and at the same season the Morisco sports are practised. A number of young fellows dress themselves in fantastic habiliments, and wander from house to house, performing ludicrous ceremonies, and soliciting the benevolence of the inhabitants, that they may enjoy a feast at the commencement of the year. This pastime is a combination of the ancient *pageant* and the *morris-dance*; and maid Marian and the fool are considered as an indispensable

In this village is a school for boys, supported by R. Bethell, esq (28) and another for girls, established about the year 1821, by Mrs Legard, and principally dependant on that lady for support. It contains 22 children, who are taught reading by the master, and works of industry by the mistress. The institution is laudable, and is sure to be prosperous, because its professed object is to bring up poor children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to make them useful to society in the station of life in which it has pleased God to place them.

appendage to the party. It is, in a word, an antique piece of Christmas mummery; a garbled vestige of the sports which distinguish the Scandinavian festival of the Yule; and is thought to have been encouraged by our early monarchs to keep the populace in good humour. Mr. Handel was of opinion that the morris-dance was peculiarly adapted to the genius of the English people. Archaeol.vol.i.p.20. (28) The Watton estates came into the family of the Bethells of Rise by the marriage of Hugh Bethell, esq. with the daughter and co-heir of William Drehealth, esq.; and they are now the property of Richard Bethell, esq. who is descended from the original branch of the family settled at Maunsell, in the county of Hereford, under the will of William Bethell, esq. of Rise, who died without issue. The following is the descent from the time the estates came into their possession.

Hugh Bethell, esq. of Rise, ob. 1716 = Sarah, d. & co-heiress of W. Drehealth, esq.

Hugh Bethell, ob. 1752 = Ann, d. of Sir John Cope, bart. ob. 1728.

Hugh Bethell, of Rise, William Bethell, of Rise, = Charlotte, d. of ob. 1772, caelebs. ob. 1799, S.P. Ralph Pennymar

Beverley, esq.

ARMS. AR. 'on a chevron between 3 boars' heads coupéd, SA. an étoile
CREST. A boar's head coupéd SA on a ducal coronet OR.

Chapter V., which follows, being a notice on the Cistercian Abbey of Meaux or Melsa, has been removed and bound in a separate cover. This foregoing page being copied merely to complete this volume in other respects.

The Appendix.

A. Page 56.

The Charter of King Athelstan, granted to the town of Beverley, A. D. 925.

Yat witen all yat ever been
 Yat yis charter heren and seen
 Yat I y^e. king Athelstan
 Has yaten and given to S^t John
 Of Beverlike yat sai I you
 Tol and theam yat wit ye now
 Sok and sake over al yat land
 Yat is given into his hand
 On ever ilke kings dai
 Be it all free yan and ay
 Be it almousend be all free
 Wit ilke man and eeke with mee
 Yat will I (hem yat me scop)
 Bot till an ercebiscop
 An till ye seven minstre prestes
 Yat serves God ther Saint John restes
 Yat give I God and Saint John
 Her before you ever ilkam
 All my herst corn ineldeel
 To uphald his minstre weel
 Ya four thrave (be heven kinge)
 Of ilka plough of estriding
 If it swa betid or swa gaas
 Yat any man her again taas
 Be he baron be he earle
 Clark prest parson or chere
 Na be he na yat ilk gome
 I will for saye yat he come
 (Yat wit ye weel or and or)
 Til Saint John minstre dor
 And yat I will (swo Christ me red)
 Yat he bet his misdeed
 Or be cursed son on on
 Wit al yat servis Saint John
 Yif hit swa betid and swa es
 Yet ye man in mansin es
 I sai yow over fortie daghes
 (Swilke yan be sain John Laghes)
 Yat ye chapitel of Beverlike
 Till ye seins of Everwike

Send yair writ son onan
 Yat yis mansedman betan
 Ye scirref yan say I ye
 Wit outen any writ one me
 Sal minen him (swo Christ me red)
 And into my prison lede
 And hald him (yat is mi wilt)
 Till he bet his misgilt
 If men reises newe laghes
 In any oyer kings daghes
 Be yay fromed be yay yamed
 Wit yham of y^e. minstre demed
 Ye mercy of y^e. misdeed
 Gif I Saint John (swo Christ me red)
 Yif man be cal'd of of limes or lif
 Or men chalanges land in strif
 Wit my bodlaick wit writ of right
 I will S^t. John have ye might
 Yat man yar for noght fight in feelde
 Now yer wit stat no with sheeld
 Bot twelve men wil I yat it telle
 Swo sal it be swo here i belle
 And he yat him swo werne he may
 Over comen be he ever and ay
 Als he in feld war overcomen
 Ye cravantaise of him be nomen
 Yat yat I God and S^t. John
 Her before iow ever ilkan
 If man be founden slane i drunkend
 Sterved on S^t. John rike his aghenmen
 Without swike his aghen baliffs make y^e. sight
 Nan oyer coroner have ye might
 Swa mikel fredom give I ye
 Swa hert may think or eghe see
 Yat have I thought and forbiseen
 I will yat yer ever been
 Sameening and minstre lif
 Last frolike witouten strif
 God help alle thasilke men
 Yat helpes to ye thowen.

Amen.

B. Page 58.

The following is a copy of the Sanctuary Oath, taken from the back of the Sanctuary Register of St. John of Beverley, preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 4292. fo. 1. It is written on vellum, and the register contains the names of persons who sought sanctuary, for different crimes, in the reigns of Edw. IV. Hen. VII. and Hen. VIII.

"The bailiff of the town, by whom the oath was administered, is directed to inquire of the refugee what man he killed, and wherwith, and both ther names, and than gar hym lay his hand vpon the book, saying on this wyse.

"Sir, tak hede on your oth, ye shal be trew and feythful to my lord abp. of York, lord off this towne, to the provest of thes same, to the chanons of this chirch, and all othir ministrs therof.

"Also ye shall bere gude hert to the baillie and XII governars of this town, to all burges and comyners of thes same.

"Also ye shall bere no poynted wapen, dagger, knyfe, ne none other wapen ayenst the kyngs pece.

"Also ye shalbe redy at all your power if ther be any debate or stryf or ot sothan case of fyre within the town, to help to s'cess it.

"Also ye shalbe redy at the obite of kyng Adelstan, at the dirige and the messe at such tyme as it is done at the warnyng of the belman of the town, and do your dewte in ryngyng, and for to offer at the messe on the morne, so help you God and thies holy Evangelists. And then gar hym kysse the book."

C. Page 84.

Carta Turstini archiepiscopi Eboracensis quâ libertates hominibus de Beverlaco conceduntur.

TURSTINUS Dei gratiâ Eborum archiepiscopus cunctis Christi fidelibus tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem & dei benedictionem & suam. Notum sit vobis me dedisse & concessisse & consilio capituli Eborac' et Beverlacen' et consilio meorum baronum, meâ cartâ confirmasse hominibus de Beverlaco omnes libertates eisdem legibus quibus illi de Eborac' habent in suâ civitate: preterea non lateat vos quod dominus H. Rex noster nobis concessit potestatem faciendi hoc de bonâ voluntate suâ et suâ cartâ confirmavit statua nostra et leges nostras juxta formam legum burgensium de Eboraco, salva dignitate et honore Dei et sancti Johannis et nostri et canonicorum, ut ita scilicet honorem elemosynarum predecessorum suorum exaltaret et promoveret cum omnibus his liberis consuetudinibus. Volo ut burgenses mei de Beverlac' habeant suam Hanshus quam eis do et concedo, ut ibi sua statuta pertractent ad honorem Dei et sancti Johannis et canonicorum et ad totus villatus emendationem eâdem libertatem lege sicut illi de Eboraco habent in suâ Hanshus. Concedo etiam eis thelonium imperpetuum pro X et VIII marcis annuatim; preterquam in iis festis in quibus theloneum ad nos et ad canonicos spectat in festo scil't, sancti Johannis confessoris in Maio et in festo translationis sancti Johannis et in natiuitate sancti Johannis Baptiste; in his verò tribus festis omnes burgenses de Beverlaco ab omniteloneo liberos et quietos dimisi. Hujus etiam carte testimonio, eisdem burgensibus liberos introitus et exitus concessi in villâ et extra villam, in plano et bosco et marisco, in viis et in semitis et ceteris convenientiis, excepto in pratis et bladis sicut unquam melius liberius et largius, aliquis possit concedere et confirmare: et sciatis quod sint liberi et quieti ab omni telonis per totam schiram Eboraci sicut illi de Eboraco. Et volo ut quicunque hoc disfecerit anathema sit, sicut ipsius ecclesie sancti Johannis asserit consuetudo et sicut statutum est in ecclesiâ sancti Johannis. Hii sunt stes.

Galfridus Murd'
Nigellus Fossard
Alan de Perci
Walterus Spec
Eustacius fil' Johannis

Tom' Prepositus
Turstinus Archidiaconus
Herbertus Can'
Willielmus filius Tole
Willielmus Baioc.

Coram totâ familia archiepiscopi, clericis, et laicis in Eboraco.

Cart. Antiq. in Turr. Lond. An. Hen. I. r. 18.

D. Page 157.

I have subjoined a translation of this curious document from the original French in the rolls of parliament, vol. iv. p. 85. as it appears to have suspended for a time the provisions of the borough charters, granted 20 Rich. II. and 2 Hen. V.

"The petition of Henry, archbishop of York, sheweth, that when king Athelstan, who reigned over England before the Conquest, took a journey to Scotland to establish some disputed claims in that country, he made a vow to God and Saint John of Beverley, (the predecessor of the said petitioner) that if his expedition should prove succesful, and his arms be crowned with victory, he would endow the churches of York, Beverley, and Ripon with valuable liberties and franchises. Having, by God's blessing, been victorious over his said enemies the Scots, and favoured with triumphant success according to his desire, he fulfilled his promise on his return into England, by granting to God and Saint John of Beverley, amongst other things, the liberties and privileges which are contained in these words,—ALS FREE MAKE I THE, AS HERT MAY THYNKE OR EGHE MAY SE. And also, amongst other liberties and freedoms, as well by the kings before the Conquest, as by his majesty's most noble progenitors who have swayed the English sceptre since that period, granted to the predecessors of the said petitioner, that the archbishop of York should have free inheritance of his lands in Beverley, that no minister of any king of England should, during his continuance in office, enter therein; and that the church of Saint John of Beverley should have its *Peace* within the boundaries of the sanctuary, commonly called the LEUGA. That all the archbishops of York should for the future be under the king's protection, and that no civil powers should be placed over them. By virtue of these articles the predecessors of the petitioner have had, from time immemorial, at Beverley and Ripon, a court of Sheriff's Tourne, with all its appurtenances; and have appointed, or caused to be appointed within the said liberties, their bailiffs and officers to preserve the peace, and to have correction and punishment of all manner of felonies, misdemeanors, misprisions, trespasses, extortions, and all other offences arising within the said liberties. And they have enjoyed amerciements, issues, fines, chattels of fugitives and felons, and all manner of profits arising from the said freedom of correction and punishment. And the late king, by his letters-patent, granted to certain persons therein named, as twelve governors or guardians of the said borough of Beverley, and to the burgesses and commonalty of the same, by a suggestion made to his highness of their subtlety and imagination prepenne, to disinherit the petitioner's church at York, that they, their heirs and successors for the time being, or four, three, or two of the wisest and most discreet amongst them, should for ever have full liberty of correction, power, and authority to take cognizance and make enquiry, and to hold a court of Oyer and Terminer for judging of all causes and affairs, as well of felonies, trespasses, misprisions, and extortions, as of all other matters and complaints in the said borough of Beverley, and within the boundaries of its liberties in whatsoever manner arising; also to be fully and truly guardians of the peace, justices of felonies, trespasses, and other misdemeanors, to hold a court of Oyer and Terminer, and justices of labourers, servants, and artificers in the East-riding of the county of York, within the borough precinct and liberty aforesaid; and that they, their heirs and successors, should for ever have at their disposal all manner of fines, amerciements, issues, and all other profits whatsoever from thence arising to levy and to receive by their officers, as is fully declared in the aforesaid letters-patent; by virtue of which the said petitioner is disturbed in the enjoyment of his liberties and freedoms, granted to his said predecessors as aforesaid. May it please his most mighty and most gracious highness therefore, by the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal in this present parliament assembled, to confirm and ratify, with clause *de licet*, to the said petitioner and successors, the privileges, franchises, and liberties, together with all other privileges, liberties, and immunities granted by his progenitors and predecessors, kings of England, to the predecessors of the said petitioner; no interruption made by the royal ministers or others interfering with the privileges, liberties, and franchises aforesaid, especially or generally, or any of them, although the said petitioner, or any of his predecessors, may have misused or omitted to use, up to the present time, the said privileges, liberties, and franchises, or any of them; and furthermore, of his abundant grace, by the authority of parliament, to revoke and annul the said letters-patent granted to those governors or guardians, burgesses, and commonalty, as to all the aforesaid articles; and to command that the said letters-patent, by the king's authority, be brought into chancery, to remain there until they be enrolled, cancelled, and annulled as to all the aforesaid articles; considering, most gracious sovereign, that you obtained a most glorious victory and discomfiture of your enemies of France, through God's blessing, on the day of the translation of the said glorious confessor Saint John of Beverley.

Responsio.

The king grants, by the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal in this present parliament assembled, and by the special concurrence of the commons of his realm in the same parliament, to Henry, archbishop of York, confirmation, with clause *de licet*, of all the privileges, franchises, and liberties contained in the above petition; and also of all other privileges, franchises, and liberties granted by his progenitors and predecessors, formerly kings of England, to the predecessors of the said archbishop, notwithstanding any interruptions made by the king's ministers or others interfering therewith; and although the said archbishop, or any of his predecessors may have misused or omitted to use up to the present time, the said privileges, franchises, and liberties, or any of them; and that the letters-patent granted to the said governors or guardians of the borough of Beverley, and burgesses and commonalty of the same, their heirs and successors, of which this petition makes mention, by the authority of the same parliament, as to all the articles named in the said petition, be repealed and for ever annulled:—And that the same letters-patent, by the royal command, be brought into chancery, and remain there until they be enrolled, cancelled, and annulled as to all the aforesaid articles.”

Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. V. A. D. 1455. No. 25.

F. Page 177.

The following account of the manner of living in noble families in the 15th and 16th centuries, will be peculiarly interesting, as it is illustrative of character, and shews the very essential difference which exists between those times and ours.

“Extract from the Northumberland Household Book, in which are contained the regulations and establishment of the household of Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, at his castles of Wressill and Leckonfield, in Yorkshire, begun 1512.

“BRAIKFASTIS FOR FLESCH DAYS.

“*Braikfastis for my Lorde and my Lady.*—Furst, a loof of brede in trenchors, two manchettis, one quart of bere, a quart of wine, half a chyne of mutton, or ells a chyne of beif boiled.”

“*Braikfastis for the Nurcy, for my lady Margaret and Mr. Yngram Percy.*—Item, a manchett, one quart of bere, and 3 muton bonys boiled.”

“*Braikfastis for my Lady's Gentyllwomen.*—Item, a loif of houshold brede, a pottell of beire, and 3 muton bonys boiled, or ells a pece of beif boiled.”

LENT.

“*Braikfaste for my Lorde and my Lady.*—Furst, a loif of brede in trenchors, two manchettis, a quart of bere, a quart of wyne, 2 pecys of saltfish, 6 baconn'd herryng, 4 white herryng, or a dysche of sproits.”

“*Braikfaste for the Nurcy, for my lady Margaret, and Maister Ingeram Percy.*—Item, a manchett, a quart of bere, a dysch of butter, a pece of saltfische, a disch of sproits, or 3 white herryng.”

“*Braikfaste for my Ladies Gentyllwomen.*—Item, a loaf of brede, a pottell of bere, a pece of saltfische, or 3 white herryng.”

The above is a correct specimen of the fare commonly used, and the other meals admitted of little variety; yet at high and solemn festivals an extraordinary preparation was made. “*Furste*, it is thoughte that crayns muste be hadde at Cristynmas ande outhur principalle feists for my lorde's owne meas so they be bought at xvj d. the pece. *Item*, it is thoughte in like-wies hearon-sewis be boughte for my lorde's owne meas so they be at xij d. the pece. *Item*, redeschanks after j d. ob. the pece. *Item*, bitters at xij d. a pece so they be goode. *Item*, Fessauntes at xij d. a pece. *Item*, reis at ij d. a pece. *Item*, sholardis at ij d. a pece. *Item*, kirlewis at xij d. a pece. *Item*, pacokks at xij d. a pece, and no payhennes to be bowght. *Item*, seepies. *Item*, wegionnes j d.

ob. a pece, excepte my lorde's commandement be outhewis. *Item*, knottis at j d. a pece, excepte my lorde's commandement be outhewis. *Item*, dottreelis at j d. a pece. *Item*, bustardes. *Item*, tearnes after iiij d. a pece, excepte my lorde's commaundement be outhewis."

The charities and religious offerings of this noble family were numerous, and systematically regulated. I select the following specimen. "Almaner of rewardes customable usede yearly by my lorde to be yeven ande paide by his lordschipe from Michaelmas to Michaelmas yerely as it doith appeire in the booke of his lordshipe foren expences of every yere what customable payments they be that my lorde usith yerely, ande for what causes they be yeven ande wherefor every some is paide, ande for what consideracion as wel for waiges ande fees paide out yerely of his lordeschippe coffures as rewardis customable usid yerely by my lorde at New yers day, ande other tymes of the yeare. His lordschipe ande my ladies offeryngs at principall feistes yerly accustomed ande rewardes usid customable to be yeven yerely to strangers, as players, mynstralls, ande others as the some of every rewarde particularly with the consideracion why ande wherefore it is yeven, with the names of the parsons to whome the saide rewardes be yeven, more playnly hereafter folowith ande apperith in this booke which be ordynary ande accustomed payments by my lorde usede yearly if the tymes so requier."

"All maner of offerings, &c. *Furst*, my lorde's offeringe accustomed upon Alhallowe-Day yerely when his lordshipe is at home, at the Highe Mas if he kepe chapell, xij d. *Item*, my ladis offeryng accustomed upon Alhallowe-Day yerely, if sche offer at the Highe Masse, if my lorde kepe chapell, to be paid owt of my lordes coffures if sche be at my lordis fyndinge, and not at hir owen, viij d. *Item*, my lordes offeryng accustomed upon Christynmas-day yearly when his lordshipe is at home at the Heighe Mas if he kepe chapell, xij d." [And in the same manner directions are given for the offerings on every Saint's day in the year.] "*Item*, my lorde usith yerely to sende afor Michealmas for his lordschipe offeringe to Saynt Margarets in Lyncolinschire, iiij d. *Item*, my lord usith ande accustomyth to sende yerely for the upholdyng of the light of waxe which his lordschipe fyndith byrnyng yerely befor the Holy Bloude of Haillis containing xvj lb. wax in it aftir vij d. ob. for the fyndyng of every lb. if redy wrought. By a covenant maide by gret with the mounk for the hole yere for fynding of the said light byrnyng x s. *Item*, my lorde usith ande accustomyth to sende yerely for the upholdyng of the light of wax which his lordschipe fyndith birnyng yerly befor our Lady of Walsyngham contenyng xj lb. of wax in it after vij d. ob. for the fyndyng of every lb. redy wrought. By a covenaut maid with the channon by gret for the hole yere for the fynding of the said light byrning, vj s. viij d. *Item*, my lorde usith ande accustomyth to sende yerely for the upholdyng of the light of wax, &c. before Saynt Margret in Lyncolenshire, viij d. for every lb. &c. &c. &c." The above extracts will be amply sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of any person respecting this famous book, who is not desirous of referring to its own invaluable pages.

G. Page 213.

Proclamation of King Charles I. at Beverley.

"We having long complained of the high affront done unto us, in our person, by Sir John Hotham, when we went to our town of Hull to view the magazines and arms, our own proper goods (if we shall be allowed to call any thing our own) which then were there; and since, by and under colour of orders made by both houses of parliament, not only without, but against our consent, violently taken and carried from thence; and for that the town itself, being the principal fort and port of these northern parts of the kingdom, in a warlike manner, with many hundreds of soldiers, has been kept and maintained against us as a garrison and town of war, as against an enemy; and that by the practice of a malignant party, which has too great an influence upon our two houses of parliament, instead of repairing our honour for this indignity, several orders and votes of the major part, then present, have been made to justify all this as legal; which orders and votes would have us, and others, to believe, upon the many protestations in print, 'that

there hath been nothing done therein, (as in many other things of that nature) but for the safety of our person, the honour of our crown, and the good of the kingdom; as if words, directly contrary to these actions of hostility, could satisfy us, or any reasonable man, not blinded with self-opinion, or abused and misled by vain and false surmises, or groundless jealousies:—we have now looked somewhat more narrowly into the manner of Sir John Hotham's carriage in this his employment, and did find, by the certain relation of others, that for the fortifying of the place against us, his liege lord, he has used the help of art in making outworks to defend the town; he has purposely cut the banks, and let in the waters to drown the land passages, and to make the town inaccessible by that way; he has set forth a pinnace (amongst other good services) to intercept a pinnacle of ours employed for carrying of letters, messages, and passengers between us and our dearest consort the queen; he permitteth his soldiers to issue out of the town, and forage upon the country; he hath not only unlawfully, but tyrannically, cast out divers inhabitants of the town from their dwellings, because he could not confide in them; he has disarmed all the townsmen, that he might put the sole power in the soldiery under his command; he doth compel some others of the inhabitants, desirous to depart the town with their families, to abide and continue there against their wills; and, by drowning the lands about the town, in manner as aforesaid, he has destroyed the pastures, meadows, and corn lands within that compass, containing some thousands of acres of very fruitful grounds, amounting to a great value, to the great impoverishing of the owners and occupiers thereof:—he has, for divers months, continued in pay many hundreds of soldiers; and endeavoured, under pretence of the authority from the two houses of parliament, to increase their number from the county of Lincoln adjoining, and from other places; and this at the public charge of the kingdom, and out of those monies provided for the relief of Ireland, and payment of our great debt to our kingdom of Scotland.

“Whereupon we being very sensible of this extreme dishonour to us, that a town of such importance, and so near to the place of our present residence, should be thus fortified, kept, and maintained against us; that the port and passage by sea should be defended against us by our own ships under the conduct of the Earl of Warwick, who being legally discharged by us of his employment at sea, by our revocation of the commission formerly granted by us to the Earl of Northumberland, and by our command signified unto him under our own hand, to deliver the command of our ships into the hands of another person named by us, hath, notwithstanding our said commands, (to which the Earl of Northumberland paid a dutiful obedience) presumed not only to disposess us of our said navy, but to employ it against us; and to take prisoners such of our captains as expressed a loyalty to us, according to their oaths, and the duty of subjects; and that a ship of ours, lately employed for our particular service into Holland, and returning from thence with some of our proper goods, has been chased by them as an enemy, and enforced, for her safety, to put into a small creek within six miles of that town, and there to run on ground, to the great hazard of our said vessel; and that both our ship and goods were yet remaining there in danger to be surprized by our own subjects: we took a journey, on Wednesday, the 6th of July, from York towards the said creek, to take a view of our said ship and goods, thus exposed to danger; having just cause to fear that Sir John Hotham, and others of his confederates, would (for our good and the good of the kingdom) make prize of these also; and, by the opportunity of that journey, we ourself are now fully informed of the certainty of those things, which we had before received, but from the relation of others; and there received a lamentable petition of our subjects of those parts, complaining of the unheard of insolence and barbarity of Sir John Hotham, and desiring our just and necessary protection of them from these cruel oppressions.

“Upon all which considerations that we may at length, after this long patience, do that right to our honour, our crown and royal dignity, and to our good subjects in general, and those of and near our town of Hull in particular, (which we had reason to have expected from our two houses of parliament, but have failed of the fruit of our long expectation, by the malice of some ill-affected spirits amongst them, who study nothing more than, by false pretences, to amuse and abuse our good people) we have taken this resolution, by God's blessing, and the assistance of our good subjects, to force Sir John Hotham, and all that shall take part with him in the unjust and treasonable defence of the town of Hull against us, to that obedience which is due by subjects to their liege lord and sovereign; and to resist the assistance, intended to Sir John Hotham, from our said county of Lincoln and other places adjoining, if they shall attempt it: and, to this pur-

pose, we will and require all our loving subjects to yield their best assistance, of what kind soever, to so necessary a defence of our person, and just vindication of so great an injury offered unto us, to the dishonour of this nation. And we do declare, that whosoever shall give us their cheerful help at this time, and to this purpose, either with men, horses, arms, or money, to be brought, sent, or conveyed unto us, we shall look upon it as a service never to be forgotten.

“And this we publish to all our subjects, and to all the world, that they may truly understand the clearness of our intentions herein, as we shall do in all other things concerning our government; and that we do and ever shall maintain those resolutions we have professed so often and so seriously, by our former declarations, that we will continue to defend the true Protestant religion, as it is by law established in the church of England; the laws of the land; the rights and just liberties of our subjects equally to and with our own just prerogative, and the true privileges of parliament; and never infringe any act consented to by us this parliament; and that we have not, nor ever had, the least thought of making war upon our two houses of parliament, as hath been slanderously and maliciously published. And these things, not our words only, but all our actions shall make good: and in this resolution, and the just observation thereof, we shall both live and die.”—Given at our court at Beverley, the eighth day of July, in the eighteenth year of our reign, 1642. Rush. Parl. Hist.

H. Page 214.

Petition to King Charles I. at Beverley.

“To the king’s most excellent majesty,

“The humble petition of the lords and commons assembled in parliament.

“May it please your majesty,

“Although we, your majesty’s most humble and faithful subjects, the lords and commons in parliament assembled, have been very unhappy in many former petitions and supplications to your majesty; wherein we have represented our most dutiful affections, in advising and desiring those things which we hold most necessary for the preservation of God’s true religion, your majesty’s safety and honour, and the peace of the kingdom; and, with much sorrow, do perceive that your majesty, incensed by many false calumnies and slanders, doth continue to raise forces against us and your other loyal and peaceable subjects; to make great preparations for war, both in this kingdom and also from beyond the seas; by arms and violence to over-rule the judgment and advice of your great council; and, by force, to determine the questions there depending, concerning the government and liberty of the kingdom; yet such is our earnest desire of discharging our duty to your majesty and the kingdom, to preserve the peace thereof, and to prevent the miseries of civil war amongst your subjects, (that notwithstanding we hold ourselves bound to use all the means and power, which, by the law and constitution of this kingdom, we are trusted with, for defence and protection thereof, and of the subjects from force and violence) we do, in this our humble petition, prostrate ourselves at your majesty’s feet, beseeching your majesty, that you will be pleased to forbear and remove all preparations and actions of war, particularly the forces from about Hull, from Newcastle, Tinmouth, Lincoln, and Lincolnshire, and all other places; and that your majesty will recal the commissions of array, which are illegal; dismiss the troops and extraordinary guards by you raised; that your majesty will come nearer to your parliament, and hearken to their faithful advice and humble petitions, which shall only tend to the defence and advancement of religion, your own royal honour and safety, and the preservation of our laws and liberties.

“And we have been, and ever shall be, careful to prevent and punish all tumults and seditious actions, speeches, and writings, which may give your majesty just cause of distaste or apprehension of danger, from which public aims and resolutions no sinister or private respect shall ever make us to decline; that your majesty will leave delinquents to the due course of justice; and that nothing done or spoken in parliament, or by any person in pursuance of the command or direction of both houses of parliament, be questioned any where but in parliament.

"And we, for our parts, shall be ready to lay down all these preparations which we have been forced to make for our defence. And for the town of Hull, and the ordinance concerning the militia, as we have, in both these particulars, only sought the preservation of the peace of the kingdom, and the defence of the parliament from force and violence, so we shall most willingly leave the town of Hull in the state it was before Sir John Hotham drew any forces into it, delivering your majesty's magazine into the tower of London, and supplying whatsoever has been disposed of by us for the service of the kingdom.

"We shall be ready to settle the militia by a bill, in such a way as shall be honourable and safe for your majesty, most agreeable to the duty of parliament, and effectually for the good of the kingdom; that the strength thereof be not employed against itself, and that which ought to be for our security applied to our destruction. And that the parliament, and those who profess and desire still to preserve the Protestant religion, both in this realm and in Ireland, may not be left naked and indefensible, to the mischievous designs and cruel attempts of those who are the professed and confederated enemies thereof, in your majesty's dominions and other neighbouring nations: to which if your majesty's courses and counsels shall, from henceforth, concur, we doubt not but we shall quickly make it appear to the world, by the most eminent effects of love and duty, that your majesty's personal safety, your royal honour and greatness, are much dearer to us than our own lives and fortunes; which we do most heartily dedicate, and shall most willingly employ, for the support and maintenance thereof." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 309. *Clarendon.* vol. ii. p. 684. *Rushworth,* vol. iv. p. 603.

I. Page 233.

Abstract of the Charter granted to the town of Beverley in the year 1662, by King Charles II.

INCORPORATION.

That they shall be one body corporate and politick, by the name of the mayor, governors, and burgesses of the town of Beverley, in the county of York. That by the same name they shall have perpetual succession, and shall be persons capable in law to have and purchase lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, &c. in fee or otherwise, and also to give, grant, demise, or alien the same. And further, by the same name, they shall plead and be impleaded, sue and be sued, in whatsoever courts and places, and before any justices whatsoever.

COMMON SEAL.

That they shall for ever have a common seal, to serve for all their affairs, which they may break, alter, or make new, as they please.

MAYOR, GOVERNORS, AND CAPITAL BURGESSES.

That they shall have one mayor, twelve governors only, and thirteen capital burgesses, to be chosen out of the best and honestest burgesses and inhabitants of the town aforesaid, in manner and form hereafter mentioned. That William Dunne, esquire, shall be the first mayor, who shall first take his corporal oath for the well executing his said office, before three or more of the governors of the said town for the time being. That he shall continue in his office from the date of these presents until Michaelmas next following, and from thence forward until another be chosen. That Edward Grey the elder, William Nucome, Robert Fotherby, Edward Grey the younger, Thomas Johnson, William Nelson, Thomas Clarke, George Davies, Thomas Gossip, Thomas Davison, Stephen Goakman, and John Todd shall be the first governors of the said town, continuing in their said offices from the date of these presents so long as they shall behave themselves well. That John Bovell, John Sugden, George Duke, John Graburn, Thomas Dunne, Mark Worthy, Edward Coates, Thomas Spavin, James Graburn, Henry Ringrose, Richard Graburn, Thomas Johnson, and Christopher Tadman the elder, shall be the first capital burgesses of the town, continuing in their said offices from the date of these presents till Michaelmas next.

COMMON COUNCIL.

That these twelve governors and thirteen capital burgesses shall be called the common council of the said town, and that they shall always be assistant to the mayor for the time being.

GUILDHALL.

That they may have a Guildhall or Council House within the said town, where they or the greater part of them may, as often as they find convenient, hold a meeting or court to treat or confer about the affairs of the town.

POWER TO ESTABLISH LAWS AND LEVY PENALTIES.

That they, or the major part of them, may there make such laws and orders as to them shall seem necessary for the better government of the said corporation, and all the inhabitants of the said town. That as often as they make such orders or laws, they may also ordain penalties to be levied by fine, amercement, or corporal imprisonment, or any of them, for the better observance of the said laws. That these orders or laws must not be contrary or repugnant to the laws of the realm.

ELECTION OF MAYOR.

That the governors, burgesses, and commonalty, or the greater part of them for the time being, may every September, upon the Monday next before Michaelmas day, out of the governors of the said town, chuse one who shall be mayor for one whole year following; who upon the second Monday next following after his said election, shall take his corporal oath for the well governing the said town before the last mayor, or in his absence, before the mayor's predecessor, in the presence of the recorder of the said town, and the rest of the governors, or the greater part of them; which said mayor shall continue in office until another be chosen.

DEATH OR REMOVAL OF MAYOR OR GOVERNORS.

That if the said mayor shall, within his year, die or be removed, another shall then be chosen as aforesaid, within four days of such death or removal, to continue in the said office for the residue of the said year, and until another be chosen. And that if any one or more of the twelve governors shall die or be removed, the rest surviving, or the greater part of them, shall chuse another or more out of the burgesses of the said town, who must take their corporal oath before the mayor and governors aforesaid, or the greater part of them.

ELECTION OF CAPITAL BURGESSES.

That the mayor elect, and the governors of the said Town, or in the absence of the mayor elect, the last mayor, or the major part of them may yearly, on the said Monday next before Michaelmas day, chuse twenty-six of the best and most discreet burgesses and commonalty of the said town, whose names they shall present to the rest of the burgesses and commonalty of the town aforesaid, then to be present, who shall, out of the twenty-six, accept and name thirteen, who shall be the capital burgesses for one whole year next ensuing, and shall take their corporal oaths before the mayor and governors aforesaid.

DEATH OR REMOVAL OF A CAPITAL BURGESS.

That if any of the said capital burgesses die or be removed within the year, the said burgesses and commonalty within one month may chuse another or more out of the residue of the twenty-six above mentioned.

RECORDER.

That they may, at their pleasure, chuse an honest, discreet, and skilful man in the laws to be their recorder.

TOWN CLERK, CONSTABLES, &c.

That they shall yearly, upon the said Monday before Michaelmas day, chuse a common clerk of the town aforesaid, and so many constables and other inferior officers as they have used to have

before the date of these presents, who shall be severally sworn for the due executing of their respective offices before the mayor and twelve governors, or the greater part of them; that they may continue in their offices for one whole year; and if any of them die, another, within eight days, shall be chosen in his room.

OFFICERS REFUSING TO ACT MAY BE PUNISHED.

That if any person, having notice that he is chosen into any of the offices aforesaid, (except the offices of recorder and town clerk) shall refuse to bear the said office, he shall be committed to the gaol of the said town, there to abide till he is willing to bear the said office, or to pay such fine as shall be imposed by the said mayor and governors.

BURGESSES TO TAKE THE OATHS.

That all men to be made free of the said town shall take the oath used to be taken in that behalf, before the mayor for the time being.

MAYOR ABSENTING HIMSELF MAY BE FINED.

That if the mayor, having notice that he is chosen, shall absent or withdraw himself, he may be fined any sum not exceeding fifty pounds, to be recovered by distraint or any other lawful way, for the use of the said town, and immediately be excluded from being a member of the said town, losing all his privileges, and shall never be admitted again. And in such case then the last preceding mayor shall execute the said office until another be chosen, which shall be within one month.

GAOL.

That they shall have a gaol or prison of their own for the custody of all manner of prisoners, and that the mayor, for the time being, shall be keeper of the said gaol.

COURT OF RECORD.

That they shall for ever have a court of Record every Monday in every week throughout the year, before the mayor, recorder, and governors of the said town, or three of them, of whom the mayor or recorder must be one; and they may hold pleas of such things as arise within the said town; and that the mayor, governors, and burgesses, and their successors, shall have the profits of the said court.

VIEW OF FRANK PLEDGE.

That twice in the year, upon such days as they shall think fit, they shall have a view of all the frank pledges of all the inhabitants of the said town, within the Guildhall of the said town.

ASSIZE OF BREAD, WEIGHTS, &C.

That they, by the mayor, shall have assize of wine, bread, ale, fewel, and wood, within the said town and the precincts of the same; and also the power of fining and amercing offenders in the abuse of weights and measures, and that all victuallers, &c. shall be under the government of the mayor.

CLERK OF THE MARKET, &C.

That the mayor for the time being shall be clerk of the market, escheator, and coroner of the said town and liberties, so that the clerk of the market of the king's household (unless the king be present) shall not intermeddle.

RENT TO THE KING.

That they shall render to the king and his successors, for the fines, amerciements, issues, and profits of the said court yearly, the sum of five pounds and eleven shillings, at the feast of Pentecost, to the hands of the Receiver-General for the county of York for the time being.

EXEMPTION FROM SERVING ON JURIES.

That they shall not be put with foreigners in any assizes, juries, attaints, or inquisitions, arising without the jurisdiction of the said town, unless it concern the king, his heirs or successors.

GOODS OF FELONS, &c.

That they shall have the goods and chattels of felons, persons outlawed and condemned; and deodand, &c. within the said town and liberties.

RETURN OF WRITS, &c.

That they shall have the return of all writs, precepts, bills, and warrants arising within the said town and liberties, and the execution of them by the mayor of the town aforesaid.

MARKET.

That they shall have upon Wednesday, every week in the year, a market for all sorts of cattle and goods to be bought and sold; and a

COURT OF PIE-POWDER

to be held at the time of the said market, with all the tollage and emoluments there; and that this market shall not be prejudicial to the neighbouring markets.

MAY PURCHASE LANDS, &c.

That they may purchase any lands, tenements, &c. that are not held *in capite*, or by knight's service, so that the said lands do not exceed the value of sixty pounds per annum.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

That they shall send two burgesses to parliament, at the charge of the said town.

BOUNDARIES.

That the town of Beverley shall have its bounds and limits as before used.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

That the mayor, recorder, and governors for the time being, shall be justices of the peace within the said town and liberties, that they may enquire of any thing within the said town, except treason, murder, or felony, where life is concerned. That they shall all take the oaths of justices of the peace within the said town and liberties; and that the mayor shall take the oath before the last mayor.

FAIRS AND MARKETS.

That they shall have all such fairs and markets as have been formerly granted them, to be kept at such times and such places as heretofore they have used to be.

ANNUAL RENT.

All the leases and indentures heretofore made are confirmed to them, rendering thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence, at the receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster, at Michaelmas and Lady-day.

FORMER LIBERTIES CONFIRMED.

All their liberties, privileges, franchises, &c. by whatever names or titles, whether by letters-patent or otherwise, are hereby fully confirmed.

Dated the fifth day of September, in the 15th year of his reign.

The charter of James is the same in substance with the above, but it contains the following alterations and additions. It was granted to the town of Beverley by king James II. by letters-

patent, bearing date the eleventh day of March, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1684, upon the surrender of their old charters.

They are incorporated by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the town of Beverley, in the county of York.

That Christopher Chappelow shall be the first and present mayor of this town, who shall take his corporal oath for the well executing his office.

That Thomas Johnson, John Dymoke, John Fotherby, William Coulson the younger, Matthew Ashmole, John Acklom, Samuel Johnson, Thomas Clark, John Gunbie, William Clark, Benjamin Lambert, and Edward Wilbert, shall be the first twelve and present aldermen, continuing in the said office for their lives, unless removed for their ill behaviour or ill government in the said town.

That they shall all take their said corporal oaths before the said mayor for the well executing their offices.

That Thomas Statter, Joshua Naylor, Robert Appleton, Henry Johnson, Henry Thirske, George Brownbrigg, John Greenupp, William Hardwicke, Roger Mason, Francis Wilson, Thomas Tyas, Thomas Smith, and Edward Webster, shall be the first and present capital burgesses, continuing in their said offices from the date of these presents till Michaelmas next.

That the twelve aldermen and thirteen capital burgesses shall be called the common council of the said town.

That the mayor shall be chosen yearly, on the Monday next before Michaelmas day, who shall take his oath for his well executing that office, before the last mayor, or in his absence, the predecessor of the last mayor, in the third week after his election, in the presence of the recorder of the town and the aldermen, or the greater part of them.

That James Moyser, Esq. shall be the first and present recorder of the said town.

That Christopher Tadman shall be the first and present town clerk.

That if it shall at any time happen that the mayor, for the time being, be sick that he cannot attend the execution of the said office, or that he be absent, with the leave of the aldermen, upon any reasonable cause, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful for the mayor, to constitute one honest and discreet man of the aforesaid aldermen, to be his deputy, who shall do all things belonging to the said office, having first taken his corporal oath before the mayor for the time being, he continuing in the said office during the sickness or absence of the said mayor.

That besides their Wednesday weekly market, they shall yearly have one fair upon the Thursday next before the fourteenth day of February, to begin and continue for one day, for all sorts of cattle, &c. together with a court of Pie Powder, and all the profits and advantages to the same belonging.

That it shall and may be lawful for the king, his heirs, and successors, at any time, and at all times, by order in privy council, to remove from their respective offices, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and capital burgesses, common clerk, or any one or more of them, and that after such removal there shall be, within convenient time, others chosen in their room.

L. Page 374.

COURT OF SHERIFF'S TOURNE.

The ancient method of conducting this court is described in the following document.

"The court of Sheriff's Tourne incident to that office is kept twice a year, a month after Easter and Michaelmas.

"The oath of the inquest, and the articles which were wont to be enquired into at this court, are these.

This hear yee the sheriffs that I shall truly enquire and truly present all the points and articles that belong to the enquiry of the Sheriff's Tourne, the king's council, and my fellows, and my own—I shall truly keep council, so help me God, and the day of doome."

And when they have made their oath in the form rehearsed, then the recorder or the under-sheriff shall rehearse to them these articles severally as they follow.

"First yee shall enquire if ye know any man or any woman that hath imagined the king's death.

"Also if any man be forsworn the king's londe and is come again into the lond and hath no charter of pardon.

"Also yee shall enquire of false money-makers, and false money clippers, whether it be gold or silver, nobles, half-pennys of gold, farthings of gold, roundgars of gold, washers of gold, groats, pennys or two pennys, half-pennys, or farthings, of their receaters, and all false money uteless.

"Also of robbers and of rovers by night or by day, and of their receaters, wether the theft be less or more, as an ox or cow, and pot or panne, gold or silver, and all other things that are of great value.

"Also of milchers, as of capons, or hens, &c. of wool, a brod cloth, a towel, or other things of little value.

"Also of house breakers and sneck drawers.

"Also of them that sleep in the day, and wake in the night, and are well clad and fed, and hath of the best victuals that comes to the towne, and hath neither rent to live upon, nor craft nor science.

"Also of men that lyeth in waite to beat men, or to slay men, or else to rob men, by night or by day.

"Also of affrayers of blood, that has not been corrected before this time; and of wafe and straye.

"Also of those that by any subtiltye or engines withdraw any doves from any man's dovecoat.

"Also of all those that bring any goods to the towne, that ought to be towled of, and so withdrawe the towle.

"Also if any franchist man of this towne have couloured any other man's good that ought to be towld, because of which coulouring the towle is with drawne.

"Also of any baker of this towne if they bake good bread and of good moulter, and if the bread hold good weight according to the statutes thereupon made.

"And if they have not sufficient bread to sell, in whose default it is that they have not enough, to serve the people.

"Also yee shall enquire of all manner of forestallers by water and by land, by night or by day, either flesh or fish, poultry, or any manner of cornstallers, because of the which the fuel and victual is scarcer or more dear then it should be. Warne such forestallers, warne them, &c.

"Also of all brewers of the towne if they sell after the assize and by true measure inseal'd.

"Also of the common of the towne, that is made several, whether the commoners of the towne should have common for all the time of the yeare or for any season of the yeare.

"Also of the common lanes of the towne that are enclosed either by hedge, or yate, or door, in hindring the commoners.

"Also of them that on nights watche under other men's windows to escrye their council or their privy.

"Also of them that hath been sworn at the Sheriff's Turne, or before justices of peace, and hath escryed the king's counsell, their fellowes, or their owne.

"Also of rape of woman whether they be maids, or wives, or widdowes, and of those that were helpers thereto.

"Also of all manner of treasure that hath been found within ground, whether it be gold, silver or jewels, pearle or pretious stones, and in whose keeping it is in.

"Also of them that are common dice players, and with false dice deceiveth people.

"Also of them that make any assemblyes or riots, by night or by day, against the kinge's peace, or any disturbance to the lett of execution of the common lawe.

"Also of cooks and regraters that sell charchausea meat, or any unwholesome meat for man's body."

When the twelve men have heard the articles before rehearsed unto them, the constables that are present shall be charged by oathe they have made to the towne, for to comune and speake together of the articles aforesaid, and if they know any man defect in any of them, they shall send two of the constables to the inquest, and informe them of their defaults.

When the inquest has communed of all this matter, and they fine any man, they shall give their virdict up to the sheriff's ensealed with their seales.

Drake's Ebor. Appendix.

M. Page 167 and 426.

The order of the famous company or fraternity of Minstrels in Beverley.

Whereas it is and hath been a very annicente custome ante of the memorie of dyvers aiges of men heretofore contynnally frequented from the tyme of king Athelstone, of famous memorie, sometye a notable kynge of Englande, as may appeare by olde bookes of antiquitie. That all or the most part of the mynstrell playing of any musicall instruments, and thereby occupying there honest lyvyng inhabytyng dwelling or serving any man or woman of honor, and worshype of any citie or towne corporate or otherwise, between the rivers of Trent and Tweed, have accustomed yerely to resort unto this towne and borough of Beverley, at the Rogation Days; and then and there to chose yearly one alderman of the mynstrells, with stewards and deputies, authorized to take names, and receive custumable duties of the brethren of the said mynstrells' fraternytie; and the alderman to correcte, amend, execute, and continue all such laudable ordynances and statutes as they have hitherto ever used for the honestee and profit of their science and art musicall, to be only exercised to the honour of God, and to the comforte of man.—Therefore William Pridsay, Robert Thompson, Christopher Farer, Richarde Craven, William Sands, William Yong, Robert Sparrowe, Robert Haryson, Henry Powre, Alexander Guy, and William Farley, the governors of the said town, A. D. 1555, by virtue of the ancient charters granted to this same towne of Beverley by the noble kyngs of this realme of England, and successyvyly confirmed the same under their brode seall from the tyme of the above named king Athelstone, hitherto and now last of all confirmed in most ample manner by the gracious goodness of our most virtuous sovereign Lord and Lady Kynge Phylip and Queen Marie, do grant unto the said brotherhood of mynstralls the renewing of all the godly and goodley orders concerning the said science, of late partly omitted to be revyved in as large and ample a maner and form as they have been hitherto at any tyme used, and so to be continued at the said place and tyme yearly for ever, in manner as followeth.

Imprimis—It is ordained and statuted for ever, to be kept by the assent and consent of all the brethren of the fraternity of mynstralls,—That all the brethren within that science shall come at the comandment of the alderman or his stewards to what place within Beverley as he shall assign them, and there to chose the aldermen and stewards, and to keep the hour to them assyned in payne of every offence xij d.

Also if there be any brother that will not come in or being comed will depart without licence before the new alderman and jearers be chosen, and other honest orders there to be taken, for the profit and comodity of the said scyence and brotherhood, shall have for his fyne ij s. iiij d. without forgynness.

Also it is ordyned and statuted by the alderman of the mynstralls, with the hole assent and consent of all the brethren of the same, that when the new alderman is chosen, that then he shall have two hours respite for to provide him two honest men, inhabitors and burgesses within the towne of Beverley, to be his suerties for the saveguard of the stock which then shall be delivered unto him by the old alderman, and of the performance of all his other duties according to this present original, which sureties shall be bounden in double value of the said stock, and if no such sureties are found, then that eleccyon to be voyd, and another alderman to be chosen.

Also the alderman shall make eleccyon of two able men for the guilde to fill, and himselfe to be third and of them three all the fellowship shall chuse for that year, to fill the said offys, also the alderman with his stewards shall set two able men on the eleccyon to these two that occupie, and of these fower the alderman shall chose one for steward, and the fellowship shall chose one for that year.

Also an ordynance made by the assent of all the brethren, with the alderman of the minstralls, that there shall no man been any offys for the said fraternity to the tyme that he have paid his due, and be full brother upon payn of vj s. viij d. paid by the alderman.

Also it is ordayned and statuted by the alderman of the mynstralls, withe the hole assent and consent of the mynstralls themselves, that no alderman shall take in any new brethren unless he be mynstrell to some man of honour and worship, or waite of some town corporate, or other ancient towne, or else of some honesty and conyng as shall be thought laudable and pleasent to the hearers there or elsewhere, upon pain of vj s. viij d.

Furthermore it is ordayned by the alderman and his brethren, that if there be any made brother already, not being able as aforesaid, or has been so able, and now declineth from the same for lack of honest usage, that then the alderman and brethren and officers shall them expell from their brotherhood, as alderman and officers will make answer to the kyng's officers when they speak of vagabonds and valiant beggers.

And if any person or persons so deprived shew himself obstynate, and stands in contencion arrogantly, that then the kyng's officers be sent for to carry the offender or offenders to the gaile, and there to remain until he be reconcyled to honest order, and for his obstynacy to forfeitt as the alderman and his brethren shall think meate and convenient in that behalfe.

It is ordeyned also that mynstrells to men of worship, waits, conyng men, and able men, being honestly esteemed, and within the liberties of the brotherhood of Beverley, shall come in and be brothers in the said brotherhood at the next Rogaison Days, after admonition and warning be given to them, upon payn of xx s. except they can shew lawful cause to the alderman and his brethren they being therof examined.

Also it is ordeyned by the alderman and his brethren, that no brother shall have but one apprentice at one time, upon payne of vj s. viij d. and he to be presented to the alderman in one year and one day to be enrolled and made full brother, upon payn of vj s. viij d.

Also it is ordeyned by the alderman and his brethren, that no mynstrall shall teach his own son or any other for a particular sume of money, but he shall present him as is abovesaid, upon payn of vj s. viij d. It is ordered also that no mynstrall shall take any apprentice to teach on any other, as is abovesaid, except the same mynstrall be able and approved by the alderman and his brethren, upon payn of xx s.

Also it is ordeyned that when the alderman and his brethren are settlin accompts, that then none of the other brethren shall come but as they are called, upon payn of ijs. that is to witt, the steward xvj d. for the negligence, and the offender viij d.

Further it is ordeyned that no mynstrall, being a foreigner or a stranger, shall remain upon faires and feastes within the said liberty longer then one fortnight to pass and repass, to be there masters and friends, and so to depart of the said liberties upon payn of xij d. every tyme they be taken, they being once thereof admonished and warned.

It is ordeyned also that no shepherd or husbandman, or husbandman's man, or man of other occupation, playing upon pipe or other instrument shall sue any wedding, or other thing that appertaineth to the said science, except it be within the parish wherein he dwelleth, upon payn of vj s. viij d.

Also at is ordeyned that no mynstrell shall play at any wedding or alderman's feasts within this town of Beverley, (the liberties of the Cross Days and all other fair days excepted) unless he be a burgess sworne upon scote and lote within the same, upon payn of iij s. iiij d.

Also if there be any man that is no brother, that taketh a brother's castle from him, he shall pay xij d. to the guilde.

And also it is ordeyned that none shall play in a castle, except he be a brother, upon payn of xij d.

Also it is ordeyned that all manner of forfits aforesaid shall be divided into three pts. that is to say, one part to the comon place of Beverley, the second part to the brotherhood of the mynstralls, and the third part to the stewards or the officers which the straine is made or the forfeit paid, and within the town of Beverley, the half to the common places.

Also it is ordayned by the alderman and his brethren, that if there be any old and honest brother syke or at Male East by the visitation of God, within the said liberties, being destitute of help and succour and feu friends, then the alderman, being thereof admonished, shall, at the discretion of himself and four of the brethren, relieve and succour the brother so being visited, with some parcel of money, with all Godly customs that have been used heretofore, as nigh as ability may sue or attaine.

Also an ordnance made by the assent and consent of all the brethren, with the alderman of the same fraternity, that no man be made brother with the occupation of the mynstralls without he be a mynstrall and able.

Also if there be any brother that dispraise his alderman and stewards, and will not do at the command of them at that time, that is to say, that when he or they will not come at the prime Gild or any other thing which shall be at the welfare of the said, they shall pay ij s. vj d.

And also an order made by the assent of all the aforesaid brethren, that the alderman shall receive of every mynstrall that stands in the castles upon Cross Monday, without he be brother to the said fraternity, then to pay xij d. to his contribute and to the welfare of the said fraternity of our lady of the Read Arke in Beverley.

And it is ordeyned by the alderman and his brethren, that every officer of the said science, authorized by several letters under the common seal of the fraternity, shall yearly make a true account of all the receipts of him or them, or any of them, takes of any brother or other mynstrall, upon such payment as shall be thoughte mete by the alderman and his brethren, in case any fault can be proved in him or them so receiving any customs.

Also it is ordeyned by the alderman and his brethren, that if any brother of the said science or other do receive or gader any money of any brother or other of that science, having no authority so to do by lawfull letter seal^d as is premised, then it shall be lawful to punish such an untrue offender, and so proceed according as the law shall permit, or to cause him to make a true account of all such untrue and unlawfully taken receipts.

Also it is ordeyned and statuted by the alderman and his brethren for ever to be kept, That the said brotherhood of minstralls of there own grace and good will shall pay and give unto the governors of the town corporate of Beverley, and to the comonalty of the same, xx^s. as often as they shall have to renew the confirmation of the great charter, for there lawful aid in maintaining the said fraternity of mynstralls, as hath been the custom heretofore.

Also it is ordeyned that every brother of the said fraternity shall pay to the alderman for his brotherhood, ij s. within two years of his entry, upon payne of iijs. iiij d.

ADDITIONS AND EMENDATIONS.

As the former part of this work was printed off while the latter was in progress; and the sheets were sent to the printer almost as they were written, it is impossible but some errors and omissions must have occurred; and in a few instances the materials for the illustration of historical or topographical facts were delivered to me subsequently to the printing of the sheet, where, in strict accordance with the general arrangement, they ought to have been introduced. In this place, therefore, a few observations will be made, which may rectify what is erroneous, and illustrate what is obscure.

Page 13, note 54, l. 5. After the word, "underfoot," place a note of interrogation. (?)

Page 25, near the bottom. Glass windows were not used in England before the year 675. The frames were usually filled in with lattice-work or fine linen cloth. Turn. Ang. Sax. vol. ii. p. 416.

Page 29, in the last line, for "Suorro," read "Snorro."

P. 38, l. 1, "That the Anglo-Saxons had some sort of architecture in use before they invaded Britain cannot be doubted, if we recollect that every other circumstance about them attests that they were by no means in a state of absolute barbarism. They lived in edifices, and worshipped in temples, raised by their own skill." Turn. Ang. Sax. vol. ii.

P. 38, l. 16, for "four hundred," read "five hundred."

Ib. n. 1, for "Olans," read "Olaus."

P. 42, n. 23, l. 7, for "Evoc," read "Evoc."

P. 46, n. 35, for "Διοκμισις," read "Διοκνησις."

P. 47, n. 40, l. 1 and 2, for "Inderivuda" and "Beoferlie," read "Inderwuda" and "Beoferlic."

Ib. l. 17, for "Ros. Pat." read "Rot. Pat."

P. 52, n. 52, l. 1. It will be observed that the ancient *portico* bore no resemblance to our modern *porch*, which was seldom, if ever, found in Saxon or Norman churches, but was, in fact, a constituent part of the building, occupying the whole area of the *west-end*. Vid. Britton. Arch. Ant. vol. v. p. 118, 119.

P. 53, l. 1, for "found," read "formed."

P. 54, l. 24, for "detruction," read "destruction."

P. 55, l. 14. Athelstan, A. D. 925, issued a coin on which he asserted his claim to this honourable title. The legend was, *REX. TO. BRIT.* (*Rex totius Britanniae*.) Pinkert. on Medals, vol. ii. p. 429.

P. 57, n. 29, l. 2. Instead of a comma *after* the word "Prior," place one *before* it.

P. 79, l. 3. *Foresta*, in old times, extended to woods, wastes, and waters; and contained not only *vert* and venison, but also minerals and maritime revenues. Lee. Cur. Disc. vol. i. p. 307. In the reign of Edward III. John de Cawood had a patent as keeper of the forest of Deira, Rot. Pat. 9 Edw. III. which was a situation of great trust and emolument.

P. 79, l. 9, for "emuiendis," read "emuniendis."

P. 85, l. 20. A chapel dedicated to Saint Mary had been erected here before the Conquest, as we learn from Leland, Collectan. vol. iii. p. 102. the register of the East-riding Archdeaconry, and other authorities; but it was at this time either in ruins or altogether destroyed.

P. 103, l. 10. After the word "river," insert the word "Hull."

P. 158, n. 15. These references are erroneous; they should have been to pages 86 and 112.

P. 186, l. 22. The manor of Beverley passed from the crown to — Dudley, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears from the following entry in the Provost's Register, l. 3, p. 13b. R'gna conc' D'no Dudley int' al' *Maner'* Bev'ley cū suis juribs ac p'tm ibm' cū p'tin ac redd' vj^{li} ij^s. x^d tenend' in capite, &c. 3 Eliz. p't' xij.

P. 219, l. 15, for "time," read "times."

P. 239, line 21. In the Encyclopædia by Dr. Rees, is the following account of this transaction. "Mr. Moyser, M. P. for the town, procured a brief for the repair of the minster church in 1708; his own contributions and those of his friends amounted to £1,500. which, with £800. raised by the brief, were placed in the funds; and by the rise of the South-Sea Stock in 1720, he was enabled to complete the reparation and adornment of the church in his life time."

P. 256, n. 19. An act of parliament was obtained, 21 Geo. III. (1781) for instituting at Beverley a court of Requests, for the recovery of small debts under forty shillings; which was extended in 1806, by another act, to the sum of five pounds.

P. 268, n. 2. It would be an employment peculiarly interesting, were we possessed of sufficient data to render such a scheme practicable, to trace the exact site of the ancient town of Beverley, and mark the precise situation of all its streets, buildings, and appendages. The names of streets and lanes occur very frequently in old writings belonging to the town, but we are sometimes at a loss to determine their local appropriation. Since the preceding pages were struck off, I have been favoured by the Rev. Mr. Coltman with the perusal of a chartulary belonging to the chantry of St. Catherine, in the collegiate church, and I very greatly regret that I had not an opportunity of examining this valuable document earlier. Here are named *Milnebrig*, *Tenturlane*, *Walkergarthes*, *Hayrerlane*, *Garlickholm*, and *Aylwardgarth*. (Testam. Rob. Dowsing. 1349.) The latter was in Fishmarketmoorgate. *Falconcroft*, near the beck; (Relax. W. de Boynton. 1363.) a *venella*, called *Bakhouselane*, near St. Mary's church; (Cart. A. Barbour. 1366.) others named *Bowbriglane*, (Cart. Ellen Gerard. 1316.) *Clapgate*, (Cart. Alex. Crab. 1356.) and *Deadlane*. (Mortua *venella*. Cart. Nich. fil. Joscelin the Cellarer. circa 1330.) A *co'e via dict' Frarygate*, (Cart. A. Kirkham, 1330.) which was situate near the house of St. Nicholas; (Relax. Jo. Ardern. 1460.) *Pyecroft*, (Cart. A. Crab, Tynctor, 1356.) *Frankencroft*, (Cart. Jo. de Holm, 1414.) and *Grovalgrene*, (Relax. W. de Boynton, 1363.) towards Grovehill. *Paradisegarth*, (Cart. W. Byrde, 1399.) is represented as a *messuage*, situate in *Lathegate*, (*unū messuagiū cū p'tin in Bev'l'*

vocatū p'adisegarth edificat' in vico vocat' lathgate, &c.) and occupied by W. Tyrwhit, adjoining equally the town's ditch and the house of Friars minors. (diu'sis tenentibus u'sus orient' usq' ad fossatū ville Beu'lac' juxt' fre's minores u'sus occident' &c. Cart. W. Devans, 1413.) References to the bars and dykes are of frequent occurrence. Co'em fossatū vocatū *Barre Dyke*, (Relax. Emma de Cammethorpe, 1404.) Co'em Barram vocat' *Weste Barre*; (Cart. T. Wyatt, 1440.) *Croft Brig*, &c. (Indent. fact. B. Lokyngton, 1405.) but not a word about the town walls; although, as a part of the property here conveyed *was bounded by the town's ditch*, it is reasonable to suppose that had walls actually existed, which appears to be a favourite opinion with many of the inhabitants of Beverley, they would certainly have been named. It is not to be denied however, that walls are mentioned in this document, and as I am more anxious for the developement of truth than the support of an hypothesis, I subjoin all the extracts I have found on the subject. In a charter of Alex. Crab, 1356, and another of John de Holm, 1404, the following expression occurs; cū tota sua latitudine p'ut muris fossatis et defensorijs includit'. This however applies merely to the local fencing of the property here conveyed, by a wall and ditch; and in a subsequent conveyance of the same premises by Margaret Tyrwhit, in 1439, the expression is, mury's fossatis sepibus et defensorijs includuntur.

P. 286, n. 46, for "vocal'," read "vocat'."

P. 289. I have received a copious account of the building, &c. of the Sessions-house and its appendages from Mr. Shepherd, but it arrived too late to occupy its legitimate place in the work, as the sheet to which it refers was already printed off. The following brief analysis of these papers is therefore introduced here. These commodious buildings were erected at the beginning of the present century. In 1803, a piece of ground was purchased by the building committee, and in the succeeding year plans and specifications were submitted by Mr. Watson, the architect, which were approved and ordered to be carried into immediate execution. Experience, and the increase of crime, proved the inadequacy of this establishment; and in 1819, large and important alterations and additions were projected by the committee; and their expediency having been fully ascertained by the bench of magistrates, they were adopted and completed in the succeeding year. Soon after this a tread-mill was introduced. The total expense has been estimated at about £42,000.

P. 295, l. 3. The present register house was built by H. Legard, Esq. registrar, who was allowed £650. out of the county rate towards the expense, pursuant to an order made at the quarter sessions, 15 July, 1800; and the office was erected a few years afterwards by Bennison of Hull, for £900. It is a commodious building, well adapted for the preservation of the publick records and books of enrollment there deposited.

P. 310. n. 6. For the false taste displayed in these alterations Mr. Moyser is not wholly responsible; for the anomaly of blending the two styles was the error of the age in which he lived; and having received the avowed sanction of eminent architects, it would have been an heresy in science to have opposed. He was associated with Hawkesmoor, the pupil of Sir C. Wren, and the builder of St. Anne's church, Limehouse; a Grecian, or more properly a Roman structure, which was in progress when he was engaged to estimate the repairs of Beverley minster; and is no very favourable specimen of his taste and judgment, even in the style which he professedly adopted as his model. Vid. my Hist. and Ant. of Grimsby Church, p. 33, et passim.

P. 313. l. 2. The crevices produced by the disruption of the wall during this operation were so wide, that when the restoration was effected, it required nearly a ton weight of lead to fill them in. The lead was heated in a copper near the place, and was conducted into the crevices by means of a pipe.

P. 320. n. 25. l. 3. for "collised" read "cottised."

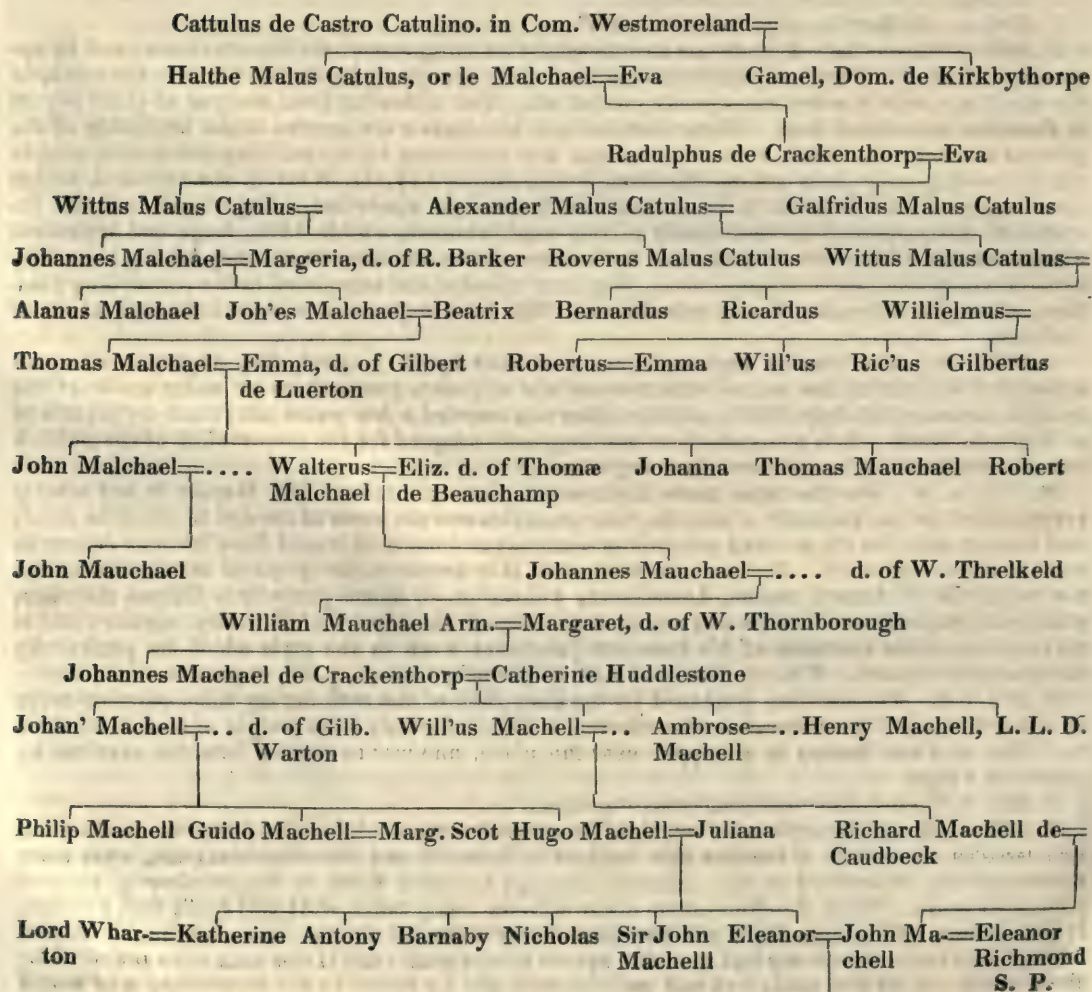
P. 322. n. 32. This noble window might be superbly ornamented without expense to the fund, and serve as a memento of families now resident in Beverley and the neighbourhood, were every individual who is entitled to use armorial bearings to insert them in that window at his own private expense. Thus, the dimensions of the window being taken at 41 feet by 21 feet 8 inches, it will contain 888 square feet; and one third being deducted for the transoms, mullions, and tracery, will leave something less than 600 square feet of glass; and if this plan were proposed by the trustees, surely 300 noblemen and gentlemen might be found in the East-riding who would each embrace, with eagerness, the opportunity of securing the transmission of his family honours

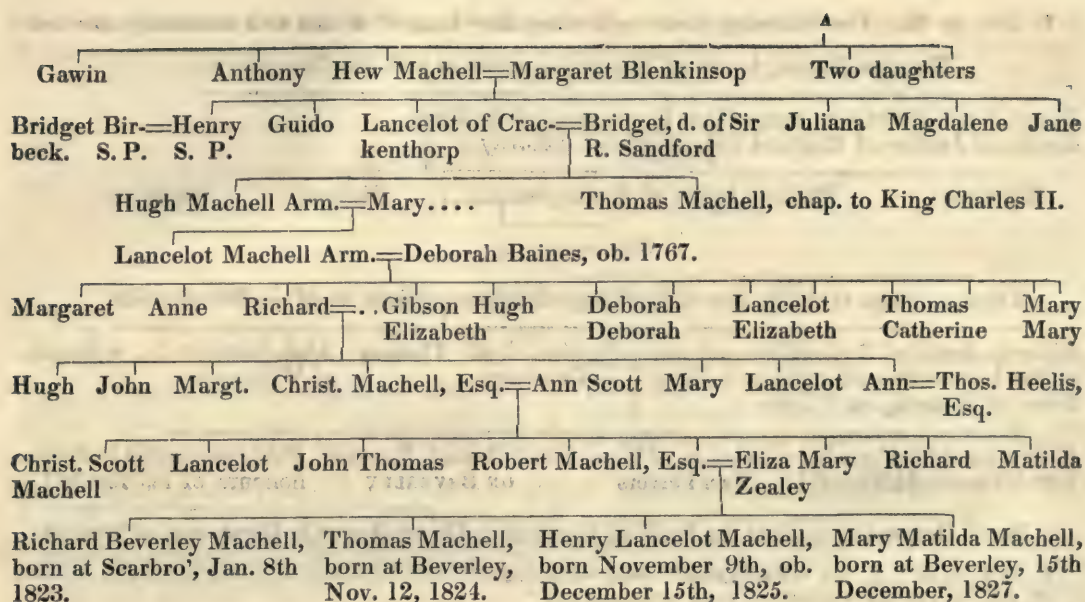
at the trifling charge of decorating two square feet of glass. And were this executed, with a due regard to uniformity of design and execution, a splendid armorial window would be produced, equally ornamental to the fabric and creditable to the town.

Page 325, n. 45. 1, 3. Pedigree of **MACHELL**.

ARMS. *Sable*. 3 greyhounds courant in pale; *argent*, collared, *or*.

CREST. A stag's head couped at the neck. **CREST.** A camel's head.





P. 330, l. 7. Since the printing off of the sheet here referred to, I have been informed by a friend, that the supporters of these arms are erroneous, and he corrects them as follows. Dexter, a martlet; sinister, an eagle.

P. 331, l. 10. We might be persuaded that these designs were derived from the mythology of India, were we not absolutely certain that in these early times so much of Hindoo superstition was not known. "Nareda, the mythological offspring of Saraswati, patroness of music, was famed for his talents in that science. So great were they that he became presumptuous; and emulating the divine strains of Krishna, he was punished by having his *Vina* placed in the paws of a bear, whence it emitted sounds far sweeter than the minstrelsy of the mortified musician. I have a picture of this joke, in which Krishna is forcing his reluctant friend to attend his rough visaged rival, who is ridiculously touching the chords of poor Nareda's *Vina*, accompanied by a brother bruin on the cymbals." Southey. Notes to the *Curse of Kehama*. vii. 66.

P. 342, l. 16. Edmonstone, in his "Complete Body of Heraldry," published in 1780, says, that in the window of this chapel "was the figure of a person with the coat of arms of Percy, kneeling, with the word *Esperance*, and this inscription. *Orate pro animabus Henrici quarti comitis Northumbriae, et domini de Poynings, et Matildis uxoris filiae Willi. Herbert comitis Pembr. &c.* And under the lady's picture, *Ma conforte*. On the tomb in the same place is the motto, *Esperance ma conforte*; and *Esperance* in sundry places thereof. N. B. In 1369, the duke of Bourbon took this word *Esperance*, and instituted an order of knighthood by that denomination." Vol. i. p. 128. in notâ.

P. 354, n. 29, l. 3. for "lusti," read "justi."

P. 357, l. 11 from the bottom. Dele the period after the word "fitchee."

P. 370, in notâ. From this document it should appear that there were, at the least, twenty trade guilds in Beverley. But by another paper in the British Museum, inserted on p. 424 of this work, we may fairly infer that the number of these mercantile monopolies was much more numerous.

P. 375, n. 21, l. 2, for "utag'," read "utag'."

P. 376, last line of text, for "formely," read "formerly."

P. 383, n. 39, l. 4, for "400," read "500."

P. 385, l. 12. The arms of Beverley abbey were, *Ar.* a crozier in pale *sa.* enfiled with a crown proper, all within a border *sa.* bezantièe.

P. 386, n. 62. The following sketch will shew the "linage" of this well-descended provost.

Thurstan Basset, baron of Wycombe, came in with the Conqueror—...

Ralph, Lord of Colston, temp. Hen. I. was elevated to the...
dignity of Justice of England with unlimited authority

Thurstan	Thomas, baron of Hedington=...	Richard	Nicholas
----------	--------------------------------	---------	----------

Gilbert...

Thomas, temp. Hen. II. one of the King's Justices=Alicia, d. of — Dunstanville

Gilbert, sheriff of Oxfordshire, and one of the barons who did homage to King John, at Lincoln, ob. 7 John	Egeline, d. of Thomas Courtney	Alan, baron of Wycombe . . . a daughter
--	--------------------------------	---

Gilbert was killed by a fall—Isabel, d. of Wm. FULK BASSET, PROVOST Philip succeeded to the—
from his horse, 25 Hen. III. Earl Ferrers OF BEVERLEY honours of his family

Hugh Despenser, slain at the battle of Evesham=Aliva=Roger le Bigot, earl of Norfolk.

P. 419, n. 6, l. 2, for "fluctuates," read "fluctuate."

P. 421, l. 12, for "family," read "household."

P. 436, note, l. 14, for "**Gea**," read "**Gea**."



View of North Bar.

GENERAL INDEX.

A

Abbey of Watton, 520—of Meaux, 534.
 Abbot of Beverley possessed great property, 70.
 Abbot of Meaux settles a dispute between the towns of Beverley and Hull, 183.
 Abbots of Beverley, list of, 385.
 Act, for improving the Beck, 246—for augmenting the income of the Minster curates, 250—for a further augmentation of the same, 255—for lighting and watching the town, 256—for lighting the town with gas, 263—for Court of Requests, 560.
 Addi, earl, presents the manor and advowson of Bishop-Burton, to the monastery of St. John of Beverley, 49.
 Address to the Throne, on the accession of Geo. III. 248—on the disturbances in America, 250—on the peace with America, 251—on the dismissal of ministers in 1784, 252—on his Majesty's escape from assassination, *ib.*—on his Majesty's recovery, *ib.*—on the brutal attack made on his Majesty in Hyde-Park, 254—to the Prince Regent on the general peace, 258.
 Affairs of the borough deranged, 191.
 Agistment of Westwood, burgesses exempt from, 109.
 Agreement respecting the river Hull, 103.
 Ake's will, 150.
 Alcocke, bishop, life of, 441.
 ALDERMAN, office of an, explained, 369.
 Aldermen, list of, 380.
 Altar tomb in the north transept of the Minster, 322.
 Altar screen described, 333.
 Alured of Beverley, memoir of, 440.
 Amusements of the town of Beverley, 421.
 Angling, 430.
 Anglo-Saxon town described, 83.
 Antiquities found in the Trinities described and illustrated, 296.

Archbishop of York, the, oppresses the people, 99.
 Archiepiscopal rents at Beverley, 94.
 Architecture, great beauty of the, displayed in the Minster, 306—comparison between classical and English, 307—of the Minster nave compared to an avenue of trees, 317.
 Architects employed for decorating the Minster, 145.
 Arms, on the North Bar, 288—of Warton and Powlet, *ib.*—on the Market-Cross, 291—of England and France, *ib.*—Hotham, *ib.*—Warton, *ib.*—town of Beverley, *ib.*—Kelke, 320—on George Percy's monument, 323—of Mauley, *ib.*—Isle of Man, *ib.*—Earl of Kent, *ib.*—Warren, *ib.*—Earl of Lancaster, *ib.*—Brabant, 324—D'Acres, *ib.*—Wake, *ib.*—Tate, 330—White, 331—Donington, *ib.*—Percy, 336—Clifford, *ib.*—Warren, *ib.*—Fitzallen, *ib.*—England and France, *ib.*—Heron, 340—Boynton, *ib.*—Hildyard, *ib.*—Hammerton, *ib.*—in the Minster vestry, 341—of Percy, 342—Lucy, *ib.*—Brabant, *ib.*—Bryan, 343—Poynings, *ib.*—Mauley, *ib.*—Pembroke, 344—old in St. Mary's church, 350—Cheney, 357—Holgate, *ib.*—Gee, *ib.*—Garth, *ib.*—Barnard, *ib.*—of the town of Beverley, six varieties, 380—old in the Guildhall, *ib.*—Wilson, *ib.*—Wilberforce, 396—Percy, 487—Gee, 496—Rysceby, 506—Ellerker, 508—Moretown, *ib.*—Grindall, *ib.*—Hotham, 509—Warton, 515—Abbey of Meaux, 542—Convent of Haltemprise, *ib.*—Machell, 562—Abbey of Beverley, 563.
 Arras, etymology of, 12.
 Articles of inquiry into the disorders of the religious houses, 181.
 Aske's rebellion, 183—suppressed, 184.
 Assembly-Rooms, 286.
 Assize of bread and beer, 86.
 ATHELSTAN gives a charter to the town, 55—

endows the church, 56—pledges his knife at the altar of St. John, 59—bears the holy standard of St. John into Scotland, *ib.*—his success, *ib.*—founds a college in Beverley, *ib.*—assigns the manor of Beverley to the Archbishop of York, 60.
 Augustine sent to convert the inhabitants of Britain, 33.
 Austin's stone, at Drewton, 5.
 Avanc, the beaver, 13.

B.

Badger-baiting, account of, 422.
 Bailiffs of Beverley commanded to raise soldiers for the Scottish wars, 125.
 Balloon, ascent of one from the Gas-works, 263.
 Bank for savings, 412.
 Baptist chapel, 302.
 Barbarities of the 15th century, 154.
 Barons, Norman, divide the kingdom, 69.
 Baronies, extent of, 70.
 Battle, of the Standard, 87—the white, 126—at Beverley, 216, 224.
 Baynard Castle destroyed, 464.
 Beaver, a mystical term for a floating island, 11—drawn from the lake, *ib.*
 Beaver-lake in the wood of Deira, 12.
 Beck, the, first formed, 85—plans for repairing, 243—subscriptions for, 244—objections to the above plans, 245—Act for improving, 246.
 Beckside, a street, 271.
 Beckwith, Mr. of Beverley, forms a plan for giving possession of Hull to Charles I. 208—and employs his son-in-law in the execution of it, *ib.*—the plot frustrated, 211—pronounced guilty of high treason, is taken at York, but rescued by the king, *ib.*
 Beddern, etymology of, 12—the site of the church at Beverley, 25—its meaning, 26—tower of the built, 157.
 Bells, origin and history of, 63.
 Benefactors to the Minster, 310.
 BEVERLAC, origin of the name, 8, 12—Church at, repaired, 39—idolatrous rites at, 41—visited by John of Beverley, 47—Churches and monastery at, destroyed by the Danes, 54.
 BEVERLEY, two seals of, 13—sixteen ancient names of, 47—Bank, 287—Liberties of, 510—Parks, population of, 514.
 Bible Society, account of, 409.
 Biography, 433.

Bishop of York attends the council at Arles, 27.
 Black Friars founded, 123—surrendered, 186—site of, 276.
 Bones of St. John translated, 61—taken up, 241.
 Borough, the, purged, 232.
 Botany, 516.
 Boy bishop, 425.
 Boynton, Col. takes Sir John Hotham, 222.
 Bridge at Beverley built, 148.
 Britain abandoned by the Romans, 27.
 Britons, the, established at Beverley, 7—bravery and dexterity of, 17—enslaved, *ib.*—engage the Saxons against the northern invaders, 28.
 Bull-baiting, account of, 421.
 BURGESSES, ancient, what, 80—exempt from pannage, 108—from agistment in Westwood, 109, and from toll at Wartre, *ib.*—first sent to parliament, temp. Edw. I. 117—their qualifications and utility, 372.
 BURTON, tessellated pavements at, 5—etymology of, 13—a place of druidical sepulture, *ib.*—manor and advowson given to St. John, 50—Sanctuary cross at, 57—antiquity of, 488—Bishop, account of, 491—church, description of, 492—Sanctuary cross at, described, 493—Hansby's hospital at, 494—Killingwoldgraves at, *ib.*—Vicars, list of, 495—Cherry, account of, 496—Church, 497—Rectors, list of, *ib.*—superstition at, 499—feast, *ib.*—charities at, 500—population of, *ib.*
 Burying in churches, origin of, 52.
 Butcher-Row, 295.
 Byscodynges granted to the burgesses, 108.

C

Cadwallo invades Deira, 39.
 Canons, the, complain of the Archbishop, 95—displaced and flee from the province, 147—petition the king, *ib.*—reinstated, 148.
 CAPITAL BURGESSES, manner of their election, 371—list of, 381.
 Catalogue of the Minster clergy at the Reformation, 188.
 Catfos, derivation of, 282.
 Cause in the Provost's court, 122.
 Celtic language, derivations from the, 8.
 Celts thrown up at Swine, 5—their use, 6.
 Certificate of exemption from tolls, 376.
 Chair of peace, 57.
 Chaiiring a M. P. 432.
 CHAMBER CLERKS, list of, 400.

Chancery, Court of, issues a commission of enquiry respecting St. Mary's church, 195.

Chancel of St. Mary's church, monuments in, 354.

Chantry, Gervus, founded, 148—Ake's ditto, 150—of St. Anne ditto, 153—of St. John and St. William assigned to the repairs of the Minster, 189.

Chantries in Beverley enumerated, 329.

Chapel, of St. Mary endowed, 127—in south transept of St. Mary's described, 353.

CHARLES I., question between him and his parliament, 199—passes through Beverley, 200—violent disputes with his parliament, 201—insulted in the streets of London by the populace, *ib.*—establishes his court at York, 202—spies placed over him, 203—appears before Hull, and is refused admission by Sir John Hotham the governor, *ib.*—proclaims Hotham a traitor, and returns to Beverley, 204—demands of the parliament justice against Hotham, and is refused, 205—is joined at York by many members of both houses, 206—determines to besiege Hull, 207—has recourse to stratagem, 208—levies troops, takes possession of Hull-Bridge, and fixes his head quarters at Beverley, 212—where he holds his court, 213—places himself in the custody of the Scots, 226—is executed, 228.

CHARTER of Athelstan, 56—of Hen. I. 84—of Thurstan, *ib.*—of Stephen, 86—of Archbishop William, 89—of Hen. II. 90—of Rich. I. 93—of John, 96—to the Minster, 102—of Hen. III. 105—of Edw. I. 113—confirmed, 121—of Edw. II. 123—to the Minster, 124—of Edw. III. 126—confirmed, 129—of Edw. III. 140—of Rich. II. 142, 143—of Hen. IV. 152—of Hen. V. 155—of Hen. VI. 157—of Edw. IV. 168—of Hen. VIII. 179, 186, 188—of Mary, 189—of Eliz. 190—of Charles I. 195—of Charles II. 232—of James II. 236.

Charters, list of, 377.

Choir rebuilt, 63—fitted up with pews, 262—described, 327.

Christianity, introduction of, 18—restored by Oswald, 43.

Christian feasts of dedication introduced, 34.

Church, at Beverley, founded by Lucius, 21—erected at the Bever-lake in Deirwold, 25—burnt by the Saxons, 32—repaired, 39—of St. Martin's built, 48—of St. Nicholas ditto, 49—of St. John endowed, 56—property of, 73

Church Methodist chapel, 282.

Churches, formed out of heathen temples, 23—burying in, origin of, 52—of Beverley destroyed by the Danes, 54—belonging to the college of St. John, 78—decked with evergreens, origin of the custom, 470.

Civil wars of York and Lancaster, 161—of Charles I. 220.

Clarke, Thomas, memoir of, 456.

Clerical fund, account of, 408.

Clergy, oppressed by Stephen, 89—at Beverley prepared to resist the Scottish invasion, 134.

Cloth weavers accused of fraud, 107.

Cockerill, Richard, attainted of high treason, 168—attainder reversed, 171.

Cockledge, Earl of Northumberland murdered at, 172.

Cockstulepit lane, 289.

Cockfighting, account of, 422.

Coiffi, the high priest of Woden, dissatisfied with his religion, 35—declares himself a convert to Christianity, 36—desecrates the temple of Thor, *ib.*

Collector of the quinzeme waylaid, 155.

College at Beverley, magnitude and income of, 181—dissolved, 187.

Colonnade in Minster, conjecture respecting, 338.

Coloured cloths, perfection of, at Beverley, 104.

Comins, Mr. engaged to superintend the Minster, 261.

Commission of enquiry, 106.

Commandery of St. John surrendered, 186.

Common pastures, account of, 303.

COMMON COUNCIL, history of, 371.

Comparative population of the principal towns in England, 142.

Complaints against the merchants of Beverley, 107.

Consecrated groves, 11.

Contest, election, in 1685, 236—ditto, in 1722, 242—in 1727, 243.

Copandale, family of, 285.

Corinthian altar screen removed, 261.

Corn, Exchange, 292—average price of, 293.

Coroners appointed by the Archbishop of York, 112.

CORPORATION, debts of, liquidated by the sale of timber from Westwood, 191—subscribe to the repairs of the Minster, 194—history of the, 366.

Corpus Christi, chantry of, founded, 126—plays, 424.

Corrody granted to the canons, 119.

COTTINGHAM, wood at, 79—account of, 458—market at, *ib.*—fairs at, 460—monastery of, *ib.*—chantry founded at, 461—inundation at, 464—divided into three manors, 465—guilds at, 466—Church, description of, 467—Rectors, list of, 469—Vicars, list of, 470—Church decked with evergreens, *ib.*—Court, conventual, 80—of Record, 372—Leet and Baron, 373—View of Frankpledge, 374—of Sheriff's Tourne, *ib.*—of Requests, 560.

Council, business of the, 372.

Crime, prevalence of, 108—at Beverley, 255.

Cromwell establishes himself at Whitehall, 227—appointed Protector, 228.

Cruelty of the Danes, 53.

Crypt, conjecture respecting an ancient, 314—in St. Mary's described, 358.

Cucking stool in Beverley, 85—origin of, 109—account of, 427.

Custody of prisoners vested in the Archbishop, 109.

Customs at Beverley, 421.

D

Danes, the, destroy the churches, 54.

Danish, character, cruelty of the, 53—two soldiers at Beverley quarrel, 238—their fate, 239.

Days of St. John of Beverley commanded to be kept holy, 157.

Dedication, feasts of, instituted, 34.

DEIRA, wood of, 12—meeting in, 35—invaded, 39—its extent, 79.

Deirians converted to Christianity, 37.

Delgovitia, etymology of, 12.

Deluge, legend of, connected with the etymology of Bever-lac, 11.

Deputies from the boroughs summoned to parliament, 117.

Description of St. Mary's church, 349.

Dimensions of the Minster, 311.

Disaffection of the inhabitants of Beverley, 146.

Dispute, between Beverley and Hull, 140—about prisage, 143—between Beverley and South-Cave respecting tolls, 158—between Beverley and Hull on the right of a free passage into the Humber, *ib.*—renewed, 189—referred, 190—decided, *ib.*

Disputes, several, about property, 94—amongst the twelve governors, 169—between Beverley and Hull, 183—about raising men for the army, 255.

Dispensary, account of, 410.

Dissolution, of the lesser monasteries, 183—general, 186.

Ditches ordered to be cut for defence, 219.

Domesday Book, its uses, 65.

Donations, towards the restoration of the Minster, 119—to the religious houses, 120—to the churches, 133—to the chantries, 140—to the churches, 153—and bequests, 401.

Drainage of the district, 249.

Drewton, Austin's stone at, 5—Druids' residence, 13.

Drogo de Beurere, memoir of, 77.

Druids, the, venerate the oak, 10—power of, 14—religious ceremonies of, *ib.*—dread which the people entertain of, 15—mysterious rites, *ib.*—believed in the unity of the Godhead, 19—tenets of, 20—inferior deities of, *ib.*—temples of, converted into Christian churches 23.

Druidism, mysteries of, 9—horrible rites of, 10.

Druidical idols, 5—superstitions, 8.

Ducking-stool, what, 110—site of the, 289—account of, 427.

Dwivaur and Dwivach inclosed in the Ark, 11.

E

East-Riding bank, 282.

East window in the Minster, 327.

Edge-Hill, battle of, 220.

Edward, the Confessor, grants the privilege of holding three annual fairs, 62—the first at Cottingham, 118—at Beverley, 119—recommends the re-edification of the Minster, *ib.*—grants a corrody to the canons, *ib.*—again at Beverley, 120—grants a pardon to the sanctuary men, *ib.*—revisits Beverley with his whole court, 121—the second at Beverley, 124, 125—the third raises an army against the Scots, 128—visits Beverley, 130—the fourth marches through the town, 170.

Edwin convenes a meeting to deliberate on the introduction of Christianity, 35—is baptized at York, 36—and slain, 39.

Election contests, 236, 242, 243.

Ellerker, pedigree of, 508.

Eleusinian mysteries, 9.

Episcopus puerorum, 425.

Eske, account of, 516.

Etymology of many names in Beverley, 12.

Eustace Fitz-John, arrested by Stephen, 86—escapes to Scotland, and commits ravages on the north of England, 87.

Exactions, complaints of, 107.

Excommunications, 235, 247.

F

- Fabric of the Minster, description of, before the Conquest, 64.
 Fairs, granted by Edward the Confessor, 62—and markets, 109—when and where held, 286.
 Feasts of dedication instituted, 34.
 Fee-farm rents, 81.
 Figham, common of, 303.
 Fines and amerciaments, 94.
 Fire at Beverley, 93.
 Fisher, bishop, life of, 444.
 Fleming-gate, 273.
 Floating islands sacred, 10—called Beavers, 11.
 Font, in Minster, 321—in St. Mary's, 352.
 Football, game of, 429.
 Foot-walks laid, 102.
 Foot-ways, patent for, 160.
 Fowkes, Lieut. receives an invitation to deliver up the garrison of Hull, 208.
 Fraternity of Minstrels, 167.
 Franciscan monastery surrendered, 186.
 Freedom, how conferred, 372.
 Freemasons, lodge of, 287.
 Freemasonry, what, 287.
 Friar-Garth, 294.
 Fridstol, inscription on, 57—conjectures about, 341.
 Friendly Societies, 415.

G

- Gable, north, of Minster, reinstated, 241.
 Galilee, what, 316.
 Galleries, of Minster built, 241—in St. Mary's church, history of, 352.
 Gallows, 85—erected anew, 108.
 Gamel, memoir of, 77.
 Games, 421.
 Gaol, delivery, 109—of the borough, 374.
 Gas, town lighted with, 263—works, 273.
 Gee, pedigree of, 496.
 General view of the town, 162.
 Geoffery, Archbishop, suspended, 95.
 Gervus chantry founded, 148.
 Gillicroft assigned to the burgesses, 155.
 Godmanham, etymology of, 12.
 Godwin, Mary Wolstonecraft, memoir of, 451.
 Gomer, the posterity of, people Britain, 9.
 Governors, the twelve, constituted, 150—involved in disputes, 169—removed for refusing the declaration under Charles II. 233.
 Graburn-Lane, 282.
 GRAMMAR SCHOOL, the, origin of, 277—history of, 278—masters of, 279—library of, 280.

- Grecian, style of architecture introduced into the Minster, 241—work in the nave removed, 262.
 Green, Bishop, memoir of, 448.
 Gregory, Pope, memoir of, 32.
 Grey Friars, site of, 276.
 Grimsby, Abbot of, makes an exchange with the Abbot of Meaux, 537.
 Grithmen, pardon to, 133.
Grove-Hill, the landing place of the Romans, 18—manufactory at, 297.
 Groves, the reputed residence of the deity, 10.
 Grymsby, Gilbert de, bears the holy banner of St. John into Scotland, 118.
 Guilds, ancient, 80—religious, 417—merchant, numerous, 563—at Cottingham, 466.
 Guildhall, Courts held in the, 294.

H

- Hall-Garth, what, 275.
 HALTEMPRISE, convent of, 465.
 Hatchments, in the Lady Chapel, 340—in St. Mary's chancel, 357.
 Hawksmoor's estimate for repairing Minster, 239.
 Hengate, etymology of, 12—a street, 284.
 Hengist and Horsa arrive in Britain, 29.
 Henry I. grants a charter to the town, 84.
 Henry VI. at Leckonfield, 159—and Beverley, 160—grants certain patents to the town, *ib.*
 Henry VIII. ascends the throne, 177.
 Highgate allotted to the London merchants, 218.
 History of bells, 63.
 Holland, Sir John, claims sanctuary, 145.
 Horrible rites of druidism, 10.
 Horstaffa given to the college of St. John, 59.
 Hospital, of St. Giles, founded, 61—assigned to the prior of Wartre, 109—Routh's, 276—Fox's, 300—C. Warton's, 301—Sir M. Warton's, *ib.*—Tymperon's, 302.
 Hospitality, of the religious houses, 165—at Leckonfield castle, 177.
 HOTHAM, Sir John, elected M. P. for Beverley, 200—refuses to admit the king into Hull, 203—makes a protestation of loyalty, 204—proclaimed a traitor by the king, *ib.*—is justified and thanked by the parliament, 205—countenances hostile sallies from the garrison, 206—assisted by a committee, 207—suspected by the parliament, and spies placed over his conduct, 211—cuts the banks of the Humber, 214—being proclaimed a traitor, flies, 221—seeks refuge at Beverley, 222—

is taken and beheaded, 223—pedigree of the family, 509.

House of Correction, excellent management of the, 290.

HULL river, etymology of the, 12—the Archbishop has prizes in, 85—agreement respecting, 103.

Hull garrison, stores removed from, 212—besieged, 214—siege of, raised, 215.

Hull-Bridge, account of, 513—possessed by the troops of Charles I. *ib.*—population of, 514.

Humber, naval engagement in the, 215.

Hurn, common of, 303.

I

Idolatry restored by Penda, 39.

Illumination for peace, 257—for Queen Caroline, 259.

Images removed from the roodloft, 187.

Income of the college at the Reformation, 181.

Independents, rise of, 227—cruelty of the, *ib.*

Independent Meeting-house, history of, 281.

Infangthef, 109.

Influence of the church in Roman Catholic times, 167.

Inglebert, Philip, memoir of, 441.

Ingram, Robert, memoir of, 447.

Inhabitants incapable of paying taxes, 192.

Initiation the only step to honour and preferment, 10, 472.

Insane, retreat for, 471.

Inscription on the Fridstol, 57—over Saint John's bones, 241—on the pillars of Saint Mary's church, 351—on the pews, 352—on the font, *ib.*—on the ceiling of the north aisle, chancel, 358.

Inundations, 249.

Invasion of the Romans, 16.

JOHN OF BEVERLEY, born, 43—appointed bishop of Hagulstad, 45—his sanctity, *ib.*—indefatigable in visiting his diocese, 46—said to perform miracles, *ib.*—translated to the see of York, *ib.*—visits Beverlac, 47—commends the situation, 48—and determines to build a monastery there, *ib.*—founds the church of St. Martin, *ib.*—and St. Nicholas, 49—performs a miraculous cure on the lady of Earl Puch, *ib.*—retires to Beverley—dies—and is buried in the portico, 52—influence of, after death, *ib.*—his tomb the resort of pilgrims, 60—enshrined, *ib.*—honours devoted to the memory of, 61—bones of translated, *ib.*—canonized, 62—standard of,

borrowed as a palladium, 118—replaced, 119—his tomb reputed to have sweat blood on the day of the battle of Agincourt, 157—his sepulchre opened, 233—and bones taken up, 241—statue of, 326—history of, 433—account of his miracles, 436.

John, king, at Cottingham and Beverley, 96—revisits Cottingham, 99.

Islands, floating, sacred, 10.

Jurisdiction of the corporation, 379.

K

Keldgate, etymology of, 12—a street, 276.

Killingwoldgraves hospital, account of, 494.

Kingdom divided among the Norman barons, 69.

Kinsius, Archbishop, builds a tower to the church, 63.

Knife or dagger of Athelstan pledged, 59.

Knight's fees, what, 71.

L

Ladygate, etymology of, 12—extent of, 293.

Lady Chapel, hatchments in, 340.

Lairgate, etymology of, 12—where situate, 280.

Lake, the sacred, 10—beaver drawn out of, a religious ceremony, 13—veneration of the Britons for, 14.

Lay patronage, origin of, 45.

Lazaretto erected, 193.

Learning, state of, 416.

LECKONFIELD, etymology of, 12—a place of initiation, 13—hospitality at, 177—antiquity of, 473—castle, history of, 474—description of, 477—church, description of, 479.

LIBERTIES OF BEVERLEY, 510.

Liturgy, voted an abomination, 227.

Londesbro', the site of the ancient Delgovitia, 12.

Londoners, attend the fairs at Beverley, 218—regulations for the, 229—make a present to St. Mary's church, 237.

Louvain, pedigree of, 481.

LUCIUS founds a church at Beverley, 21—who he was, 22—actively encourages the promulgation of Christianity, 25—places a bishop at York, *ib.*

Lund, common of, 303.

Lying-in charity, account of, 411.

M

Magistrates, bench of, 289.

Magnitude of the town, 142.

Mails, regulation of the, 293.
 Maison-de-dieu, 283.
 Manners, ancient and modern, compared, 82.
 Manor assigned to the Archbishop of York, 60—exchanged for other property, 186.
 Markets and fairs, 109.
 Market Cross, illuminated, 258—described, 290—arms on, 291.
 Market, regulations of, 292.
 Marriages solemnized by the civil magistrate, 229.
 Masses for the lord of Vessey, 170.
 Materials of the Minster, 310.
 MAYOR, of Hull assaults the Archbishop of York, 144—antiquity of the office of, 366—his duties, 367—and authority, 368.
 Mayors, list of, 393.
 MEAUX, abbot of, settles a dispute between Beverley and Hull, 183—abbey of, founded, 534—dedicated, 535—and endowed, 536.
 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, desert the house, 206—list of, 381.
 Memoir of, Pope Gregory, 32—Walcher, bishop of Durham, 76—Morcar, 77—Drogo de Beurere, *ib.*—Gamel, *ib.*—John of Beverley, 433—Archbishop Thomas, 438—Archbishop Thurstan, *ib.*—Archbishop Murdac, 439—Alured, 440—Inglebert, 441—Bishop Alcocke, *ib.*—Bishop Fisher, 444—Robert Ingram, 447—Bishop Green, 448—Lawrence Whitaker, 449—Mary Wolstonecraft Godwin, 451—Dr. Reynolds, *ib.*—William Wilson, *ib.*—Richard Sissison, 454—Thomas Clarke, 456.
 Merchants begin to reside in the town, 60.
 Merchant Guilds, 80—numerous.
 Mills before the Conquest, 81.
 MINSTER, the, burnt, 93—property assigned for its restoration, 114—reëdification of, recommended by Edw. I. 119—donations towards the restoration of, *ib.*—rebuilt, 120—nave erected, 138—north porch built, 145—west front erected, *ib.*—revenues seized by the Archbishop, 147—salaries paid to the officers of, 149—patents for, *ib.*—tabernacle work of stalls completed, 179—clergy of, list of at the Reformation, 188—chantries assigned for the repairs of, 189—property granted by queen Elizabeth for the support of, 190—dilapidated, 194—measures adopted for its restoration, *ib.*—pews built in, 230—project for the repairs of, 239—materials removed from Saint Mary's, York, 240—bequest of Sir Michael Warton to, *ib.*—north

gable screwed up, new floor laid, and thoroughly repaired in its present style, 241—act for improving the income of the curates of, 250—act for further augmenting do. 255—improved under the superintendence of Mr. Comins, 261—choir of fitted up with pews, 262—patronage of, 273—curates of, 274—beauty of its architecture, 306—described, 309—style of, *ib.*—benefactors to, 310—dimensions of, 311—east window of, described, *ib.*—north transept, view of, 312—north porch described, 313—west front described, 314—ancient crypt, conjectures respecting, *ib.*—south transepts described, 315—sanctuary bell of, *ib.*—galilee of, 316—effect of the interior on a stranger, 317—west door, 318—nave and aisles described, *ib.*—monument in south aisle of nave, account of, 320—font in, 321—general view of interior, 322—transepts described, *ib.*—organ screen do. 326—choir, 327—east window, *ib.*—stalls, 328—tabernacle work, 332—pulpit, 333—altar screen, *ib.*—Percy Shrine, 334—colonnade, 338—Lady Chapel, 340—Vestry, 341—Fridstol, *ib.*—Percy Chapel, 342—superb monument and arms there, 343.
 Minster-Moorgate, 298.
 Minstrels, fraternity of, erect a pillar in Saint Mary's church, 167—their effigies, 168—account of, 426—ordinances of.
 Miracles, at Beverley and other places, 98—at Burton, 489—at Watton Abbey, 520.
 Molescroft, sanctuary cross at, 57—account of, 510—Woodhall, a capital message at, 511—chantry at, 512—population of, *ib.*
 Monastery of St. John at Beverlac, 48—style of the buildings, 49—endowed, *ib.*—utility of, 50—destroyed by the Danes, 54.
 Monasteries visited, 181—dissolved, 183.
 Morality, state of, 414.
 Morcar, memoir of, 77.
 Motives of pious men in devoting a portion of their goods to the church, 135.
 Murdac, appointed Abp. of York, 88—is rejected by the citizens, *ib.*—memoir of, 439.
 Mythological observances of druidism, 9.

N

Names of Beverley, sixteen in number, 47.
 National School, account of the, 406.
 Naval engagement in the Humber, 215.
 Nave of Minster, erected, 138—fitted up with pews, 241.

New Walk, 290.
 News-Room, 287.
 North porch of Minster erected, 145.
 North gable of Minster reinstated, 241.
 North-bar Street, 287.
 North-bar, described, 288—arms on, *ib.*
 Northumberland, earl of, murdered, 172—
 splendour of his funeral at Beverley, 173—
 his retinue, 177.
 Norwood, 285.
 Nun, seduction of a, from the convent of
 Watton, 520.
 Nurseries, Tindall's, extent of, 296.

O

Oaks, groves of, holy, 10.
 Ordinances for the government of the college,
 148.
 Organ screen in the Minster described, 326.
 Origin of feasts of dedication, 34—of parishes,
 45—of lay patronage, *ib.*—of collegiate es-
 tablishments, 51—of burying in churches,
 52—of fairs, villages, market towns, cities,
 &c. 62—of bells, 63—of parliaments, 69—
 of tolls, 80—of the custom of decking churches
 with evergreens, 470—of merchant
 guilds, 466.
 Original population of Britain, 9.
 Oswald restores the true religion, 43.
 Oxford, meeting at, between Charles I. and
 the commissioners of the parliament, 225.

P

Painted windows introduced into the Minster,
 129.
 Paradise, where situate, 276.
 Pannage, burgesses exempt from, 108.
 Pardon to grithmen, 133.
 Parishes, when first instituted, 45.
 Parish registers, taken out of the custody of
 the clergy, 228.
 Park and free warren in Beverley granted to
 the Archbishop of York, 86.
 PARLIAMENT, origin of, 69—burgesses first
 sent up to, 117—violent measures of, against
 Charles I. 201—passes a vote of thanks to
 Sir John Hotham, 205—votes an indecent
 answer to the king's message, and prepares
 for war, *ib.*—deserted by many of its mem-
 bers, 206—seizes on the navy, and makes
 a formal declaration of war, 207—levies
 troops, 212—petitions the king, 214—troops
 of, take possession of Beverley, 220—pre-
 tend to peculiar strictness of discipline, 223

—army of, defeated by the Earl of New-
 castle, 224—persecutes Mr. Warton, 226.
 Patent, for keeping the peace, 145—of Rich.
 III. 171.
 Patrington, jurisdiction of the Archbishop in,
 85.
 Patronage, origin of lay, 45—of the collegiate
 church claimed by the Archbishop, 60.
 Paulinus, attempts the conversion of the Dei-
 rians, 34—addresses the people, 35—retreats
 into Kent, 39.
 Paving the streets, 102.
 Pavements, tessellated, at Burton, 5—repairs
 of, and patents for, 162.
 Peace, chair of, 57—proclaimed, 257.
 Pelagian heresy, the, divides the church, and
 paves the way for the abolition of Christi-
 anity, 28.
 Penda invades Deira, 39.
 Perambulation, of the town, 265—of the Min-
 ster, 305—of St. Mary's parish, account of,
 362.
 PERCY, tomb of George, described, 322—arms
 on, 323—Shrine, history, 334—and descrip-
 tion of, 335—arms on, 336—Chapel, monu-
 ment, 342, and arms in, 343—family, history
 of, 480—pedigree of, 481.
 Pesthouse erected, 193.
 Pestilence, the, afflicts the town, 234.
 Petition of John Brompton, 155—of the mer-
 chants of Beverley about passage through
 the river Hull, 189—of the parliament to
 Charles I. 214—to parliament on the dispute
 with Hull, 251—for slave emancipation, 252,
 259.
 PETUARIA, the ancient site of Beverley, 6—
 the residence of a British chief, 14—a Roman
 station, 18.
 Pews in Minster built, 230—in nave, 241—in
 nave removed, 262—in the choir erected,
 332.
 Pheryllt, the, had a chair at Oxford, 9.
 Philippa, queen, defeats the Scots, 135.
 Pickhill noticed, 285.
 Picts and Scots vanquished by the Saxons, 28.
 Pie-powder, court of, noticed, 286.
 Pilgrimage of grace, 184.
 Pillory, 109.
 Plague rages in Beverley, 193, ceases, 194.
 Plants, catalogue of, 517.
 Pontage levied, 148.
 Pope Gregory determines to convert the Dei-
 rians, 32.
 Pope Nicholas IV. taxation of, 114.

Population of Britain, original, 9—armed, 92
—trained, 132.
Population of Beverley, 142—of St. Mary's, 363.
Post-Office, 293.
Prebendal houses alienated, 187.
Prince William of Gloucester breakfasts with
the corporation, 254.
Printing press, first at Beverley, 175.
Priors of Haltemprise, list of, 465.
Prises in the river Hull, 85.
Prisage claimed by the Archbishop, 112—his
claims disputed, 143.
Prisoners of war deposited at Beverley, 220.
Procession of humility, 135—at the proclama-
tion of peace, 257—on the coronation of
Geo. IV. 260.
Proclamation of Charles I. 213—of peace, 257.
Procurators, false, 121—punished, 123.
Property, transfers of, 120—in Beverley, 127.
Provisions, price of, 419.
Provost of Beverley, appointed, 68—his im-
portance, 101—accused of a perversion of
justice, 123—his court, cause in, 122.
Provosts, list of, 385.
Puch, earl, endows the monastery of St. John
with the manor of Walkington, 49.
Pulpit, the, adorned by Archbishop Puttoc,
64—in Minster nave built, 241—in choir
described, 333.
Puttoc, Archbishop, enshrines the tomb of St.
John, 60—rebuilds the choir, 63—adorns
the pulpit, 64.

Q

Quakers' meeting-house, 284.
Quarter sessions, when held for the borough,
374.
Quo Warranto issued against the corporation,
by James II. 237.

R

Races, account of, 430.
Ranters' meeting-house, 298.
Rebellion of Robert Aske, 184.
Rectors, incorporated, 170—their common
seal, *ib.*—of St. Nicholas, list of, 347—of
Cottingham, 469—of Cherry-Burton, 498—
of Walkington, 505.
RECORDE, his qualifications, 368—and duties,
369.
Recorders, list of, 399.
Reformation, the, 185.
Register of the kings of England, painted on
the ceiling of St. Mary's chancel, 355.

Register-square, 294.
Rejoicings, on the proclamation of peace, 257
—on the coronation of George IV. 260.
Religious houses, donations to, 120—advan-
tages resulting from, 162—hospitality of, 165.
Rents, archiepiscopal at Beverley, 94.
Republicans, the, take possession of the town,
220.
Restoration of Charles II. 232.
Reynolds, Dr. memoir of, 451.
Riding-fields, 297.
Rights, of the Archbishop in Beverley, 109—
of the borough, 375.
Right of election, in whom, 375.
Ripon, jurisdiction of the Archbishop in, 85.
Risby, account of, 505—manor house at, 506
—park, 507.
Rites, idolatrous at Beverlac, 41.
River Hull, prises in, 85.
Roman, road through Beverley, 5—invasion,
16.
Romans settle in Deira, 17—abandon Britain,
27.
Roodloft, images removed from the, 187.
Royalists in the corporation displaced, 228.

S

Saint, *Giles's* hospital founded, 61—assigned to
the convent of Wartre, 109—surrendered,
186—site of, 281—*John's* property exempted
from the Conqueror's interdict, 67—*John*
appears to Stephen in a vision, 90—of Jeru-
salem, hospital of, founded, 98—where
situate, 295—*Martin's* church built, 48—
Mary's church endowed, 127—falls, 178—
vicarage established, 183—property granted
to by queen Elizabeth, 191—misapplication
of funds of, 195—instances of peculation,
196—value of, 348—description of the fabric
of, 349—dimensions of, *ib.*—interior of, 350
—ancient inscriptions in, 341—font in, 352
—history of, 345—galleries of, 352—chapel
in south transept, 353—chancel described,
354—painted ceiling of, 355—hatchments in,
357—crypt, 358—churchyard, 359—*Nicho-
las's* church built, 49—destroyed, 229—
site of, 272—history of, 346—list of rectors,
347—hospital, site of, 276.
SANCTUARY, privilege of, established, 57—
claimed 145—claimed by five murderers,
171—by John Sprot, of Barton, 175—bell,
315—cross at Bishop-Burton, 493.
Saxons, engaged to quell the Picts and Scots,
28—turn their arms against the Britons, 30

—and ravage the country, 31—penetrate into Deira, *ib.*—destroy the church at Beverlac, 32—acquainted with temple architecture, 38.

Scarcity of corn, 253.

Seireburn, jurisdiction of the Archbishop in, 85.

Scholarships, founded in Saint John's college, Cambridge, 179.

School, Graves's, account of, 301.

SCORBRO', etymology of, 12—account of, 509—house fortified, *ib.*—population of, 510.

Scotland, war with, 124.

Scots, and Picts vanquished, 28—defeated, 130, by queen Philippa, 135.

Scottish invasion, 134.

Screen, ancient, restored, 261—described, 333.

Seals of the town, 13, 379.

Seduction of a nun from the convent of Watton, 520.

Sessions-hall, 289.

Severus, resides at York, 26.

Shambles described, 291.

Sheriff's tourn, held by the Archbishop, 156—court of, held by the corporation, 374.

Ship, furnished to the navy, 132—money, imposition of, 199.

Siege of Hull, 214.

Sigillum found at the Trinities, 296.

Sissison, Richard, memoir of, 454.

Social amusements of the town, 432.

Society for promoting Christian knowledge, 405.

Soldiers, from Beverley, commanded to muster at Alverton, 118—raised, 132.

Splendour of Earl Percy's establishment at Leckonfield, 177.

Spurs, ancient, found at the Trinities, 296.

Stalls of Minster, completed, 179—described, 328—arms on, 330.

Standard, the, of Saint John borne by Athelstan into Scotland, 59—battle of, 87—description of, 88—borne once more before the army, 118—replaced, 119.

Stange, account of, 428.

Stanley-Place, where, 285.

Stephen, his charter, 86—oppresses the clergy, 89—attempts to fortify Beverley, *ib.*—is alarmed by a vision, and countermands the order, 90.

Storkhill, account of, 512—population of, 513.

Streets paved, 102.

Stuteville, William de, excommunicated, 99—pedigree of, 459.

Style of living in the fifteenth century, 176.

Subscriptions for the relief of the poor, 254.

Suit between Beverley and Hull, 237.

Superstitious rites of druidism, 8.

Swinemoor, common of, 303.

T

Tabernacle work of the Minster stalls, completed, 179—described, 332.

Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. 114.

Taxes remitted by queen Elizabeth, 192.

Tenants, different orders of, at the Conquest, 71.

Tenure, system of, 70.

Tesselated pavements at Burton, 5.

Thearne, account of, 516.

Theatre, 280.

Thomas à Becket, provost of Beverley, 91.

Thomas, Archbishop of York, memoir of, 438.

Thraves of corn, given to the church, 56—confirmed, 99.

THURSTAN, appointed provost, 83—confers benefits on the town, 84—consecrated Archbishop of York, *ib.*—holds his court at Beverley as lord of the town, *ib.*—gives the town a charter, *ib.*—memoir of, 438.

Tickton, account of, 513.

Tindall's nurseries, 296.

Tithes of St. Mary's, 345.

Tolls, origin of, 80—dispute respecting, between Beverley and North-Cave, 158—between Beverley and Hull, *ib.*—patent for, 160—granted by land and water, 171—petition respecting those demanded by Hull, 251—amount of, 293—exemption from, 376.

Topography, 265.

Tournament at York, 103—at Beverley, 104—forbid, *ib.*

TOWN, built to the church, 63—divided into tofts, 79—Anglo-Saxon, described, 83—ordered to be fortified by Stephen, 89—burnt, 93—magnitude of, 142—threatened with destruction by fire, 146—general view of, 162—plundered, 225—description of, 266—extent of, 269—population of, 270—churches, 271.

TOWN CLERK, his appointment and duties, 372.

Town Clerks, list of, 399.

Tract Society, account of, 408.

Trade, state of, 416.

Trades, enumeration of, 420.

Translation, ceremony of, 61.

Trinities described, 295.

Tumbrellum, what, 110.

Tumuli at Burton, 7.

Turbary, dispute respecting, 113.

V U

Vestry, in the Minster, arms in, 341.
 Vicarage of St. Mary's, established, 183.
 Vicars of St. Mary's, catalogue of, 364.
 Vices, alleged, of the religious orders, 185.
 Victory over the Scots, 130, 135.
 Visitation of the monasteries instituted, 181.
 View of Frank Pledge, 374.
 Volunteers embodied, 253.
 Uttings given to the burgesses, 108.
 Utfrangthef, 109.

W

Waif and broken wreck belong to the Archbishop, 86.
 Waits, account of, 426.
 Wake de, pedigree of, 462.
 Walcher, bishop of Durham, memoir of, 76.
 WALKINGTON, given to St. John, 49—account of, 501—proprieters of, 502—church, 503—rectory, 504—rectors, table of, 505.
 Walls, argument to determine whether the town was surrounded by, 162.
 War between England and Scotland, 116—renewed, 124.
 Wards, town divided into, 195.
 WARTON, M. Esq. elected M. P. 200—persecuted by the parliamentary party, 226—Sir Michael bequeaths £4000. to the Minster, 240—pedigree of the family of, 515.
 Watch and ward appointed, 201.
 Watton, Abbey re-edified, 89—materials of, taken to repair the Minster, 194—miracle performed at, 520—Domesday survey of, 521—seduction of a nun from the convent of, *ib.*—endowed, 525—endowments at large, 526—fifty-three nuns consecrated at, 527—dissolution of, 528—present appearance of, *ib.*—abbot's kitchen, 529—interior, 530—vaults of, *ib.*—nunnery, *ib.*—attacked by Cromwell, 531—legend at, *ib.*—jar found at, 532—modern state of, *ib.*—village of, *ib.*—church of, *ib.*—Sunday school at, 533.
 Wednesday-Market Cross, 298.

Wesleyan Methodist chapel, 302.
 West front of Minster built, 145.
 Westwood conveyed to the burgesses, 144—timber sold from, 191—common of, 303.
 Whitaker, Lawrence, memoir of, 449.
 White battle, 126.
 Wilfrid, successful in restoring Christianity, 43—his diocese divided, 44—appeals to the Pope, 45—returns from Rome with credentials, 46—is reconciled, and accepts the see of Hexham, 47.
 William I. endeavours to reduce the influence of the clergy, 66—devotes the county of York to destruction, 67—is astonished at some remarkable judgments inflicted on his troops at Beverley, *ib.*—and exempts the patrimony of St. John from the interdict, *ib.*
 Wills, office for registering, 295.
 Wilson William, memoir of, 451.
 Wilton, jurisdiction of the Archbishop in, 85.
 Windows, painted, introduced into the Minster, 129.
 Wood, of Deira, 79—of Cottingham, *ib.*—lane, 284.
 Woodhall at Molescroft, 511.
 Woodmansey, account of, 514.
 Workhouses, 298—regulations of, 300.
 Writs issued for training soldiers, 129—repealed on payment of a fine, 131.

Y

Yeomen, the four, ordinance respecting, 175.
 YORK, the residence of Severus, 26—a bishop placed at, by Lucius, 25—bishop of, attends the council of Arles, 27—Edwin baptized at, 36—Archbishops of, reside at Beverley, 60—claim the patronage of the collegiate church, *ib.* and were lords of the town, 66—citizens of, refuse Archbishop Murdac, 88—grand convention at, 91—tournament at, 103—rights of the Archbishops of, in Beverley, 109—the Archbishop of, is assaulted at Hull, 144—seizes the revenues of the Minster, 147—ordinance of, 169—court of Charles I. at, 202.

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